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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Winter 1964

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COVER—The deer are reproduced from the decorative device on the title page of Edward Williams' *Virgo Trivmphans: or, Virginia Richly and Truly Valued*, printed in London in 1650. The author's section on "Virginia in General, but particularly Carolana, which comprehends Roanoak, and the Southerne parts of Virginia richly valued," tells of "Deere in a numerous abundance, and delicate Venison" among the treasured natural resources there. See the article on pages 74-104.

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CALVIN H. WILEY'S VIEW OF THE NEGRO

By Paul M. Ford*

Quite properly, Calvin H. Wiley is best known in North Carolina history for his pioneering work as State Superintendent of Common Schools from 1852 to 1865. In addition, his views of the Negro and education for the Negro are of interest, because they were somewhat unorthodox for the times. Wiley himself was a slaveowner,[1] yet he questioned the conditions of slavery in the South as he pursued his career and as the nation moved toward its bloody rendezvous with destiny.

In his novels *Alamance*[2] and *Roanoke*,[3] Wiley treats the Negro sympathetically; the Negro is looked upon, in fact, as a positive value to the society in which he exists. Old Ben in *Alamance* is the guardian of the women of Alamance while their husbands and fathers fight the War of Revolution; Uncle Job in *Roanoke* fights to upset the plot of tyrants who seek to cause a slave rebellion. As Wiley saw the Negro, he was not to be feared but to be trusted, at least in the Revolutionary era.

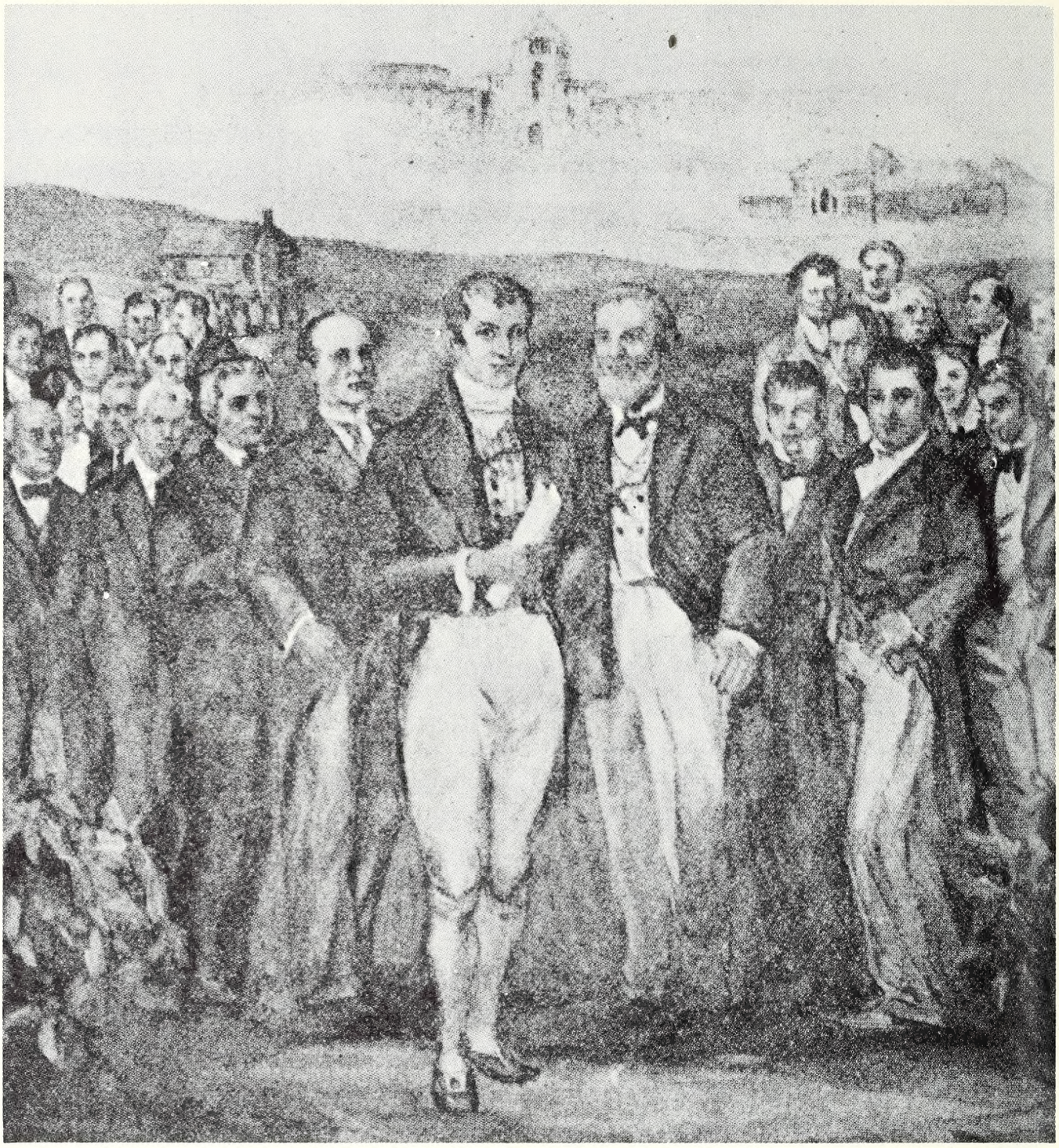
To make his sympathetic treatment more emphatic, Wiley introduces in *Roanoke* an escaped slave, Wild Bill, who is blamed for every murder, robbery, and crime which has been perpetrated in Carolina. The image of Bill is made to correspond with the image of the Negro which was becoming increasingly popular with southerners in the 1840's. This image was the result of fear of Negro insurrection, a vague fear of some nameless crime the Negro would commit, a fear symbo-

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[1] Calvin H. Wiley to S. S. Murkland, June 30, 1865, reprinted in the *Greensboro Patriot*, March 26, 1879.

[2] *Alamance; or, The Great and Final Experiment* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1847). This novel deals with the activities of a group of men and women from the area near Alamance Church in Guilford County against the British and Tories just before the Revolutionary War.

[3] *Roanoke; or, "Where Is Utopia?"* was first published in *Sartain's Union Magazine* of Philadelphia during 1849. It was later published under the title *Life in the South; A Companion to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: T. B. Peterson, 1852). It is hereinafter cited as Wiley, *Roanoke*, but all footnotes refer to the book edition. This novel was based on the half-true, half-fictional stories about early life on North Carolina's Outer Banks and Roanoke Island.



Three leaders in education in North Carolina—Charles B. Aycock, Archibald D. Murphey, and Calvin H. Wiley. From a drawing in *North Carolina: Yesterday and Today*, by Jule B. Warren.

lized by a black face and embodied in the words "the black terror." [4]

The Denmark Vesey Plot of 1822 and the Nat Turner Insurrection of 1831 were about the only material aspects of the "black terror" of any significance. Yet even in the early 1830's Senator George E. Badger of North Carolina indicated that the newspapers of the State went to great lengths to invent stories of slave plots, of the "black terror," when

[4] Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 95, hereinafter cited as Eaton, *Freedom of Thought.*

there was little evidence in fact for the allegations.[5] Nonetheless, the war against this abstract fear gathered impetus.

In 1830 an act was passed by the North Carolina General Assembly prohibiting any person from teaching slaves to read or write.[6] Any free person who did so was liable to indictment, and upon conviction would be fined not less than $100. A free person of color so convicted would be fined, imprisoned or whipped at the discretion of the court—not more than 39 nor less than 20 lashes on the bare back. Any slave convicted of attempting to teach another to read or write would receive 39 lashes.[7] In 1835 at the Constitutional Convention, where the westerners were being freed from the political inequality which they had so long suffered at the hands of the east,[8] the free Negro was disfranchised; Negro ministers were barred from preaching.[9] While freedom and progress came to one group of men, another group of Americans was being condemned to ignorance by the very progress and search for identity of their brothers.

Wiley's description of Wild Bill and of the great fear which all of the characters in *Roanoke* evince of him are calculated to show fully the horror of the "black terror." Once having created this image, Wiley permits it to fall to pieces; he tears the southern conception of the "black terror" to shreds and shows that it is illusion. Thus, Wiley's plea for education for the Negro is implied, never spoken aloud. The explicit statement would come later.

When Walter Tucker, the hero of *Roanoke,* came upon Wild Bill in the forest, Walter immediately informed the savage that he would take him into custody and turn him over to the officials of the colony; he would deliver Bill to justice. Bill answered that so far as he could see, justice was merely the will of the strong exercised to rob and oppress the poor. Bill launched into a long harangue against the white man who had brought the Negro to America as a slave. And if the white man had sinned against the Negro, he had sinned equally against the Indian whose land he had stolen and whose life he had

[5] Eaton, *Freedom of Thought,* 95.

[6] Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 369, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina.*

[7] Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina,* 369.

[8] Charles Clifford Norton, *The Democratic Party in Ante-Bellum North Carolina, 1835-1861* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina [Number 21 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1930), 9-10, hereinafter cited as Norton, *Democratic Party.* Up to this time a county's representation in the House of Commons was not based on the density of its population; since the population of the western counties was significantly larger than that of the eastern counties, westerners felt that they should have more representatives in the House. The convention abolished the old system in the House and introduced proportional representation.

[9] Norton, *Democratic Party,* 9-10.

taken at every possible opportunity—or at every time when so doing satisfied the white man's self-seeking.[10] Walter was stunned by the cogency of this argument. While he tried to marshal his arguments, Bill, who seemed an extremely well-educated Negro, went on with a most telling blow against the morality and religiosity upon which the South prided herself.

> Who is God and where is he?: does he not sit in heaven and mark the unexpressed wailings, the inward prayer and the heart sickness of those thousands of thinking, rational, and immortal souls, whom the white men drive and beat as they do their oxen and their horses. Do you know that the negro, as well as the white man, has an undying spirit that looks to Heaven, and that it will meet its master's as an equal at the bar of God? Master! God only is my Master! [11]

Bill, in his expression of the Negro as a rational creature with a soul, implies that the Negro is capable of salvation, just as is the white man. For Wiley, whose spiritual heritage was Presbyterian,[12] Bill's argument had great meaning. For according to Presbyterian theology, even though God implanted in a man that spark which would mean salvation, unless he could read the Scriptures, God's revealed truth, he could not be saved. In effect, North Carolina laws which prohibited the education of the Negro damned people whom God may have wished to save.

Once having admitted that the Negro had a soul and therefore was capable of salvation, the southerner like Wiley was faced with unanswerable charges of interfering with God's work. Recognition of the grave charge was postponed, and only a few men, men like Wiley, tried in any way to ameliorate the condition of the Negro. Even for Wiley, the Civil War was necessary to make him take any definite action to educate the Negro.

Walter defended himself before Bill's attack on slavery by insisting that it was not the present South that was responsible for the condition of the slaves, instead the fault lay with the original colonists who had begun the slave trade. Walter claimed that it was far better for the Negro to remain in a state of slavery than to be free, because the Negro was not ready for freedom. Wild Bill responded by asking Walter what

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[10] Wiley, *Roanoke*, 79.
[11] Wiley, *Roanoke*, 81.
[12] D. C. Rankin to R. D. W. Connor, July 18, 1902, Calvin H. Wiley Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Wiley Papers. Rankin was Wiley's adopted nephew. In his letter to Connor, Rankin makes it clear that Wiley was thoroughly inculcated with Presbyterian theology from his early boyhood. Wiley says much the same in his *Alamance Church; a Historical Address Delivered at the Dedication of Its Fourth House of Worship, on October 18, 1879* (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton and Company, 1880), 1-3.

he would do if his people revolted against the British, even though the British did not think that Americans were ready for freedom. Walter answered that he would join his countrymen. Wild Bill then asked if the Negro also should have the right to rebellion and Walter said that such a revolt would destroy the country, and, in addition, rebellion was not permissible unless it had a good chance of success.[13] Essentially then Walter did not successfully answer the moral questions implied by Wild Bill concerning the right to rebel.

Walter claimed that a gradual emancipation of the slaves would begin after they had been educated to take care of themselves.[14] But then, of course, came the question: When is this education to take place and where? In answering Bill's questions, Walter avoids explicit measures which might answer this problem of Negro illiteracy which challenged the very wellsprings of Presbyterian theology. Answers would come later from Wiley, vague at first, and then so well defined that his contemporaries in the Civil War generation could not accept them.

A reader left this chapter of *Roanoke* with the impression that the "black terror" was the unreasoned fear by white men of something which did not exist. Walter Tucker's arguments were weak and Wild Bill's were strong. It seemed that Wiley conceded the rationality and moral goodness of the Negro's position. Wild Bill was a good man and he was done great injustice by the citizens who blamed him for all the crime and evil of the community. When he was at last captured, Bill, an innocent man, was hanged for the sins of others.[15] Clearly it seemed that Wiley was accusing his fellow southerners of creating an illusion, the "black terror," and then proceeding to act as if the illusion were real.

When southern newspaper editors read the installment of *Roanoke* in *Sartain's Union Magazine* of August, 1849, which included the chapter on Wild Bill, Wiley's position was called into question. *The Fredericksburg Recorder* held that Wiley's concept of the Negro's position as expressed in Wild Bill's speeches was false and dangerous.[16] W. W. Holden of the *North Carolina Standard* called for Wiley to give an explanation of his position in light of Bill's arguments.[17] Wiley answered that the character of Wild Bill was like that of other escaped fugutive slaves whose exploits were exaggerated by citizens in the com-

[13] Wiley, *Roanoke*, 81.
[14] Wiley, *Roanoke*, 82-85.
[15] Wiley, *Roanoke*, 124.
[16] *The Fredericksburg Recorder* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), quoted in the *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), August 15, 1849, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Standard*.
[17] *North Carolina Standard*, August 15, 1849.

munities where the fugitives existed.[18] So at this moment, at least, Wiley did not back down in his questioning of the concept of the "black terror." "The rumors of Wild Bill's misdeeds were mere rumors, and true to the history of counties where there are fugitives from justice. . . ." [19]

In December, 1849, Wiley in *A Sober View of the Slavery Question by a Citizen of the South* again came to grips with the problem of Negro slavery and Negro education. The conclusions he reached were nearly permanent, but they would change slightly during the years between 1860 and 1863.

Wiley, just as the Walter of *Roanoke*, justified the position of southern slaveowners on the grounds that they had inherited the institution of slavery. As he pointed out, and correctly so, before the 1820's slavery was looked upon by southerners as a curse that would be abolished in time. Wiley then went on to argue:

> Abolition became odious at the south because northern men, by their indiscreet movements, identified it with northern politics and northern sentiment; and, by degrees, its southern friends were driven from its support, until, at last no one south of the Potomac dared to raise his voice in its favor.[20]

Wiley did not go on to indicate that slavery had become profitable since the 1820's. He simply blamed the northerner for the lack of abolitionist sentiment in the South.

But even supposing that the Negroes were set free, Wiley held that they would be unable to care for themselves financially. According to Wiley's thinking the Negro in the South, like the Negro in the North, like the northern laborer, all uneducated, would be helpless before the educated and selfish whites. "And the white, superior in intellect and privileges, would tyranize over them, out-wit them, and oppress them without remorse." [21] It would be equally immoral to send Negroes back to Africa. For they were more Christian and more civilized in America than they could be in Africa. In America their chances of moral progress were great because they were exposed to a higher form of Christian civilization than that in Africa.[22]

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[18] Calvin H. Wiley to Seaton Gales, October 17, 1849, quoted in the *Greensborough Patriot*, November 3, 1849.

[19] Calvin H. Wiley to Seaton Gales, October 17, 1849, quoted in the *Greensborough Patriot*, November 3, 1849.

[20] Calvin H. Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question, by a Citizen of the South* (Greensboro: n.p., 1849), 3, hereinafter cited as Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question.*

[21] Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*, 3.

[22] Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*, 3.

For Wiley, slavery could not be abolished at this time and the North should not interfere with what was a southern problem. The South would solve the problem in good time. Here Wiley used postponement to gloss over the lack of an immediate solution for a major problem. This attitude was characteristic of the optimistic negligence of many other Americans in the middle of the nineteenth century.

> It is a Christian, a civilized and a progressive land, and the owners of slaves are enlightened, civilized and Christian men. If they are committing errors against their own interests, they will be sure to find them out in time; if they are burdening their souls with sin, no others can make attonement for them. Let them alone; leave them to the progress of Christian philosophy, to the lessons of their own teachers and preachers; to the increasing light of those peaceful and mighty truths which are destined to purify from oppression, crime, and suffering the whole world. . . .[23]

Wiley assumed that Christian progress would continue to come to America, the South, and North Carolina. Christian civilization in the South was different from that in the North, but it was equally good in God's eyes. Both sections of the country had certain faults which must eventually be corrected if progress was to continue. The problem of Negro slavery and Negro education in the South would be corrected, not by northern laws or agitation, but by southern action.[24]

Just as a white man had to be educated so that he might find a position in society appropriate to his abilities, and in so doing not sin against other men through overambition,[25] so also the Negro must be educated before he could be made free. This education would be an attempt to mold the Negro's passions and his mind; but Wiley held that the education of the Negro would be quite different in its beginnings from that of the white man. There were good reasons for this.

> The heart and the mind are to be reached, and their better qualities developed by processes differing according to the situation, capabilities and character of the scholar. A race so totally depraved as to have no sense of moral responsibility, no apprehension of a superintending Deity, and no consciousness of an immortal soul within, could hardly be taught by those means which are in vogue among civilized, refined, and Christian nations; would hardly appreciate those gentle appeals and restrictions which are applied to natures that for centuries on centuries have been advancing

[23] Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*, 3.
[24] Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*, 1.
[25] Calvin H. Wiley, *An Address Delivered Before the Two Literary Societies of Wake Forest College on the 12th of June, 1845, at the Solicitation of the Euzelian Society* (Raleigh: North Carolina Standard, 1845), hereinafter cited as Wiley, *An Address, Wake Forest College.*

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upward from a starting point more elevated than that which is now occupied by the negroes of Africa.[26]

Wiley believed that the Negro did have a soul, could be educated, and, in fact, should be educated. But in the 1840's and 1850's he made no concrete suggestion for the education of the Negro in North Carolina. He offered another solution. He argued that Negro slavery should be permitted in territories lately annexed from Mexico. White population and Negro population in the new territories would be approximately equal, Wiley thought. Thus, the Negro would be more exposed to the civilizing, Christianizing influence; in this wilderness land white and Negro would become more nearly social equals because of their mutual dependence upon each other for survival. In some way, but Wiley never explained how, the slaves would become landowners, and in time the problem of slavery and education for the slaves would be solved.[27]

The difficulty with Wiley's solution for these problems is that it is vague, almost visionary. There is no mention made of the means by which the Negro would be freed in the West, no system for his education, no law which would permit him to hold property. All of this was postponed, just as a solution to the problem of the American Indian had always been postponed. Wiley, in his assurance that things would be worked out eventually, had fallen prey to that same habit which was characteristic of other Americans who faced these same problems. So by December of 1849, just four months after the Wild Bill chapter appeared in print, Wiley seemed to give up the soul and the cause of Wild Bill for the arguments of the immature Walter. Though he tried to push the problem of the Negro aside for the next 12 years, still it haunted him.

There runs throughout the argument of *A Sober View of the Slavery Question* the idea that, as Americans move westward, their problems will resolve themselves. Wiley held that man was reformable, that the world was capable of being brought by man with God's aid to some kind of near perfection. This he made abundantly clear in *Roanoke.* But Wiley's optimism led him even further. In an address before the Greensboro Guards on February 22, 1851, Wiley enunciated what was to be his philosophy of history, his interpretation of the progress of Christian civilization.

Wiley's theory was that man had been banished from Eden bearing a heavy burden of sin. As the race of man moved westward, it was

[26] Wiley, *An Address, Wake Forest College,* 1-2.
[27] Wiley, *An Address, Wake Forest College,* 4-5.

chastened and purified by Providence. The Deity, in fact, drove man westward away from the source of his great crime; so it happened that in the course of their purification men were driven from the European shore to the American shore.

Still onward they went in their pilgrimage, forbid to look backward or turn back, the Avenger pursuing at their heels, but they carried the Covenant with them and they often stopped to read, and scan and study its promises.

. . . . . .

Once to the west shore of Europe—they were driven on by the spirit of Cain and came west to America. But the oppressor still pursued and overtook them; and they looked again to be driven westward to find their champion and their resting place. But he arose in their midst; and they prepared to stand their ground and to fight here the battle of liberty and right.[28]

The oppressor in this case was England; the champion was George Washington.

Americans had stood their ground and won their war for independence. According to Wiley the greatest lesson they had learned was one which Cain had neglected. Americans were their brothers' keepers, guardians. So long as they would remember this lesson, they would continue their march westward toward the return to Eden.[29] In a short story written during 1851 Wiley again alluded to this lesson, to the mission of America, to the danger involved in the westward march.

The humble Regulators have spread their leaven over thirteen free and happy states, and far beyond those western hills, away in the valleys of the west, then a howling Wilderness, those sons of Liberty, are descending carrying light, and the freedom, and civilization, toward the shores of the Pacific. . . .

. . . . . .

But Cains will be born, fraternal strife will arise and from the blood of the first brother Slain in anger will spring a curse, whose awful effects will follow you from generation to generation, even while this mountain stands. Strain your eyes to the West—far, far out there is the Pacific, and beyond is the paternal mansion of our race. It is a beautiful and glorious Country; and yet since the spilling of the blood of Abel, it has not ceased

[28] Calvin H. Wiley, "An Address Delivered Before the Greensboro Guards," February 22, 1851, quoted in *The Weekly Raleigh Register, and North Carolina Gazette*, April 23, 1851, hereinafter cited as Wiley, "Greensboro Guards Address."

[29] Wiley, "Greensboro Guards Address."

to be a land of gloom and strife, of bloodshed and terror. Oh! that you would learn wisdom from the past.[30]

Wiley here admonished his citizen southerners, whose sympathy toward secession was growing, that if in seeking their own self-interest they should break with their brothers, should in fact go to war for their own selfish reasons then God's work and His lesson for Americans, whom He had chosen as His saved, would be upset. So long as Americans could compromise their conflicts, their journey westward toward their goal in the east would prosper. In building God's world, Americans would continue to succeed if only they would continue to reform themselves.

Still we can make a gradual progress toward liberty and happiness; and these are to be found in our entire subjugation of our bad passions and brutal propensities.[31]

Wiley imagined Americans to be of a higher morality than Europeans and others, since Americans had progressed farther west than had any other civilization.

And they who have lingered there [in Europe] are still branded with the marks of Cain—death, moral death, still hovers over them and the dreadful doom pronounced on the first sinning man and woman, has with aggravated horrors, been their constant portion.[32]

As Wiley indicated in *Alamance* and *Roanoke,* democracy was the highest form of government that had yet been attained by men. It was natural that America, being God's favored nation, should have a government within whose bounds the citizen was most free and yet where the component parts of the society were most unified. This combination, in the face of God's blessing, made America "an over match for any human force."[33] Americans had no external force to fear. This was a point that Wiley made time after time; he understood that the challenge would come from within the "mighty heart."[34] America was destined to success. So too were North Carolina and the South, if only the challenge could be met. And what was the challenge? It was, of course, the condition of the Negro and the South's relationship to the North as a consequence of this condition.

[30] Calvin H. Wiley, "Redwood the Regulator; or, The Wizard of the Pilot," *The Weekly Post* (Raleigh), December 13, 1851, hereinafter cited as Wiley, "Redwood the Regulator."
[31] Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question,* 1.
[32] Wiley, "Greensboro Guards Address."
[33] Wiley, "Greensboro Guards Address."
[34] Wiley, "Greensboro Guards Address."

When Calvin Wiley married Mittie Towles, the daughter of a prosperous Raleigh merchant, in the spring of 1862, he had no idea that the War would be a long or hard one.[35] He presumed, as did so many others around him, that the invading armies would give up their folly and return to the barren North from whence they had come. Writing to John Cunningham in June, 1862, in response to Cunningham's question as to whether it would be wise to invest in Confederate bonds, Wiley answered that Cunningham should invest in whatever would return the greatest profit. The War would not continue much longer, and the Confederate government seemed to have all the support it needed.[36]

But as the summer of 1863 passed and with its passing came Lee's heavy losses at Gettysburg and Bragg's defeat at Chickamauga, it became increasingly apparent to Wiley that his reading of the South's destiny, his interpretation of North Carolina's development through God's medium of war, needed qualification. The Lord, God of Battles, did not visit these losses on the South without reason. In his book *Scriptural Views of National Trials: or, The True Road to the Independence and Peace of the Confederate States of America,* published in the late fall of 1863, Wiley discussed the calamity that had befallen the South. The conclusions he reached were of no small significance for his view of the Negro.

The admitted purpose of the book was to examine the reasons why the War was lasting so long and why the South was suffering so.[37] Wiley attempted to relate the revealed truth of God to the development of the War to answer these questions. He claimed that he took up this task because the churches of the State and of the South had not made it their responsibility to do so. Later in the book he made explicit what was only implied in his opening pages.

> The chief energies of the church are devoted to the founding of seminaries, the construction and ornamentation of houses of worship, and the writing of learned and polished essays for critical audiences; and while the vast majority of the human race are sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, a Church, great in numbers, wealth and education, considers that

[35] In his "Address to the People of North Carolina," July 9, 1861, Wiley showed a considerable change from the position he had taken in "Redwood the Regulator" concerning "fraternal strife." By July, 1861, he contended that God had brought about the War Between the States as an instrument by which the South might free itself from the North and thus become more prosperous, spiritually and materially, than otherwise would be the case. Earlier in "Redwood the Regulator" and in *A Sober View of the Slavery Question,* he had argued against war.

[36] Calvin H. Wiley to John W. Cunningham, June 5, 1862, John W. Cunningham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[37] Calvin H. Wiley, *Scriptural Views of National Trials; or, The True Road to the Independence and Peace of the Confederate States of America* (Greensboro: Sterling, Campbell and Albright, 1863), 13, hereinafter cited as Wiley, *Scriptural Views.*

it is performing its mission to a dying world by assembling every Sabbath in its costly and luxurious temples. . . .[38]

He attacked the fatalism which he saw all around him. Although men seemed to understand that there was some deeper meaning underlying the War than the obvious political issues involved, no one seemed willing to explore more deeply into the causes of the War. It was assumed that the causes of the War were inexplicable; and further, it was assumed that men could do nothing to end the war.[39]

Wiley argued that to men who had fallen into sin or who had never been educated to know religious truth, God's ways seemed inscrutable. These men did not understand God's commandments because they were blinded by sin. But any man, providing that he had had the education, could understand God's ways.

There is no mystery to any of those things: the reasons and principles of all God's dealings with us are plainly stated, and belong to us and to our children.[40]

The point Wiley made was that the southern churches had neglected their duty to help men understand God's ways and His commandments; they had failed to educate the people of the South. Thus War continued with no chance for abatement.

All the States of the South potentially had brilliant destinies to fulfill, "but their trials are caused by the fact that they are wholly unfit for their coming fate, and so refractory that they will not be taught until the rod had been unsparingly used." [41] The trials could not cease until the southern States profited from them. This War was not just a case of God punishing a South that had sinned; it was a case of God continuing the punishment of His children until they recognized their sin and ceased to commit it. It would be futile to pray to God and ask Him to stop the War; it would be equally useless to try to get aid from the European powers. No matter what the South did, until she recognized her sins and repented the bloodshed would continue.[42]

To Wiley the South's great sin, the sin which she had not recognized, or had recognized and not dared repent of, was her treatment of the Negro. Wiley found a way to blame the North, at least in part, for this.

[38] Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 85.
[39] Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 13.
[40] Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 31.
[41] Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 70-72.
[42] Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 118.

Reforms which the conscience of the whole Church felt were demanded, sternly demanded by the immutable Love of God, were adjourned for the reason that an attempt to effect them would be considered as a triumph to the free soilers; and thus while we could face the sneers of the whole world in defending our interest, we could not endure the gibes of fanatics in the prosecution of our duties.[43]

Southern churchmen, looking to the North, and hearing the "socialists" and the "free lovers" and the other infidels who paraded as abolitionists, inferred that the full enforcement of the Bible doctrine regarding slavery would be a triumph for the enemies of the Bible.[44]

But Wiley held that it was the duty of the church to point out to the State that laws must be made requiring the lawful marriage of Negroes. Negroes must be permitted to hear the word of God on the Sabbath. Most important of all, until the Negro was given access to the Gospel, through education, and thus given the opportunity to save his soul, the War would continue.[45]

Wiley's *Scriptural Views of National Trials* was published at a time when North Carolinians were seeking an answer to the problem of what part they were to play in the world. The problems and suffering resulting from the War made them ask why all of this should be happening to them. Wiley's answer was optimistic in that it assured men that North Carolina's destiny was not to be continued suffering; it gave men the hope for which they had sought. By the spring of 1864, Wiley had sold more than 4,000 copies of his book in North Carolina.[46] Thomas Willie wrote to his nephew: "It is pretty well seasoned with the salt of Presbyterianism, but to this I do not object, for these old Scotch Presbyterians can out-fight and out-pray any people on the face of the earth." [47]

Wiley in 1849 in *A Sober View of the Slavery Question* had argued that the Negro must be educated if Christian progress were to continue. Now, in the last years of the War, Wiley justified the education of the Negro in even stronger religious terms. He was certain that without the reform of slavery, the South would suffer even greater hardships than those which had already prostrated her. For although people might read his book and nod their agreement, no one was willing to

[43] Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 189.
[44] Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 190.
[45] Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 192-197.
[46] W. M. Kilpatrick to Calvin H. Wiley, May 7, 1864, Wiley Papers. See also, J. Armstrong to Calvin H. Wiley, May 30, 1864, Wiley Papers.
[47] Thomas Willie to Calvin H. Wiley, June 11, 1864, Wiley Papers.

introduce concrete legislation which would ameliorate the Negro's condition—not even Wiley himself.[48]

In a letter which appeared in the *North Carolina Standard,* June 30, 1865, Wiley again attacked the problem of the southerner's duty to the Negro.[49] He stated that the North Carolina Negro was but a few steps removed from "the gloomy barbarism of Africa." This condition was due to State laws which had prohibited the education of the Negro. Wiley held that North Carolinians and all Christians had a moral duty to educate the Negro, just as Americans had the same duty to send missionaries abroad to spread Christianity. The two were one and the same thing. But the whites of the slave State were at a particular advantage because the Negroes remained among them; there was no need to travel in this missionary activity.

The political agitations which God had caused to occur during the past four years were warnings to the South. Slavery had been abolished in one swift stroke without the permission of the South. Yet God had left the Negro among the southerners so that the white men would have the opportunity to redeem themselves.

> He, God, has left the negroes in the midst of their former masters, almost wholly dependent on them for even the most elementary instruction; a docile and helpless people, forming as it were a great mass of shapeless and plastic clay, to test the artistic skill and energy of a race which claims that the world has never done it justice.[50]

There was another reason for educating the Negro. Always in the past the Negro had looked to the white man for leadership. If the newly freed Negro were completely neglected by his former master, he would wander aimlessly, becoming a public nuisance and perhaps even a threat to property rights of landowners. It was important that Negroes be brought into schools where they could be educated to see their place in society, which would naturally be socially inferior to that of the white man. This would provide much the same harmony between the races which had existed before emancipation. The white man would remain respected and his property safe.[51]

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[48] Wiley was not the only southern churchman and educator who spoke in favor of reforming the slave codes during this period. Wiley's tutor in theology, Reverend Eli W. Caruthers of Alamance Church, in 1861 had told his parish that unless the slave laws were reformed the South would be defeated. Caruthers was promptly dismissed from his charge. See John Spencer Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1898), 57-60, and Bell I. Wiley, "The Movement to Humanize the Institution of Slavery during the Confederacy," *Emory University Quarterly,* V (December, 1949), 208-219.

[49] Calvin H. Wiley to S. S. Murkland, *North Carolina Standard,* June 30, 1865, quoted in *The Observer* (Raleigh), February 15, 1878, hereinafter cited as *The Observer.*

[50] Wiley to Murkland, *The Observer,* February 15, 1878.

[51] Wiley to Murkland, *The Observer,* February 15, 1878.

Wiley suggested that the excitement which characterized State politics should not blind North Carolinians to the fact that if they did not establish educational facilities for the Negroes then northerners might come who would. These foreign teachers would be apt to imbue the Negro with hatred for the South and southern institutions. The result would be the existence of an alien race, the Negro among the whites. Every Negro in North Carolina should be brought into a school.

> The instruction must comprehend all that the blacks need to know to enable them to be self supporting, and to understand the great principles which concern their temporal and eternal welfare; and while the white race is thus engaged it will be destroying the seed beds of social and moral pestilence, will entitle itself to and will receive the lasting respect and deference of the blacks, will be improving and elevating itself, and will be effectually blocking the way of false philanthropists, demagogues, and the whole pestiferous brood of selfish agitators.[52]

The Negroes would have their own schools. There was no religious principle which dictated that white and black students mix. Wiley was unequivocably dedicated to the segregated school, saying that any attempt at mixing the student population "would be productive of unmitigated evil."[53]

In a letter Wiley had written to Governor Zebulon B. Vance during the previous winter, he had made the same theological points, emphasizing the white man's religious duty to reform slavery and educate the Negro. Wiley also expressed the opinion that the Negro must not be given social equality with the white. It was essential to the preservation of the social system of the State that Negroes not be used in the army during these last days of the War. For this could result in a coalition of the Negro and the lower white classes against the social structure that existed.

> The negroes, in our country, & the meanest class of white people, would constitute a majority; & it would be impossible in such a community to have freedom, even if there were no ambitious scoundrels to take advantage of this state of Society.[54]

If the Negro could be educated immediately to see his place in society, there would be no reason for the class structure of society to become upset.

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[52] Wiley to Murkland, *The Observer*, February 15, 1878.
[53] Wiley to Murkland, *The Observer*, February 15, 1878.
[54] "Calvin H. Wiley [to Governor Zebulon B. Vance] on the Evils of Slavery and the Causes of the Civil War," in Historical Notes, edited by D. L. Corbitt, *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (October, 1926), 645-646, hereinafter cited as Wiley to Vance, Historical Notes.

It is obvious that Wiley spoke as a conservative rather than as a liberal. He wanted education for the Negro to satisfy God's commandments, yes, but also he wanted education of the Negro so that the class structure of the State would remain as it had been in the past. Wiley had no intention of giving the Negro political or social equality; this was the farthest thing from his mind in 1865.[55] He was trying to save the old State society while making the appropriate repentance before God and the North. He was extremely fearful lest something should happen to elevate the Negro to a position from which he could dictate the terms of southern life. Once the Negro had been shown through education his proper place in society, the principal problems which the State and the South faced would be resolved. There would be no social upheaval.[56]

Vance replied that he had long entertained views similar to those held by Wiley concerning the reform of slavery and the education of the Negro. But he could see no means, with the financial condition of the State in such a poor way, and with the great lack of man power, for implementing a system of Negro education.[57]

Wiley's interest in the future of the Negro and in the organization of North Carolina society was also expressed just after the close of the War. He learned that his friend, John A. Gilmer, would go North as a member of the North Carolina Peace Commission which was to discuss the reconstruction of the State with President Andrew Johnson. On May 5, 1865, in a letter to Gilmer, Wiley offered his advice as to how the negotiations should be carried on and what conditions the State should ask for.

He said that the federal government should be persuaded that North Carolina left the Union only reluctantly and would be happy to return. If the State were treated with kindness and understanding, the other South Atlantic States would see this and would follow the presidential plan for reconstruction quickly; thus the Union and these States could be bound together by peaceful means rather than by the brutal subjugation of each State by an army of occupation.[58]

The main condition which had to be observed, if there was to be a speedy and effective return of the State to the Union, was that the Negroes should not be freed immediately.

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[55] Wiley to Vance, Historical Notes, 642-648, *passim.*
[56] Wiley to Vance, Historical Notes, 642-648, *passim.*
[57] Governor Zebulon B. Vance to Calvin H. Wiley, February 3, 1865, Wiley Papers.
[58] Calvin H. Wiley to J. A. Gilmer, May 5, 1865, from the private collection in possession of Mary C. Wiley, Winston-Salem, hereinafter cited as Wiley to Gilmer, Mary C. Wiley Collection.

Even under the present circumstances emancipation is dangerous: and I *know* (from conversation with the blacks, or as anyone might imagine) the negroes say that they ought to have lands and stock from their former owners; and as they constitute such a large part of our population, there is danger of conflict.[59]

Wiley thought that emancipation of the Negro population at this time, while it was ignorant and not able to care for itself, would cause chaos in society. It was unfair to the Negro to put him into a position where he must either steal or starve. Since most of the Negroes owned no property, and since industry and agriculture had been disrupted by the War, the free Negroes would have no source of sustenance.[60]

The result of such a condition would be warfare between the freed Negroes and their former masters which would devastate the State. Wiley's plan was that the Negroes remain bound to their present masters for a period of five years. During this period, the Negroes would be paid for their labor according to wage schedules set by the federal authorities. Meanwhile, schools could be established for the Negroes to give them the rudiments of learning which would enable them to care for themselves when their time of final emanicipation came.[61] In this way the Negroes would be given an opportunity to make themselves useful in rebuilding the South.

The great purpose is to be able to hold the blacks to wholesome service until the country is reduced to order, or until the blacks can make something to start on. The negroes, having freedom before them at a set time, will be eager to make all they can, thus benefiting themselves and the country, and in the meantime we can have time to see if a place cannot be procured, a territory in the South, on which they or a considerable part of them can be settled to themselves.[62]

Wiley warned Gilmer to be careful not to cause the President to think that this plan was merely a ruse by which the slaveowners wished to maintain slavery in the South. Apparently Wiley did not understand that Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, was law, and that this law embodied a northern sentiment which was not subject to reconsideration. Gilmer did not mention this subject to the President.[63] The Negroes of North Carolina remained free and uneducated.

[59] Wiley to Gilmer, May 5, 1865, Mary C. Wiley Collection.
[60] Wiley to Gilmer, May 5, 1865, Mary C. Wiley Collection.
[61] Wiley to Gilmer, May 5, 1865, Mary C. Wiley Collection.
[62] Wiley to Gilmer, Mary C. Wiley Collection. Wiley himself owned five adult slaves. His daughter, Mary C. Wiley, relates that he taught these slaves to read, even though it was against the law. Interview with Mary C. Wiley, July 13, 1959.
[63] J. A. Gilmer to Calvin H. Wiley, July 3, 1865, Mary C. Wiley Collection.

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After the War and preceding the advent of the Radicals in the State, Wiley worked for the restoration of the common school system which he had built. But he also continued his dedication to establishing schools for the Negro.[64] Opposition immediately grew up to challenge Wiley's stand. This opposition was led by former Governor William A. Graham and Governor Jonathan Worth. Worth pointed out that there simply was not enough money available to establish schools for both white and Negro children. To establish schools only for the white population would probably bring down the wrath of the North; for this reason it would be best to postpone the restoration of the common schools.[65]

There was another reason for the reluctance of these leaders to establish the schools. Wiley had claimed that unless the State established education for both the Negro and the white child, northern influences would seek to fill the teaching positions in the now empty schoolhouses with northern teachers. The effect of these "foreign" teachers would be deleterious to the structure of the State's social life. Others feared that if the machinery for the schools were established, then northern interests could take it over by substituting their own teachers for the State's teachers. The very existence of the common school organization would encourage northern reformers to turn it to their own ends.[66]

Worth turned Wiley's arguments for the common schools against him. Not only could the machinery of the common schools be used by northern reformers to inculcate harmful ideas in southern white children, but even worse, Negroes might be taught that they were the social and political equals of the white southerners. If anything would prove a chaotic influence against the harmonious structure of southern society, it would be this. The situation was one that prominent North Carolinians were not willing to risk.[67]

To Wiley it appeared that these men, who were essentially good men interested in the welfare of the State, overlooked the lesson that the War should have taught them. By neglecting the Negro's education, they were guilty of the same sin of omission that in large part had been responsible for God's chastening of the South.[68] Nevertheless, Wiley was unsuccessful in his efforts; whatever education there would be in the years immediately succeeding the War would be fostered by the Radicals.

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[64] "Governor's Message," *Executive and Legislative Documents of the State of North Carolina, 1865-1866,* Appendix.

[65] Jonathan Worth to W. A. Graham, January 12, 1866, W. A. Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers.

[66] W. A. Graham to Calvin H. Wiley, February 12, 1866, Wiley Papers.

[67] Jonathan Worth to W. A. Graham, January 12, 1866, Graham Papers.

[68] J. Cunningham to Calvin H. Wiley, April 16, 1866, Mary C. Wiley Collection.

A major problem which confronted Wiley in his personal life as well as in his work in building a common school system was that of resolving the apparent conflict between the American value for success and the demands of the Christian ethic.[69] He held that there should be no conflict between the Christian's temporal life and his spiritual life; the two were one. The building of a materially prosperous America was a Christian duty.[70] Wiley objected to the preoccupation which some Americans exhibited for material gain in itself; such preoccupation led men to attribute their prosperity to their own efforts alone rather than to the divine justice of God. When men forgot God they became overambitious, sinning against their brothers in the attempt to become financially successful.

The need for the reformation of slavery was a problem which brought Wiley himself face to face with the conflict between the demands of the secular and spiritual life; this conflict was not easily resolved. In 1849 he had expressed the view that the Negro, because he did have a soul, must be taught to read so that he might have access to the Gospel and thus to salvation.[71] Although Wiley believed in the spiritual imperative dictated by the Negro's condition, he knew it would be political suicide to agitate such a question during his early years as superintendent.

Expediency was Wiley's guide during these years. To postpone the problem was more satisfactory than to face it and attempt to solve it while maintaining a career. When it became politically feasible for him to agitate for the education of the Negro and for the reformation of the institution of slavery, Wiley did so. After 1863 Wiley was dedicated to the spiritual, if not the social, uplifting of the Negro. But it was the War—the South's great losses and the need to explain these losses—that enabled Wiley to take his stand. The resolution of the conflict between the Christian ethic and the American success myth was, in this instance, as much a matter of circumstance as of Wiley's premeditation.

It was not only the conviction held by some North Carolinians that the War was God's chastening that gave Wiley the opportunity to express his position on the treatment of the Negroes; it was also their fear that unless the Negroes were placed in schools after the War they would become a milling, plundering race that would upset the social and political stability of the State. If the Negroes' education were left

[69] Wiley, *An Address, Wake Forest College*, 26. See also, Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 95.
[70] Wiley, *An Address, Wake Forest College*, 26.
[71] Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*, 3.

to the northerners, they would be imbued with social ideas that would make the old social order impossible. And certainly Wiley was a defender of the old order. Thus he could speak on a major problem which had troubled him since the late 1840's; he could solve the conflict which it had posed. Yet the solution was reached only after the stage had been set by destiny.

It was almost 35 years after the problem of the Negro and education for the Negro began to trouble Wiley that he was among those who established at Winston a school for Negroes.[72] In the spring of 1883, after continual prodding by Wiley, the voters of Winston agreed to tax themselves for the support of two graded schools, one for white children and the other for Negroes. Wiley was chosen chairman of the five commissioners elected to establish and supervise the schools.[73] He traveled north to Philadelphia to secure additional funds.[74] Wiley did not seek any reward of particular recognition for this last educational accomplishment. His daughter, Mary C. Wiley, has said that his reward came while he was observing the conduct of a class of Negro children in their graded school at Winston. Pointing to the man standing in the doorway of the classroom, the teacher asked, "Who is that man?" Her class replied, "Dat's de supintindent." [75] The irony was that Wiley had not been Superintendent of the Common Schools for 20-odd years.

[72] From 1869 to 1874, Wiley did missionary work for the American Bible Society in Tennessee. In 1874 he became the Society's superintendent for North Carolina and South Carolina and established his home at Winston. Interview with Mary C. Wiley, July 13, 1959.

[73] *The Union Republican* (Winston-Salem), April 23, 1883.

[74] Interview with Mary C. Wiley, July 13, 1959.

[75] Interview with Mary C. Wiley, July 13, 1959.

THE WILMINGTON COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY AND THE LOYALIST RISING OF FEBRUARY, 1776

By Laura Page Frech *

North Carolinians know how important the Battle of Moores Creek was to the American cause in 1776. Not only was Wilmington saved from occupation by loyal Highlanders and British troops, but the ministry and Governor Josiah Martin were forced to give up their plan to put an early end to the rebellion by calling forth the Loyalists of North Carolina. The defeat of the Tories by James Moore, Richard Caswell, and Alexander Lillington and their men has been regarded as a significant event of the American Revolution.

When viewed as a result rather than as a cause, however, the Highland rising at Cross Creek in February, 1776, looms as a symbol of failure. Much has been written about possible causes for the Highlanders' loyalty to the British Crown, but little has been said about the failure of the rebel committees of public safety along the Cape Fear River to prevent the rising of the clans. For even though the Highlanders were strongly inclined to remain loyal to Britain and the Regulators were relentlessly hostile toward the Tidewater planters who were directing the Revolution in North Carolina, the skirmish between Whigs and Tories at the bridge over Moores Creek was not inevitable.

During the final months of 1775 the Committee of Safety of the Wilmington-New Hanover area and the Brunswick Committee were entrusted with the responsibility of keeping Governor Martin quarantined aboard his floating asylum off Cape Fear. Had they been able to prevent his sending messages and receiving visitors, the Cross Creek rising might never have taken place. In December, 1775, however, Samuel Johnston wrote that Martin had managed to communicate with the Regulators, who had become insolent. "The Committees below have been too remiss," he complained.[1]

Johnston's charge was all too accurate. Although the Wilmington Committee of Safety knew from an early date of Governor Martin's

* Mrs. Frech is a teacher at Garinger High School in Charlotte.

[1] Samuel Johnston to Joseph Hewes, December 21, 1775, Hayes Collection (transcripts), State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Hayes Collection.

plan to raise loyal troops in the back country, Tories who were aiding him remained at liberty in the town as late as February, 1776. In June, 1775, several Highland leaders came through Wilmington en route to Fort Johnston to ask the Governor for arms and commissions to raise troops.[2] On July 3 the Committee decided to write to Allan Macdonald, husband of the Scottish heroine, Flora Macdonald, to ask whether it was true that he had told Governor Martin he would raise troops.[3] There is no record that Macdonald replied to the Committee's request.

On July 7 the Wilmington Committee considered the case of James Hepburn of Cumberland County, who was accused of deriding the safety committees and spreading the rumor that the King had hired 50,000 Russians to subdue the Americans. Hepburn had been to see the Governor, and it was "said, and universally believed," that he and others had gone "to offer their services to the said Governor, and to obtain his orders for raising mercenaries. . . ."[4] The Committee had heard also that Hepburn had applied to the Cumberland County Committee for permission to raise a company of militia and then had declared that he had intended to act against the American cause. Whether the Cumberland Committee was acting in the interest of the American cause at this time is not clear. Cumberland County contained many Tories, and at least one member of its safety committee, Farquard Campbell, joined the Loyalists at Cross Creek in February, 1776. The fact that the Wilmington Committee members felt called upon to act would indicate that they thought their Cumberland counterpart unreliable. The Wilmington group drew up a resolution labeling Hepburn "inimical to the liberties of his country and the common cause of America. . . ."[5] Within a month he wrote, according to the Committee's "Proceedings," begging to be "restored again to the favor of the public."[6] Although he was a delegate to the Provincial Convention which met in August, 1775, Hepburn too was a leader in the Loyalist rising the following February.

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[2] Evangeline Walker Andrews (ed.), with the collaboration of Charles McLean Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774-1776*, by Janet Schaw (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1922), 193, hereinafter cited as Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*.

[3] Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, July 3, 1775, William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), X, 65, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

[4] Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, July 7, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial* Records, X, 72-73.

[5] Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, July 7, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 72-73.

[6] Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, August 8, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 141.

Throughout June and July the Wilmington and New Bern committees intercepted letters between Governor Martin and General Thomas Gage at Boston and between Martin and the back-country Loyalists. By July 31 the Wilmington Committee was able to state:

> . . . we have learned from undoubted authority, that Governor Martin intends going into the back country, to collect a number of men, for the purpose of disturbing the internal peace of this province—[7]

In its efforts to control Tories and to deal with Governor Martin, the Wilmington Committee had the benefit of the advice and examples of other committees, especially of the one at New Bern, but apparently was not able to profit thereby. The New Bern Safety Committee, seeing clearly where the focal point of the danger lay, decreed early that no one should communicate with the Governor either "personally, or by letter. . . ." On July 10 the Wilmington Committee issued a similar order, stating that no one could communicate with Martin without permission,[8] but evidently lacked the will and power to execute it. Although the committees on the coast made communication difficult for Martin, they did not succeed in achieving their purpose, as the Cross Creek rising attests.

Samuel Johnston wrote from Edenton on July 21, 1775, to warn the Wilmington Committee that two British officers had debarked there and had gone on to New Bern. The Edenton Committee had told the New Bern one to take them, but should the officers escape, the responsibility would fall on Wilmington. Johnston wrote:

> They pretend they are on a visit to some of their countrymen on your river but I think there is reason to suspect their errand of a base nature. . . . I doubt not the prudence of the Gentlemen with you will have suggested the necessity of securing the Highlanders and that proper measures have been adopted for that purpose.[9]

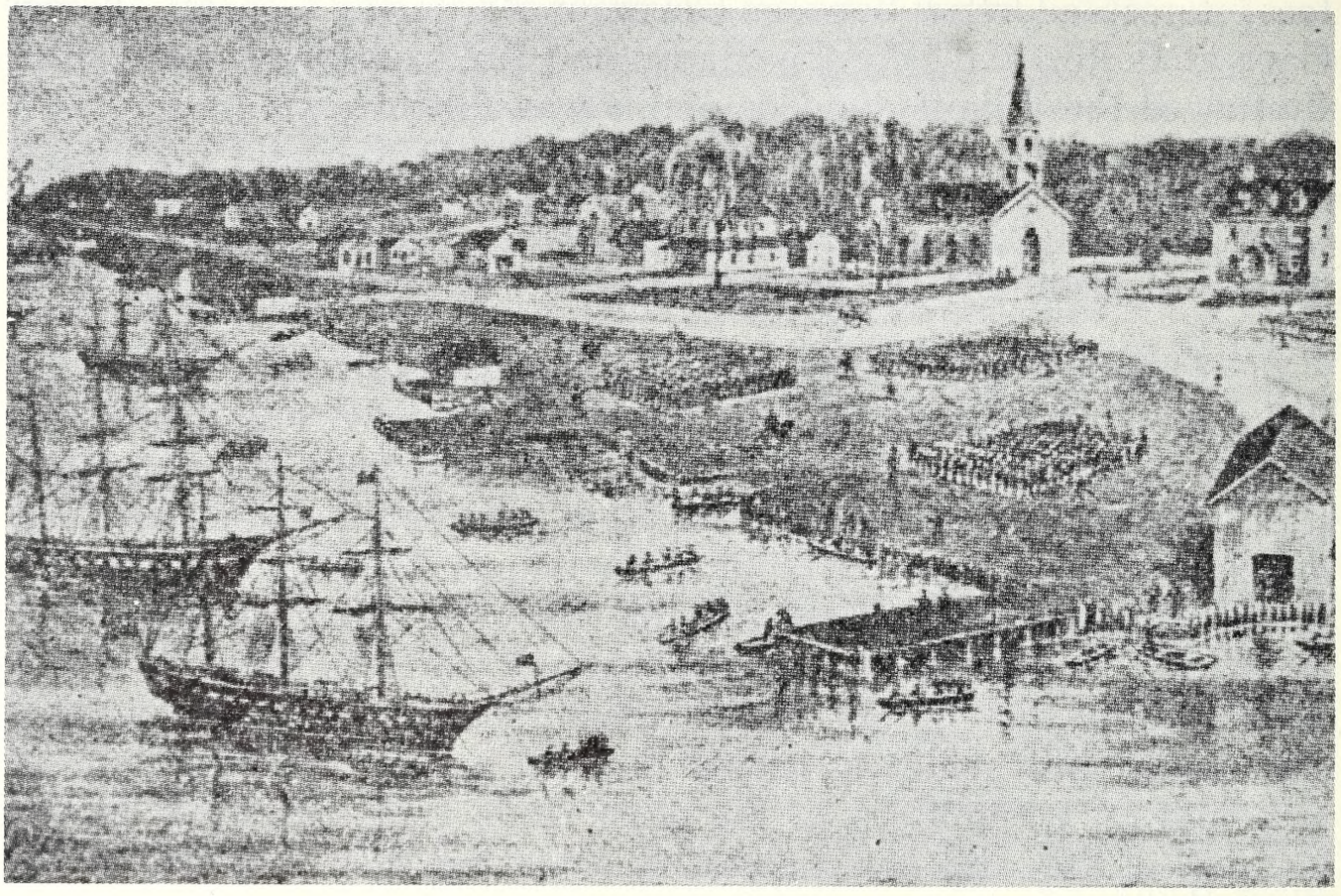
Major Donald Macdonald and Captain Donald McLeod, who had indeed been sent from Boston to recruit loyal troops, went into the back country without visiting Wilmington and remained there until February as guests of the Highland leaders.

During late 1775 and early 1776 Governor Martin, aboard the royal warships off Cape Fear, maintained contact with such Wilmington

[7] Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, July 31, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 124.

[8] Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, July 10, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 87.

[9] Samuel Johnston to the Committee at Wilmington, July 21, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 117.



Cape Fear patriots resist the landing of stamps at Brunswick. From *Makers of North Carolina History*, by R. D. W. Connor.

Loyalists as Alex McLean, Samuel Campbell, Robert Hogg, William McTier, and perhaps John Slingsby, to say nothing of the Highlanders from the upper Cape Fear. McLean was the key figure in the intelligence system set up to co-ordinate the rising of the loyal in the back country with the arrival of the British troops which were to sail from Ireland early in December. Samuel and William Campbell and their partner, Robert Hogg, seem to have been the chief suppliers of provisions to the sloops-of-war "Cruizer" and "Scorpion" during their long vigil. After the War William McTier, also a merchant, told the Loyalist Claims Commission set up by the Crown that he had carried messages for Martin.[10]

Alex McLean, however, was the man Governor Martin considered his chief agent. A half-pay British officer, he had arrived in Wilmington in February, 1775, and had married a local girl.[11] After Governor

[10] William Mactier folder, Loyalist Claims, Audit Office Papers, 1765-1790, British Public Record Office, English Records (transcripts), State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Loyalist Claims. The Highlanders' names are spelled a variety of way throughout the documents in the *Colonial Records* and in the Loyalist Claims papers.

[11] Nina Moore Tiffany (ed.), assisted by Susan I. Leslie, *Letters of James Murray, Loyalist* (Boston, Massachusetts: Privately printed, 1901). 240.

Martin arrived at Fort Johnston in June, having fled his palace at New Bern, McLean assisted him for a few weeks in preparing his proclamations.[12] Evidently he was not afraid to speak out for the King, for on August 25 the Wilmington Safety Committee ordered McLean to recant within 30 days or leave the province.[13] Since other safety committees usually allowed suspected Tories less than 24 hours to recant, the Wilmington Committee's action seems remarkably lenient. Mrs. Elizabeth Catherine DeRosset, a Loyalist member of a prominent Cape Fear family, wrote to John Burgwyn in England that McLean spoke "such things as are disagreeable to the people" and that his friends wished he would leave.[14] She said that McLean and his wife were going to the back country, but within a few months he was again in trouble with the Wilmington Committee.

During August, 1775, Tories such as Archibald Neilson, a provincial official who was acting as the Governor's secretary, and Alex Schaw came and went between the plantations along the coast and the "Cruizer," to which Martin had prudently retired a few days before the burning of Fort Johnston in July. Although they had to exercise caution, their success indicates that the Loyalists were receiving some aid and protection from people on shore. At least, some professed Whigs did not report their comings and goings to the Committee, and in one known instance a Whig connived at the escape of a Loyalist. Alex Schaw, who had been visiting his brother, a Cape Fear planter, came ashore to tell his sister good-bye before leaving for England to make a report to Lord Dartmouth, the Colonial Secretary, on the situation in North Carolina. The Whigs knew of Schaw's intentions and guarded the roads, but with the aid of friends, he returned safely to the "Scorpion" and sailed for England.[15]

Soon it was Neilson's turn. When the rebel leaders found that Governor Martin's "Fiery Proclamation" of August 8 was in Neilson's handwriting "about a dozen of the greatest brutes they had" were dispatched to Point Pleasant, one of John Rutherfurd's plantations, to search for the Governor's secretary.[16] The "Cruizer" was so crowded with Tories that Neilson frequently sought respite at Point Pleasant

[12] A Proclamation by Governor Martin, June 16, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 19.

[13] Proceedings of the Safety Committee of Wilmington, August 21, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 220.

[14] Kemp Plummer Battle (ed.), *Letters and Documents Relating to the Early History of the Lower Cape Fear* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina [Number 4 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1903), 22.

[15] Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*, 196.

[16] Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*, 209. John Rutherfurd was a member of Governor Martin's Council. Janet Schaw had accompanied his children to North Carolina from Scotland, where they had been educated. Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*, 4.

from the uncomfortable living conditions aboard ship, and the Whigs evidently knew this. As the committeemen, who reportedly were drunk, were not frequent visitors to Point Pleasant, they became lost and wound up at a neighboring plantation. The owner, although a Whig, made no effort to assist them, other than to provide more drink. Soon they were unable to proceed and went home, after asking their host to locate Neilson in the morning. The messenger sent by the neighbor to Point Pleasant breakfasted with the family and appeared relieved when told that Neilson was not there. He made no attempt to search for the missing Loyalist and warned that he probably would have been killed had he been found by the committeemen, who had no doubt since come to their senses.[17] Apparently the demands of friendship took precedence over those of congress and committee for many people.

The departure of Janet Schaw, the Rutherfurd children, and Archibald Neilson from "this land of nominal freedom and real slavery" [18] provides another example of the Tories' ability to go to and from the "Cruizer" despite the orders of the Committee. Since they had escaped secretly from Point Pleasant, Neilson supplied the party's need for money by sending a message into Wilmington. Several of their friends boarded the "Cruizer" with enough gold and silver coins to fill Miss Schaw's dressing box.[19]

The ship which bore away the Schaw-Rutherfurd-Neilson party in the fall of 1775 had brought to North Carolina several hundred impoverished immigrants from the Scottish Highlands. Governor Martin administered loyalty oaths to them, and upper Cape Fear leaders such as Allan Macdonald and his son-in-law, Alex McLeod, aided them with money, hoping to keep them from incurring obligations to the Whigs.[20] Just as Samuel Johnston had foreseen, a formidable task faced the rebel leaders if they were to persuade these bewildered newcomers of the rightness of their cause. Once they were settled among their backcountry clansmen, the Whig committees would have little influence among the immigrants. Since they had landed at Brunswick and Wilmington, the local Whigs could also have met the boats and attempted to win the loyalty of the new Americans, but there is no evidence that they did so.

Perhaps one motive for the establishment of the Provincial Council in the fall of 1775 was the need to compensate for the weakness and ineffectiveness of some of the local safety committees. As autumn

[17] Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*, 208-209.
[18] Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*, 212.
[19] Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*, 212-214.
[20] Alexander McLeod and Allen McDonald folders, Loyalist Claims.

turned into winter, the newly appointed executive body struggled manfully with almost overwhelming problems and noted grimly the lack of effective control over the Loyalists on the lower Cape Fear. On December 20 the Council observed that "the Measures concerted for the defence of American liberty have been communicated to the prejudice of the public. . . ." Therefore, it resolved to recommend to the committees of Wilmington and Brunswick that efforts be made to see that no personal communication should take place between the inhabitants of the coast and the personnel of the warships. To this end, provisions were to be delivered to the ships in such a way that no intelligence could be disclosed.[21] The only merchants conclusively known to have supplied the warships were Hogg and Campbell. Robert Hogg had fled to England late in the summer and Samuel Campbell had demonstrated his Loyalist sympathies by refusing to join the march on Fort Johnston and by declining to serve on the Wilmington Safety Committee.[22] That Samuel and William Campbell had indeed been relaying information to Governor Martin appears likely.

The Wilmington committeemen apparently did not realize how well-founded were their suspicions of Alex McLean. Their lenience toward him was to lead to near disaster for the American cause. Under their very eyes he was carrying Governor Martin's messages to the back country. McLean traveled with a companion who carried the papers, the Governor wrote to Lord Germain. The rebels would not possibly suspect, Martin claimed—and evidently they did not.

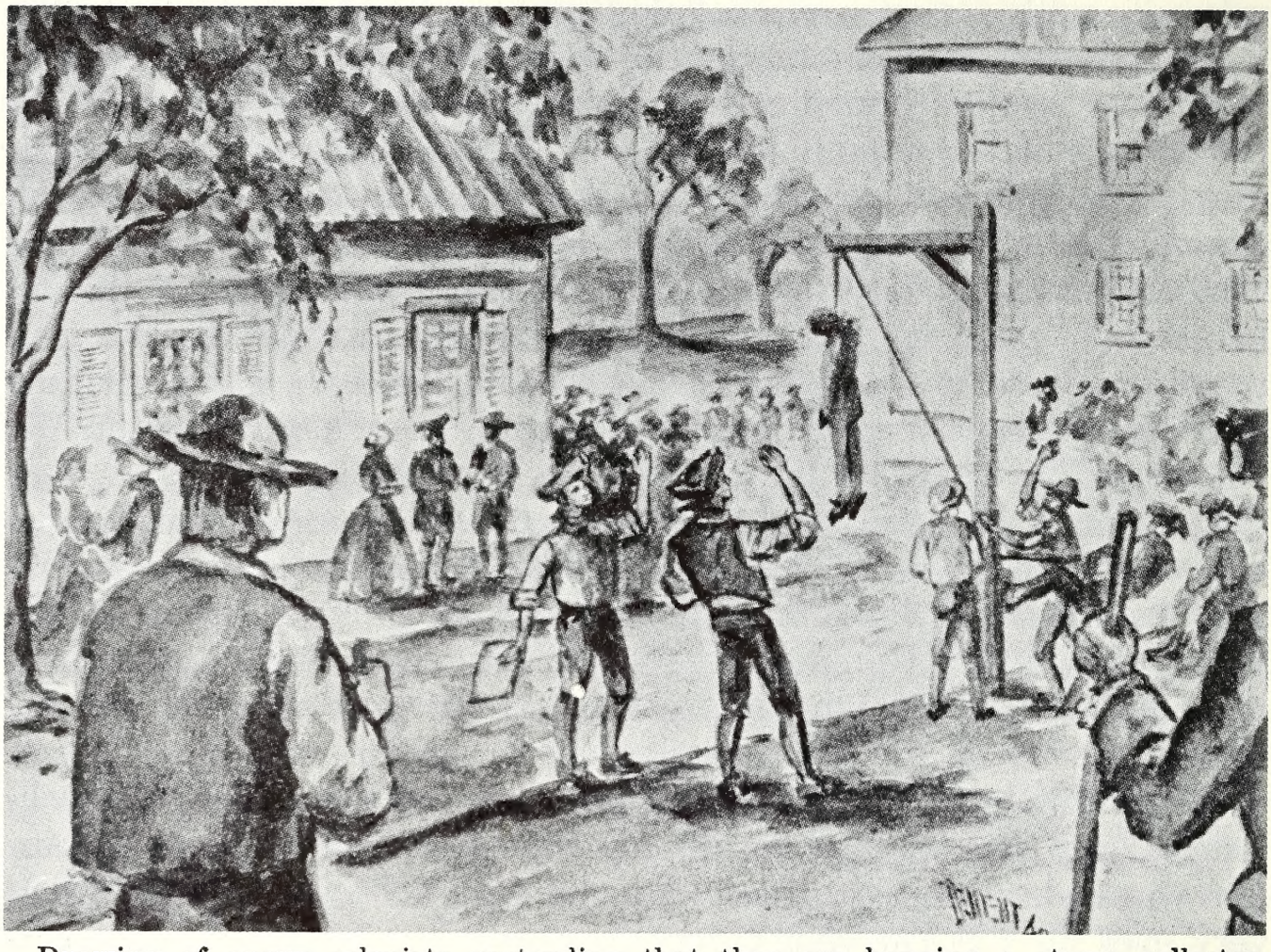
In December and early January McLean was in the back country, but he was gone so long that Governor Martin feared for his safety and for that of the men in Cumberland and Anson counties who had promised to rally to the royal standard. Meanwhile, the Governor had been approached by some of the people of Brunswick County, who assured him they were tired of the tyranny of the rebel committees and begged to be relieved. Panicky over McLean's prolonged absence, Martin accepted a new agent from among the men of Brunswick County. It soon appeared, he wrote to the Colonial Secretary, that the new agent had betrayed him. Fearing that the rebels knew the names of his men in the back country, he raised the standard before the royal troops arrived, Martin stated in an attempt to explain the failure of the Cross Creek rising.[23]

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[21] Journal of the Proceedings of the Provincial Congress, December 20, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 350.

[22] Robert Hogg and Samuel Campbell folders, Loyalist Claims.

[23] Governor Martin to Lord George Germain, March 21, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 487-488.



Drawing of angry colonists pretending that they are hanging a stamp collector. From *North Carolina: Yesterday and Today*, by Jule B. Warren.

By January 6, 1776, Alex McLean must have returned to Wilmington, for on that day Archibald Maclaine brought before the Committee a letter from Governor Martin to Captain McLean. Since, as a half-pay officer he was ordered to leave immediately for England, McLean wanted to go to the Governor to ask permission to stay longer in North Carolina. The Committee, not completely deceived by this clever ruse, ruled that McLean could not go to see Martin, but could write to him if he showed the letter to the Committee before sending it.[24]

On January 10 Governor Martin issued a proclamation raising the royal standard and signed orders to a number of Loyalists in the back country to raise troops and repair to the standard.[25] This momentous event is never mentioned in the existing "Proceedings" of the Wilmington Safety Committee. If that body did not know of Martin's action, the Loyalists had succeeded in maintaining a remarkable degree of

[24] Proceedings of the Committee of Safety at Wilmington, January 6, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 389.

[25] Proclamation by Governor Martin, January 10, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 396-397.

secrecy. If the committeemen did know, then their actions, or lack thereof, are difficult to explain. On January 16 Alex McLean was brought before the Committee to explain why he had disobeyed orders and had gone to the Governor. He did not mean to offend, replied McLean, or to act against the interest of the people, but if he had not seen Governor Martin he would have had to go to England and leave his affairs in confusion. Undoubtedly McLean now had in his possession copies of Martin's proclamation and of the orders to the Loyalists. At the Committee's request, McLean, James Walker, and Archibald Maclaine put up £500 as bond for the captain's good behavior and he was permitted to go about his business.[26] Walker, who had resigned from the Wilmington Safety Committee in November, departed the province in April, 1776, under the label of Tory.[27] Archibald Maclaine has usually been considered a patriot, although he opposed the intemperate persecution of Loyalists, many of whom were his relatives and friends.

Soon after posting his bond, McLean left again for the back country carrying the Governor's orders for the Loyalists to begin gathering. Had the Wilmington committeemen been as firm as the Rowan group, they could have placed obstacles in the way of the Loyalists and perhaps even prevented the rising by incarcerating McLean and some others. The Rowan Committee had, in July, 1775, sent two Loyalists, suspected of having received letters from Governor Martin, to Charleston for safekeeping.[28] The example of the New Bern Committee, which disarmed Tories as early as August, 1775, might also have been a profitable one for the Wilmington Whigs to follow. The Wilmington Loyalists were not disarmed until February, 1776, after the raising of the King's standard at Cross Creek.[29]

Who McLean's companion was is not known. Since Governor Martin claimed that the patriots would not suspect the companion, this person could have been either someone high in the councils of the Whigs or a woman. William McTier later told the Loyalist Claims Commission that he also had aided the Governor by carrying orders to the back country, although McLean claimed to have been Martin's only agent during 1775. Another of Governor Martin's agents may have been

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[26] Papers of Wilmington Safety Committee, Committees of Safety, 1774-1776, Secretary of State Papers, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Papers of Wilmington Safety Committee.

[27] William Hooper to Joseph Hewes, April 17, 1776, Hayes Collection.

[28] Proceedings of the Safety Committee in Rowan County, July 15, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 93; Statement of John Dunn, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 673-678.

[29] Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, February 9, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 436.

William Stuart, who was taken into custody by Colonel James Moore in April, 1776.[30]

The Safety Committee should have known that something was afoot, for the Loyalists in Wilmington became bolder in January. Dr. Joseph Fallon posted at the courthouse a paper criticizing the Committee. Although confined in jail, he defied the Safety Committee for several weeks before posting his bond. "The Public will shortly avenge itself in the injury offered to it in my person," he warned darkly.[31] On January 27 a well-known Tory, William McTier, was brought before the Committee, having seen arrested the previous night while going to Brunswick with three others in a boat. He told the arresting officer that he had obtained the Safety Committee's permission to go to Brunswick, but refused to promise not to go beyond the tiny village, where lay the British warships. The Committee asserted that McTier had not received permission and noted that he had refused to sign the test of loyalty required of all inhabitants. Until he proved himself a friend to the American cause, it ruled, he could not go down the river at all. According to the Committee's records, McTier was then discharged from custody.[32] That the rebel leaders could have been completely unaware of the activities of men such as McLean and McTier and of their importance to the royal cause seems unlikely. The Wilmington Safety Committee's lenience toward these two loyalists cannot be explained satisfactorily by ignorance alone.

Another aspect of the preparations for the Loyalist rising apparently either escaped the Committee's notice or was beyond its control. Supplies were needed for the men expected to gather at Cross Creek. One report states that after the Battle of Moores Creek the Whigs captured, among other valuable prizes, 350 guns, 1,500 rifles, and £15,000 in gold.[33] If the Highlanders were indeed so well equipped, they could only have been supplied from the pockets and stores of the Loyalist merchants of Wilmington and Cross Creek and at the expense of the

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[30] Gen. Jas. Moore from Council of Safety, August 12, 1776, Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XI, 342, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records;* From Gen. Ja. Moore to Hon. Cornelius Harnett, July 31, 1776, Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 751.

[31] Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, January 15, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 410; Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, January 17, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 418; At a meeting of the Committee, January 20, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 419; Joseph Fallon to John Ancrum, February 3, 1776, Papers of Wilmington Safety Committee.

[32] At a meeting of the Committee, January 28, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 426.

[33] Letter from an Unknown Source, March 10, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 485-486.

rebel forces, who were desperately short of guns and other equipment. Fifteen thousand pounds in gold is an astonishing sum of money to have been collected in North Carolina in 1776. Although this account perhaps was exaggerated,[34] it is clear that the Tory leaders were able to arrange with the Wilmington merchants for the delivery of supplies. William McTier told the Loyalist Claims Commission that he had furnished supplies to the Loyalists at Cross Creek, as did John and James Cruden. John and Donald Downie, having been asked to prepare supplies by "a Gentleman high in office for the Royal cause," did so. At the proper time Donald Downie set out for Cross Creek in a boat loaded with rum, sugar, coffee, and salt which, since he was captured by the rebels, never reached the Loyalists. Downie escaped to the loyal forces and was killed at Moores Creek.[35] The significant fact is that these preparations for the rising were carried out despite Committee surveillance in Wilmington.

That the Wilmington Safety Committee had ample warning of the likelihood of a Loyalist rising in the back country is evident. The Committee also was presented with opportunities to act so as to forestall such a perilous development, but failed to do so. Compared with the New Bern and Rowan committees, the Wilmington one appears less aggressive and bold than some North Carolina historians have considered it. After a study of the Committee's "Proceedings," one may well conclude that the Wilmington Safety Committee was actually a conservative body. Why, in the face of danger to themselves, to their cause, and to the people whose safety they professed to protect, did these men not act with greater speed and firmness against suspected Loyalists and royal agents? The answer would appear to lie in an analysis of the political sympathies of Wilmington's population during the crucial years 1774-1776.

Eighteenth-century accounts indicate that the white population of Wilmington in 1775 may have numbered about 250 persons. Probably somewhere between 60 and 100 were adult males. The fact that 83 men were listed in the Wilmington poll book for an election in 1780[36] provides a hint, but not a final answer, as planters living in the surrounding countryside could vote in town elections if they owned property there. Living in the small town and its environs were more than 40 merchants whose names have been recorded in various sources and

[34] Hugh F. Rankin, "The Moore's Creek Bridge Campaign, 1776," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXX (January, 1953), 54. Rankin states that the greatest number of firearms known to have been possessed by General Donald Macdonald's force at any one time was 650.

[35] John Downie folder, Loyalist Claims.

[36] Poll Book of Wilmington, 1780, Clark, *State Records*, XV, 237-238.

who made up a large portion of the town's population. Of 44 merchants, over half can be shown to have been unsympathetic, if not openly hostile, to the rebel leaders' attempts to enforce compliance with the edicts of the Provincial and Continental congresses and the Provincial Council. Only six of these men appear to have remained true to the American cause throughout the War. Ten appeared before the Loyalist Claims Commission, and 12 others fled to England or to the British Army. Two were killed in battle against the rebels. Eleven more cannot be proved to have been Loyalists, but their careers contain suspicious incidents. The fact that planters like Cornelius Harnett, John Ashe, Robert Howe, and James Moore were ardent Whigs should not be allowed to obscure the fact that many inhabitants of Wilmington supported royal government.

A study of the various sources used for this paper has yielded the names of approximately 60 Loyalists living in and near Wilmington. In addition to merchants, the list includes lawyers, physicians, Crown officials, planters, and some people of little property and influence. Testimony as to the size and influence of the Loyalist population on the lower Cape Fear comes from the pens of the Whig leaders themselves. In July, 1777, John Ashe wrote to Governor Richard Caswell that he had found so many of the inhabitants of Wilmington "disaffected" that he had ordered on duty such of the county militia as he thought reliable. He feared, however, that their number would not exceed 300.[37] William Hooper complained in 1778 that the Tories in Wilmington were making "observations . . . painful to men who love our cause." [38] Evidently they were endeavoring, and not without effect, to undermine the authority of the new State by claiming that its laws were so defective that they could not be executed and that the Whig leaders were afraid to execute them. It is noteworthy that when these letters were written many Tories had already fled. Despite the repeated efforts of the Safety Committee and the militia, many in Wilmington continued to refuse to take the various oaths and tests prescribed. As late as June, 1780, Captain John Walker wrote to Governor Abner Nash that there were still in Wilmington about 20 men who had never taken the oath of allegiance to the State. He named several merchants.[39] In his account of the Battle of Moores Creek, Alex McLean

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[37] General John Ashe to Governor Caswell, July 28, 1777, Clark, *State Records*, XI, 546.

[38] Griffith John McRee (ed.), *The Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 2 volumes, 1857-1858), I, 405.

[39] Captain John Walker to Governor Abner Nash, June 16, 1780, Clark, *State Records*, XIV, 854.

reported that as he traveled along the Cape Fear he found "the people in general very well affected to government." [40]

The presence of so many Loyalists in and near Wilmington helps to explain the Safety Committee's apparent lack of zeal and of power. Some Loyalists even served on the Wilmington Safety Committee during 1775. Robert Hogg resigned after the burning of Fort Johnston, and Samuel Marshall was dropped from the Committee in July, 1775. Both soon went to England. Even though he had been threatened with court-martial for refusing to lead his militia company to attack the fort,[41] Samuel Campbell was nominated for membership on the Wilmington Safety Committee in October, 1775. Although Samuel Campbell declined to serve, as did his brother William, James Walker, and several others,[42] John Slingsby was still a member of the Committee late in 1775. Slingsby apparently was involved in the Loyalist rising in February, 1776, and was killed in battle late in the War at the head of a company of loyal militia.[43]

In conclusion, then, it appears that the Wilmington Committee of Safety was unable or unwilling to take the steps necessary to prevent Governor Martin from calling forth the Highlanders and Regulators in the back country. The radical Whig minority along the lower Cape Fear seems to have been rendered less effective than the rebels of other counties in dealing with the strong Loyalist opposition by the presence of Loyalists and conservatives in the Safety Committee. Nevertheless, since the efforts of the committeemen and of the militia were sufficient to force Governor Martin to raise the royal standard before the supporting troops arrived from England, the Whig victory at Moores Creek was assured. Had James Moore's troops been tied down by a British invasion of the coast, the outcome of the Loyalist rising might well have been different.

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[40] A Narrative of the Proceedings of a Body of Loyalists in North Carolina, enclosed in General Howe's letter of April 25, 1776, "Volume 93" folder, Colonial Office Papers, 1682-1782, British Public Record Office, English Records (transcripts), State Department of Archives and History.

[41] Samuel Campbell folder, Loyalist Claims.

[42] Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, October 17, November 17, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 283, 334.

[43] Clark, *State Records*, XXII, v.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA TEXTILE INDUSTRY, 1865-1885

By Richard W. Griffin *

The final few months of the Civil War dealt a serious blow to the North Carolina textile industry. William T. Sherman's army had wreaked havoc with the State's largest cotton manufacturing center at Fayetteville and in Cumberland County, burning eight of nine textile factories in the area. Almost simultaneously General George Stoneman's cavalry raiders, moving rapidly across western North Carolina on their way to succor the Federal prisoners at Salisbury, burned several mills in Caldwell and Iredell counties. They burned the prison at Salisbury, which until 1857 had housed the Salisbury Manufacturing Company's cotton mill. Although the greater percentage of the prewar mills survived, the mill owners were faced with a bleak outlook in 1865 because the heavy and constant production during the years of the War had worn out most of their machinery.

The cotton manufacturers had come out of the War, nevertheless, in better financial condition than most of their neighbors. They had not been as loyal as many of their critics felt they should have been, but anathemas had been heaped upon the heads of all types of producers for profiteering during the War. In defense of the manufactuers it may be said that they had been among the stanchest supporters of the Union and had done everything in their power to prevent secession. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the cotton manufacturing "nabobs" had been under constant public attack throughout the War. They had long before adopted the economic mores of the new industrial society and had begun laying the foundation of the New South long before the quixotic defenders of the Old had taken up arms so fruitlessly.

The managers of cotton factories had begun, by a two-price system during the War—gold or Confederate currency—to build up a cash reserve which enabled them in the creditless postwar period to repair

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old and to buy new machinery. In terms of the economic facts of life in the decade after 1865, it seems obvious that this industry otherwise would have not survived. It was upon this sound foundation of industrial recovery that Henry Grady and his disciples were able in 1880 to launch the cotton-mill campaign.

Chaos reigned in the first few months after the War, and the usual routines of life came to a standstill. The collapse of the Confederate government obliterated what lingering value its currency had retained. This loss was further accentuated by the cancellation of the war debts of the Confederacy and of the States—thus, the loss of millons of dollars represented by public bonds meant the end of savings of individuals, banks, insurance companies, and other similar institutions. There were a few citizens who possessed gold or cotton, and although some had deposits abroad, conditions were too unsettled for this capital to be made available.

Northerners were coming into the State, but they were interested only in the cultivation of cotton. The mills of the North and of England, long cut off from an adequate supply of the staple, were anxious to buy and the prices paid reached undreamed-of heights. This made it difficult to begin new factories in the South, or for old ones to find additional outside capital. The only real encouragement for the building of factories was the Cotton Tax; manufacturers were given a subsidy by the government equal to the tax to enable them to compete in the world markets. Thus, no tax had to be paid if the cotton was manufactured in the district where it was grown.[1] The Cotton Tax and its collection caused much confusion, delay, expense, and inconvenience to the planter and served as a pressure in support of establishing cotton mills.

As early as July, 1865, the *North Carolina Advertiser* listed plantations, stores, mills, and factory sites for sale.[2] In Raleigh, the *Daily Sentinel* announced to the public the organization of the "Southern Real Estate and Emigration Company, whose object is to introduce capital and mechanical skill into the Southern States."[3] The most obvious advantage for the reconstruction of the textile industry was the large number of trained and experienced workers who were left indigent by the War. In addition to operatives, there were superintendents, overseers, and managers available for employment in old and new factories. This accounts for the fact that most of the factories

[1] *The Daily Journal* (Wilmington), December 19, 1866, hereinafter cited as *The Daily Journal.*
[2] *North Carolina Advertiser* (Raleigh), July 8, September 19, 1865.
[3] *Daily Sentinel* (Raleigh), September 15, 1865.

built in the late 1860's, 1870's, and early 1880's were established in areas where there was already a manufacturing tradition. The postwar years opened vast opportunities for advancement from the ranks of labor into those of management, and there are many examples of workers who took over the management of new mills. The best example is that of Mark Morgan, who, in the years after the War, rapidly moved from the position of overseer to that of superintendent to become first a partner and then owner of a large mill.[4] There were hundreds of such individuals waiting to secure new positions in the textile industry after 1865.

Contemporary letters give some idea of the problems which faced the owners of the mills which survived the War. Wilfred Turner, for example, wrote in the spring of 1866 to one of his retailers saying that "in regard to the varn vou will please dispose of it on the best terms you can. It would be difficult for me to fix a certain price as prices are so fluctuating."[5] A representative of a Philadelphia commission house reported to E. M. Holt that "we sold all the coarse yarn and mixed bales you sent per last invoice at 50c . . . this was the best price our market affords at present & we were able to make prompt sales of it because it was *Holt-yarn.*" Holt was informed that there was plenty of good varn of Georgia manufacture available at 46 cents, but the Philadelphia manufacturers preferred the well-known products of the Alamance mill.[6]

By 1866 conditions had improved and newspapers began to renew their industrial promotion efforts. *The Western Democrat's* editor spurred his readers on by announcing that there were 72 cotton factories being built in Georgia alone. This, the editor stated, was the natural effect of the changes introduced by the War. The destruction of slavery had ended the almost exclusive investment of capital in agricultural pursuits by southerners, and the prediction was made that "Cotton and Woolen Mills will be multiplied from year to year, until the South will finally be able to work up her entire crop of cotton, and export the manuactured article instead of the raw material." This change was especially anticipated in North Carolina, whose "unlimited water power, salubrious climate and fertile soil," were suited to the building of factories. The editor of *The Democrat* took special interest in the development of the local Rock Island factory. It was held up

[4] William I. Davis, "Mark Morgan: Industrial Pioneer of North Carolina," *The Cotton History Review*, I (April, 1960), 56-59.

[5] Wilfred Turner to F. D. Carlton, May 30, 1866, Hamilton Brown Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[6] James S. Woodward Sons to E. M. Holt, July 23, 1866, Alamance Mills Collection, Southern Historical Collection.

as an example of a concern with excellent machinery, able management, and one which was turning out fine products. This mill, unfortunately, soon was bankrupt and closed its doors.[7]

Many editors, in their promotional zeal, printed fiction rather than facts when discussing cotton-mill construction. In order to stimulate the building of cotton mills, the editor of the Sandersville *Central Georgian* entered the field of statistical misrepresentation on a grand scale. This newspaper reported the operation of 12 mills in Fayetteville, described the Rock Island Manufacturing Company at Charlotte as a mill with 25,000 spindles, and claimed that Georgians were building nearly 100 mills. In no case were the editor's statements correct, but the facts were beyond the power of his readers to verify.[8]

The Wilmington *Daily Journal* published a letter of W. H. Willard, then agent of the Cane Creek and Orange factories, who attempted to awaken a greater interest in the building of cotton mills. He urged prospective manufacturers to buy their machinery from English manufacturers (one of which he represented) as it was sufficiently improved to be worth the additional 35 per cent import duty. The editor of *The Daily Journal* informed his readers that this letter was published because of "the great interest now felt in the South in the establishment of manufactories."[9] In subsequent issues this editor pointed out the need for and advantages of manufactures in North Carolina. He appealed to the profit motive most heavily, saying that the manufacture of cotton promised unparalleled profits and using the examples of northern factories paying dividends of 45 and 90 per cent annually.[10]

The editors also devoted a great deal of space to giving full notice to the affairs of old and new cotton factories in the State. A story on the Beaver Creek factory near Fayetteville which miraculously had been saved from destruction at the hands of Sherman's army, included a report of its production in May, 1867. The 60 looms produced 70,000 yards of sheeting and, in addition, 9,700 pounds of yarn were spun; the mill consumed 81 bales of cotton in the process. The rebuilding of Duncan Murchison's factory gave Favetteville two cotton factories in operation that spring.[11] The *Fayetteville Observer* urged men of enterprise to employ again the water power which had operated seven mills in the town. Fayetteville was claimed as the most inviting place for the

[7] *The Western Democrat* (Charlotte), October 10, 1866.
[8] *The Daily Journal*, February 10, 1867, quoting the *Central Georgian* (Sandersville, Georgia).
[9] *The Daily Journal*, November 22, 1866.
[10] *The Daily Journal*, December 6, 1866, February 6, 9, 1867.
[11] *The Daily Journal*, June 8, 22, 1867, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer* and the *Fayetteville News*.

investment of capital and, being heavily populated, was an excellent market for any article manufactured there.[12]

The Wilmington *Journal* published four stories on the Rocky Mount mill, one of the oldest mills in the State. One story was devoted to a short history of the origin and the subsequent growth of this company until its destruction in 1863 by Federal raiders. The editor of the Wilson *North Carolinian* remarked that the

> destruction and loss of valuable machinery and property was a trifling consideration to Mr. Battle, but by this act of vandalism, numbers of poor boys and girls with aged and infirm parents dependent upon them, were thrown out of employment, and hundreds reduced to absolute want. A similar destruction of an insignificant iron foundry in Pennsylvania by Southern troops, created a howl of cowardly indignation North, and to this day is sounded in the Halls of the National Congress, and furnished a plea for wholesale confiscation of Southern property.[13]

In this way a not-too-subtle dig was taken at Thaddeus Stevens, who was becoming to most southerners a sort of archfiend.

William S. Battle, the proprietor of the Rocky Mount Mills, reported that he would regulate his prices so that they would appeal to the people of North Carolina. As in the past, however, the merchants still went to Philadelphia and New York to buy goods made at Rocky Mount. Southern factory owners still did not have enough capital to extend to merchants the long credit terms they had to have to carry on business.

Rocky Mount Mills, which had once employed slave and free Negro hands, was held up as an example of how factories could bring succor to the poor whites, to those "who have been by the calamities of the war reduced to the necessity of finding light and honorable employment for their children." In the winter months the proprietor provided night-school instruction for the young hands.[14] The mill provided employment for 60 hands, who wove 1,500 yards of cloth daily, for which they received an average wage of $2.50 per week. In the final article William Battle was congratulated for offering remunerative employment to poor females, mostly between the ages of twelve and twenty-five, who preferred factory employment to farm work. The mill enabled "many poor girls to earn an honest livelihood, and avoid the paths of crime to which destitution so frequently drives them." The factory had

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[12] *The Daily Journal*, August 14, 1867, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer*.
[13] *The Daily Journal*, July 12, 1867, quoting the *North Carolinian* (Wilson).
[14] *The Daily Journal*, August 16, 1867, January 12, 1869.

cost $70,000 to rebuild in 1867, whereupon it burned again and had to be once more rebuilt.[15]

Activities at other factories were noticed by the State's editors. The Union Manufacturing Company mill of Randolph County, built in 1849, was offered for sale by its owners in 1868.[16] In Surry County the construction of two new mills was reported while four others of antebellum origin were in operation.[17] The rebuilt Richmond Manufacturing Company, refinanced by the investments of several prominent North Carolinians, was again operated by members of the Leake family who continued as principal supporters of the company as they had been since 1828. A second mill was being built nearby by a stockholder of the Richmond Company.[18]

Once North Carolina was readmitted to the Union, everyone began to take greater interest in a diversified economic development. Periodicals reiterated the advantages and needs of the State, pointing out the vast water-power potential, availability of raw materials, cheapness of food and shelter, and the prevailing low wages.[19] It was claimed that the money which would be saved on commissions and freight in getting the cotton would serve as an important price advantage in the world markets. The two scarce items were capital and skilled labor; but both of these items had been supplied by North Carolinians in the antebellum period and it was suggested that the same native resources would provide for future growth.

The dividends of the southern mills began to attract attention as they continued to rise steeply and were characterized by one editor as sufficient to "clog the avaricious cravings of Shylock himself." The same editor noted for his readers the praise of one of the foremost northern textile manufacturers of a southern cotton mill. Senator William Sprague of Rhode Island had visited Augusta, Georgia, and gave as his opinion of one of the mills there that it "today will surpass in the success of its operations the best one in New England." Senator Sprague's interest in the growth of southern textile manufactures led him to invest in a mill site near Columbia, South Carolina.[20]

North Carolinians were urged to begin manufacturing as quickly as possible and thus secure the advantage of early participation and become well established in the business before competition became

[15] *The Daily Journal*, February 14, 1869.
[16] *Greensboro Patriot*, May 1, 1868.
[17] *Patriot and Times* (Greensboro), January 28, 1869.
[18] *The Daily Journal*, February 16, 1869, quoting *The Eagle* (Fayetteville), hereinafter cited as *The Eagle*.
[19] *The Land We Love*, VI (March, 1869), 430-431.
[20] *The Daily Journal*, April 14, 1869.

greater. The editor of the Wilmington *Daily Journal*, in a long editorial, called on all the States to do their best to develop southern resources, for the "rushing falls of Tennessee and the murmuring streams ceaselessly coursing to the ocean from the mountains of the Carolinas and Georgia, chide us with the inertness which former times may have rendered excusable, but which is a standing reproach as long as such advantages are neglected in the future." [21]

After 1869 the price of cotton began to decline in the world markets, and this downward trend continued through the 1880's. The few years of high prices had contributed materially to the recovery of North Carolina and the South in general.[22] Once the price of and the demand for cotton were more competitive, marginal planters and farmers took up other activities. Those who had surplus capital and who were looking for profitable investment turned to cotton manufacture.

In 1850 the census listed 35 cotton mills in North Carolina valued at $1,327,400. In 1860 the number of mills had grown to 39 with a capitalization of $1,272,750.[23] By 1870 the cotton textile industry of the State had made an amazing recovery, with a reported investment of $2,250,000 in cotton mills.[24] The census of 1870, however, reported the total number of cotton mills as 33, with an invested capital of $1,030,900.[25] A North Carolina business directory listed a total of 46 mills in 1869 with property valued at $2,272,000.[26]

The economic problems born of the War and then of Reconstruction made economic change necessary, and after 1870 the State, the newspapers, and private agencies devoted themselves to the promotion of the cotton industry. The advantages in North Carolina remained much the same as they had appeared in 1828 when the legislature had looked for means to encourage industrial development. These efforts to attract outside capital met with uniform failure, for the capital and labor which soon was invested in the industry came from sources within the State.

The most important consideration for those who were interested in cotton factories was the cost of construction and of starting opera-

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[21] *The Daily Journal*, April 14, 16, 1869.

[22] *Lippincott's Magazine*, III (March, 1869), 225.

[23] *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850. Abstract of the Statistics of Manufactures* (Washington: United States Bureau of Census, 1851), 43; *Eighth Census of of the United States, 1860. Manufactures of the United States in 1860* (Washington: United States Bureau of Census, 1860), 420.

[24] F. B. Godard, *Where to Immigrate and Why* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: n.p., 1869), 379.

[25] *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870. The Statistics of Wealth and Industry of the United States* (Washington: United States Bureau of Census, 1872), III, 709.

[26] Levi Branson, *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory, 1869* (Raleigh: Levi Branson, 1869), 181, hereinafter cited as *Branson's Directory*, with year.

tions. There was no end to the various schemes that began to be proposed and tried for the building of cotton mills. Newspaper editors took only the most encouraging tone in dealing with the mill question. The Wilmington *Daily Journal* noted and applauded early in the decade the efforts of some southern States to encourage the rise of industry by extending tax exemptions for a period of years. This editor lamented that the North Carolina "constitution, which too frequently intervenes between the State and her material progress, does not allow such an exemption." The city council of Wilmington did propose to exempt cotton mills from city taxes if and when any should be built there.[27] The North Carolina Constitution of 1868 was very specific on this point, the article reading that "laws shall be passed taxing, by a uniform rule, all moneys, investments in bonds, stocks, joint stock companies or otherwise; and also, all real and personal property, according to its true value in money." There were many who urged that an amendment be made which would allow this extra encouragement for industrial plants. *The New York Herald* recommended this type of encouragement to all the southern states.[28]

In the promotion of cotton factories, the editors of Charlotte and Wilmington were the most outspoken, and their columns provided busy country editors with a constant flow of ammunition for local promotion. Practically every editor had a plan of his own for raising capital, or he published the plans of others. The editors of the *Daily Charlotte Observer* and the Wilmington *Daily Journal* made every effort to stir the citizens of their respective towns to action.

The efforts in Wilmington were the most fruitful, and a cotton factory was established there relatively early in the 1870's. In 1873 *The Daily Journal* suggested an association similar to those of building and loan groups, with 3,000 shares being issued, to be paid in $5.00 installments. A correspondent of the paper had a plan which seemed to hold even more promise of success. This gentleman recommended that the subscriptions for a cotton factory be made in materials and equipment. One person offered to subscribe a factory site which was valued at $10,000, and it was suggested that brick, lumber, lime, and all building materials could be obtained the same way. In a like manner, the labor of mechanics, brick masons, and that of all other necessary occupations be used so the factory would be built with a minimum expenditure of cash.[29]

The citizens of Wilmington were subjected to a veritable bombard-

[27] *The Daily Journal*, June 4, 1874.
[28] *The Daily Journal*, October 5, 1875, quoting *The New York Herald.*
[29] *The Daily Journal*, March 7, 19, 1873.

ment of information about cotton factories. Every new mill was given extensive publicity and, in addition, any change or improvement in existing mills was catalogued. Two articles taken from Virginia newspapers gave more detailed information regarding the cost of building and operating a cotton factory. The *Norfolk Landmark* claimed that its figures were sufficiently elastic to meet all contingencies. Its editor said that:

> A cotton mill containing 10,000 spindles and 250 looms is, we shall assume, about what is contemplated to start with here. The 250 looms will consume all the yarn spun by the 10,000 spindles, and will make No. 16 yarn as a basis to make the style of goods suitable for the requirements of our trade. The 10,000 spindles will consume about 23,000 pounds of raw cotton per week, and produce about 20,000 pounds of spun yarn. The cost of the spining machinery, with all the latest improvements and all necessary expenses for belting, bands, etc., for droving, would be $85,000. This is, of course, exclusive of boilers, the price of which can easily be ascertained.[30]

The cost of the looms and the necessary equipment to operate them was estimated at $27,000. The weaving department was to employ 75 hands who were to weave 241 yards each during a 60-hour week. It was observed that the majority of the mills ran over 60 hours, but this estimate allowed for stoppages of any type. The factory building would be 130 by 75 feet and five stories high, having an auxiliary three-story building, 40 by 26 feet, for picking room, cotton storage, and boiler room. The 120-horsepower engine chosen to power the mills would consume 34 tons of coal per week, of which 84 per cent would be used for operating the machinery, and the remainder for heating the factory.[31]

The *Norfolk Virginian* made a minute estimate of the amount of labor required, and its cost, and claimed that it would cost $150,000 to build and put into operation a cotton factory.[32]

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[30] *The Daily Journal*, February 19, 1874, quoting the *Norfolk Landmark* (Virginia), hereinafter cited as *Norfolk Landmark*.

[31] *The Daily Journal*, February 19, 1874, quoting the *Norfolk Landmark*.

[32] The following item was published in *The Daily Journal*, February 15, 1874, quoting the *Norfolk Virginian:* "'One hundred and fifty thousand dollars will be enough to build a factory and furnish it with 250 looms. Such a factory would weave 300,000 yards of 4/4 sheeting monthly, at 12½ cents a yard this amounts to $37,500.

To make 300,000 yards of sheeting would require of middling cotton 120,030 pounds, allowing that to cost 16 cents per pound, will make $10,248.

The labor and number of operatives would cost about the following prices:

1 President and clerk	$400.00
1 Superintendent and clerk	400.00
1 bookkeeper	100.00
2 watchmen at $30.	60.00
3 drays and draymen	100.00
1 office and yard hand	25.00
	$1,235.00

This was the kind of information which businessmen needed to show the possibilities of raising the necessary money in Wilmington, or in any city. Local merchants and all of the city residents were urged to support the projected mills, the editor of *The Daily Journal* pointing out that the city would never achieve real importance until "we levy industrial contribution upon the products which seek a market here . . . so long as we only handle the raw materials for others to manufacture . . . so long as we lag behind." [33]

In March, 1874, the organization of the Wilmington Cotton Mill was announced. Those who wanted to subscribe were told they could examine the books at the Wilmington Trust Company and Savings Bank, and in Goldsboro at the Branch Bank of New Hanover. The incorporators sought to raise $150,000 and they asked that the sum be subscribed between March 8 and March 17. Dr. A. J. DeRossett,

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Spinning Room		**Dressing Room**	
1 head spinner	$ 60.00	1 head dresser	$ 60.00
2 second spinners	80.00	1 second dresser	35.00
2 oilers and bundlers	30.00	6 warpers	90.00
50 spinners	600.00	6 dresser tenders	180.00
8 quillers	96.00	6 reeders	90.00
8 bobbin carriers	80.00	2 cloth trimmers	30.00
2 sweepers	20.00	2 measurers	50.00
	$966.00	1 sweeper	10.00
			$545.00
Weaving Room		**Card Room**	
1 head weaver	$ 75.00	1 head carder	$ 75.00
2 second weavers	80.00	2 second carders	80.00
75 weavers	1,875.00	2 willowers/openers	30.00
2 sweepers	20.00	6 spreader tenders	120.00
	$2,050.00	6 railway tenders	72.00
		1 card grinder	30.00
Engine Room		12 drawing tenders	114.00
1 engineer	$ 50.00	12 speed tenders	114.00
2 firemen	60.00	2 roving tenders	30.00
	$110.00	2 sweepers	20.00
			$685.00

Making a total of 253 at a cost of $5,867.00.
For supplies and materials for repairs, such as oils, leather bobbins, reeds, shuttles, iron, lumber, etc., say $1,500.00.
200 cords of wood $600.00.
Insurance 2½ per cent. $419.67.
To keep the property up to par value, say 5 per cent. $833.33.
Lights, taxes, &c., say $400.00.
Freights, commissions and guarantee on year's sales $38,000 at 7½ per cent. $2,850.00.
Gross expense per month $12,467.00
19,248.00 cost of material
$31,715.00
Which deducted from the gross earnings, leaves a profit per month, of $5,785, or a profit per annum of $69,420 or which lacks a fraction of 28 per cent. on the investment.'"

[33] *The Daily Journal*, February 27, 1874.

George R. French, Donald McRae, J. W. Atkinson, and Silas N. Martin were then appointed to draw up bylaws to be presented to the first meeting of the stockholders. By March 17 only $90,000 had been pledged and the organizers were determined to abandon the undertaking if the balance was not immediately taken.[34] This threat was sufficient to draw the remaining $60,000 from the public, and the first meeting of the stockholders was held in April at the Bank of New Hanover. After the directors were elected, the stockholders retired so that the company could be activated. The directors began by calling for a five per cent installment to be paid on the shares at once.[35]

The editor of *The Daily Journal,* understandably satisfied with his part in the promotion of a cotton factory for Wilmington, turned his attention to informing the public of the growing cotton-textile industry of the State. After the successful launching of the Wilmington Cotton Mill, *The Daily Journal* published an article by Silas N. Martin describing the progress made and reiterating the advantages it would bring to all.[36]

An equal amount of interest was expressed in Charlotte regarding the establishment of a cotton mill there; this, however, evoked more discussion than action. The editor of the *Daily Charlotte Observer* wrote that he had hoped that "by this time, we would have at least one Cotton Factory in successful operation, as a monument to the enterprise of our citizens." Although there was unanimous agreement that such a plant was essential to the future of the city, no one seemed willing to take the initiative in achieving the desired result.

A plan very similar to that used in Wilmington was proposed for raising the capital, but it was more specific with regard to the possibilities inherent in such a program. It was suggested that the capital be set at $1000,000, divided into shares of $100 each. The public was to subscribe for shares which were to be paid in weekly installments of $1.00; October 1, 1874, was chosen as the date for the first of the weekly payments. These sums were to be placed on deposit at interest until an amount sufficient to build was accumulated, and it was estimated that there would be $29,000 collected by the opening of the building season the following spring. The company could then build, mortgage the property to secure money for the machinery, and pledge the weekly installments for the liquidation of the debt. If this plan was adopted, it was promised that a factory would rise in Charlotte within

[34] *The Daily Journal,* March 8, 17, 1874.
[35] *The Daily Journal,* April 12, 1874.
[36] *The Daily Journal,* 1874-1875, *passim;* for the Martin article see the issue for November 23, 1875.

12 months. In spite of the publicity given this plan, it was not acted upon.[37]

The editor of the paper, desperate to secure a cotton mill in Charlotte, next attempted to interest the Grange, as a group, in building a mill. He estimated that there were 20 Granges in and around the city, and that each had about 50 members. This was a total of 1,000 men who, if each paid $5.00 a month for a year, would collect $60,000, an amount sufficient to build a $40,000 factory with the balance for operating expenses.

The lack of water power at Charlotte was one excuse for not building a mill, but it was pointed out that the Salem factory of the Fries brothers and John McDonald's Concord factory had successfully operated with steam for several decades. The editor concluded an appeal for public support for a cotton mill by saying "let us have a thundering big factor, and let it be in Charlotte. Let us hear the whir of spindles at Rock Island once more." [38]

The campaign of the *Daily Charlotte Observer* suddenly seemed to bear fruit; in fact, the editor was suddenly deluged by embryo cotton-mill projects in the following months, and Charlotte was confronted with plans for four mills. The Catawba River Council of the Patrons of Husbandry discussed and considered the possibility of sponsoring a cotton factory. Then a group of Charlotte's leading citizens, "the very mention of those names is a synonym for success," considered securing a charter for such a company. The owners of the Rock Island factory property began negotiations to sell that abandoned property to still a third group of investors. Lastly, a citizen of Charlotte, J. H. Wilson—with a partner, James E. Moore, of Augusta, Georgia—planned to build a mill ten miles north of the city. This sudden boom in interest in cotton mills carried the editor of the *Observer* away on clouds of enthusiasm as he urged his fellow citizens to come to the aid of any enterprise "which is so full of promise." [39]

With so much news of the expanding industry, it was thought that Charlotte was on the verge of becoming an important textile center. This dream collapsed when three of the mills projected for Charlotte failed to materialize. The Wilson and Moore Island Creek Mill was built, but it was in Gaston County. The editor's reaction was that "it is a pity that Charlotte has no cotton manufactories and so few of other

[37] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, September 5, 10, 1874.
[38] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, June 6, 1874.
[39] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, October 9, 1874.

kind."[40] Interest in the subject limped on for the next few years, while information appeared in the paper's columns reporting the advances of the industry in other parts of the State. Constant references were made to the huge profits being made by others in this industry.[41]

In 1877 a little interest was again aroused when E. C. Grier decided to build a cotton mill north of the city. It developed, however, that the plan was too small to be of real importance. Grier and his son invested $7,000 in securing a Clement Attachment of 264 spindles,[42] and the mill existed for about two years before going bankrupt. The Clement Attachment, improved upon by a South Carolinian, had been developed in the ante-bellum period in south Mississippi. This machine, expected in the 1870's to revolutionize the industry, was designed to eliminate the necessity of both ginning and cleaning the cotton before manufacture was begun. The cotton in the seed was placed in the machine which ginned and cleaned it and delivered it directly to the cards. The Grier mill in Mecklenburg County and another established in 1882 by S. S. Fowler at Elizabeth City were the only factories to use it in North Carolina.

In order to renew interest in the cotton-mill campaign, the average profits of the Langly factory in South Carolina were published by the *Observer*. It had earned an average profit between 1872 and 1877 of $59,000 annually, and was not only operating overtime but was three months behind in its orders. The editor candidly wrote that "these facts and figures are calculated to arouse general interest in the important matter of cotton manufacturing, particularly in sections like ours, where cotton is the principal staple."[43]

The Panic of 1873 had brought a further drop in cotton prices, and farmers were looking for any way to alleviate their distress. Under this sort of pressure, the Granges of Mecklenburg, Cabarrus, Rowan, Iredell, Catawba, Lincoln, and Gaston counties began pooling their money for a manufacturing venture. They had accumulated $90,000, which they planned to use for building a mill on the Catawba River in Gaston County, and they reported that they had "no doubts of ultimate success in their undertaking and—no middle men need apply."[44] As the decade approached its end, the *Observer* listed nine

[40] *Southern Home* (Charlotte), July 5, 1875; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, November 20, 1875.
[41] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, July 17, 1877, quoting the *Sun and Enquirer* (Columbus, Georgia).
[42] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, December 9, 1877.
[43] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, April 6, 1878.
[44] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, August 6, 1878.

cotton factories in full and successful operation within 35 miles of the city.[45]

Yet, outside of the promotion in Charlotte and Wilmington, the 1870's had been a decade more of action than of words. At the end of the decade the Wilmington mill was fulfilling its promise while Charlotte still dreamed of its first cotton mill. Men of a new age, however, brought new energy to play on the subject and the Charlotte Cotton Mill was built in 1880-1881. The Atlanta International Cotton Exposition in 1881 served to bring the lesson of the South's needs home with greater impact, and when it was over, the words of Henry W. Grady and F. W. Dawson served to stir the section to greater efforts.

Many newspapers in North Carolina printed columns of information concerning the growth of the industry in the State; however, they were largely interested in local cotton mills rather than in promotional campaigns. Some editors attempted to capitalize on the growing industry by combining public service with making profits. The editor of *The Raleigh News* circularized all the cotton mills with the following proposition:

> I propose making in the columns of the Daily and Weekly News, a complete exhibit of the Manufacturing power of North Carolina, taking the cotton factories first; my object being to show the world what we are doing in this line, and to give some idea of the water power of the State. To execute my design, which I believe would redound to the general interest of the State, and of all concerned, your cordial cooperation is earnestly solicited. We will insert a sketch of your factory, which you may prepare, in both issues of our paper for the small cost of 25 cents per line, and call editorial attention to the same. We will also furnish as many copies as you may desire at 3 cents per copy. We would suggest the following outline as covering the leading points of interest. 1. The year in which it was established. 2. A concise outline of its history. 3. Its location, giving distance to nearest railway or steamboat line. 4. Whether run by water or by steam. 5. Character of the water power. 6. Class of goods manufactured. 7. Number of spindles. 8. Number of operatives. 9. Annual consumption of cotton. 10. Any other facts of interest in value concerned with your enterprise. Your views on the subject of Manufacturing in N.C. would be of value and are respectfully solicited.[46]

The Farmer and Mechanic of Raleigh listed, in 1878, 52 cotton mills operating in the State. The editor stated that, although the "factories are small . . . they make a good beginning in any rate. The number of

[45] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, January 15, 1879.

[46] Johnston Jones to Malloy and Morgan, May 11, 1877, Cotton Mill Correspondence and Ledgers, 1871-1916 (Laurel Hill Factory), The George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University, Durham.

looms as far as reported, is 1,464 and spindles 90,686. The aggregate capital is estimated at above $1,600,000 and of operatives employed 2,288." Other large mills were reported then under construction.[47]

Fire and flood took their toll of the cotton mills in the postwar period, but in every case they were rebuilt or repaired. The Alamance Mills of E. M. Holt were burned, incurring a loss of $60,000. A local editor wrote that "this loss is a public one. A large number of operatives were employed and its celebrated plaids had an extensive sale all over the country." The mill was insured for $25,000 and, with the vast resources of the Holt family, was reopened in a short time.[48] The Big Falls Mill of the Murray brothers, also in Alamance County, was destroyed by fire with a large loss. The water power was bought by George W. Swepson who built a much larger mill at the site. The falls at that point had been used for cotton manufacture since 1832. The Great Falls Mill of the Richmond Manufacturing Company and that of James Aycock were damaged by a spring freshet, the former company sustaining a loss of $10,000.[49]

The reconstruction of the cotton-textile industry took place largely in those areas where there had been a strong ante-bellum development. The town of Fayetteville began early to recover its industrial growth; within eight years of Sherman's devastating visit, four cotton mills were once more in operation and were making profits of 12 per cent and more.[50] By 1883 the banks of the Deep River were lined with 11 cotton factories, nine of which were located in Randolph County. This County had had one of the heaviest concentrations of cotton mills before the War; although they escaped any direct attack or damage as those in Fayetteville experienced, they were badly worn by the end of the War. In many cases they stopped, if at all, after the War, only for the installment of new machinery. In the 1870's new mills arose at the side of those which had been in operation for decades. There were 11 mills, extending from Jamestown in Guilford County to Enterprise in Randolph. They had in operation 28,000 spindles and 750 looms, which gave employment to 1,200 hands and direct support to about 5,000 persons. The capital invested in these mills was over three quarters of a million dollars.[51] Alamance County was not far behind Randolph, for by 1880 eight cotton mills, belonging almost exclusively to E. M.

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[47] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, February 15, 1878, quoting *The Farmer and Mechanic* (Raleigh).
[48] *The Daily Journal*, *April* 26, 1871.
[49] *The Daily Journal*, October 3, 1874, quoting the *Observer* (Rockingham).
[50] *The Daily Journal*, September 27, 1873, quoting *The Eagle*.
[51] *Fayetteville Observer*, November 15, 1883.

Holt and his sons and sons-in-law, were in operation there.[52] In 1884 the number of mills in Alamance County had increased to 12 with three others in the process of construction; eight of these were Holt mills. Incomplete figures list them with 31,000 spindles, 930 looms, and 1,000 employees. The investment in six of these factories was $375,000. Thomas M. Holt's Granite Falls Mill was the largest and had been in operation since 1845.[53] By 1884 there were 75 cotton mills operating in North Carolina; of these, 35 had been established in the ante-bellum period. The industry had made great strides in the years between 1880 and 1884, for in the former year there were only 47 mills running, 36 of which were of ante-bellum origin. The five years beginning with 1880 showed a growth rate similar to the same period beginning in 1845; in the former period 28 mills were placed in operation, while in the latter period 22 cotton factories were established. The mills in the 1880's were larger mills as the circumstances of a changed age warranted.[54]

There seems no doubt that the growth of the postwar period in North Carolina was due largely to the efforts and example of those who had pioneered the industry before the War. That the business was and had been profitable could not be doubted, for in 1884, when he died, Edwin M. Holt, was accounted the wealthiest citizen of the State. These pioneers had promoted the idea of cotton mills, founded them invested in them, managed them, and believed in them. In the annals of North Carolina history the names of such men are legion. Without the experience, the capital, the ambition, and the disciples of these pioneers, the textile industry of the State and the South would have barely begun the great expansion which, in the 30 years following 1884, saw the proud New England industry shaken to its foundations.

The editor of *The Daily Journal* was expressing the thoughts of his contemporaries when he wrote with irony that

> if it shall turn out that one of the results of the war will be the transfer to the South of one of the most important industries of the North, we suspect that some of our brethern of the colder climes in America will begin to think the price paid for the preservation of the glorious Union was a trifle high. It is just possible when it shall be seen that the surrender of the cotton factories by the North is a sure consequence of the surrender of slaves by the South that the beauties of emancipation will not be so apparent. So far as we of the South are concerned, we say what we have always said, and that is we accept the situation. If the factories must come, we say let them come![55]

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[52] *The Daily Journal*, September 4, 1874, quoting the *Charlotte Democrat*.
[53] *Branson's Directory, 1884, passim.*
[54] See Appendix at the end of this article for a list of mills operating from 1865 to 1884.
[55] *The Daily Journal*, June 7, 1876.

APPENDIX

North Carolina Cotton Mills Operating Between 1865 and 1884

Company	Location	Dates	Spindles	Looms	Power	Product	Capital	Employees	Owners
Big Falls Mill		1835/[1]	1,000(1869)[2]			Yarn	$ 30,000(1869)	25(1869)	W. J. & A. J. Murray
(Falls of the	Alamance	1876	3,968(1876)			Yarn		140(1876)	George W. Swepson
Neuse Mfg. Co.)			2,240(1884)	101(1884)	Water	Cloth	$ 50,000(1884)	109(1884)	
Alamance Mills	Alamance	1837/	1,400(1869)	30(1869)	Water	Yarn &	$ 50,000(1869)	90(1869)	E. M. Holt
		1872	1,200(1872)	70(1872)		Cloth		60(1872)	
			1,008(1883)	92(1883)					E. M. Holt's Sons
Cane Creek Mill	Alamance	1837	528(1867)		Water	Yarn	$ 25,000(1883)		W. H. Willard
Clover Orchard Factory			1,200(1883)	40(1883)		Cloth			
Holman Mfg. Co.									W. C. Holman
Saxapahaw Mill	Alamance	1844	1,400(1879)	20(1879)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 16,000(1879)	60(1879)	John Newlin & Sons
			4,740(1883)	—(1873)		Yarn			E. M. Holt, J. W. White & John L. Williamson
Granite Falls	Alamance	1845	1,104(1869)			Yarn	$ 50,000(1869)	35(1869)	Thomas M. Holt
Mills			4,856(1879)	110(1879)	Water	Yarn &			
			8,424(1883)	220(1883)		Cloth		275(1883)	
Carolina Cotton		1869	1,728(1869)		Steam	Yarn	$ 60,000(1869)	50(1869)	E. M., J. H., & W. E. Holt
Mills	Alamance		3,000(1879)	54(1879)		Cloth		110(1879)	
Belmont Mills	Alamance	1879	2,600(1879)	125(1879)	Steam	Cloth	$140,000(1879)	115(1879)	Lynn B. and Lawrence S. Holt
Altamahaw Mill	Alamance	1880	1,008(1883)		Water	Yarn	$ 50,000(1880)	20(1880)	Davidson and Gant
Rock Creek Mfg.		1881		30(1881)	Steam	Cloth		15(1881)	C. C. Curtis
Company	Alamance								
Glencoe Mills	Alamance	1882	3,120(1883)	125(1883)	Steam	Cloth		150(1882)	W. E. & J. H. Holt
				186(1884)					
LaFayette Mill	Alamance	1882	1,248(1883)		Steam	Yarn	$ 22,000	30(1884)	F. F. Holt & McBride
Taylorsville	Alexander	1853	528(1867)	12(1867)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 15,000		Boyle and Jones to 1869
Cotton Mill									Alspaugh Brothers
Sulphur Springs		1880	600(1883)		Water	Yarn			J. L. Davis and Co.
Mfg. Co.	Alexander								
Harden Mfg. Co.	Bertie	1882-1883	612(1883)			Yarn			C. T. Harden
Concord Steam	Cabarrus	1841	1,800(1860)	37(1860)	Steam	Yarn & Cloth	$ 15,000(1879)		John McDonald and Sons
Cotton Factory			2,000(1883)		Steam	Yarn		45(1882)	J. M. Odell and Company (1875)
(Odell Mfg. Co.,			4,500(1882)	126(1882)	Steam	Yarn & Cloth			
1880)			6,000(1884)	212(1884)	Steam	Yarn & Cloth		275(1884)	
Rocky River Mill	Cabarrus	1860	812(1879)	16(1879)	Water	Yarn & Cloth		17(1879)	John Phifer & J. R. Nicelor
									Nicelor & Archibald (1879)
			500(1884)	12(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth		15(1884)	J. W. Black (1881)
Patterson Mill	Caldwell	1834/1867	960(1872)	18(1872)	Water	Yarn & Cloth		50(1872)	R. L. Patterson, Thomas Lenoir,
			1,808(1883)	19(1889)	Water	Yarn & Cloth			R. R. Gwyn, James C. Harper & Chatham
Granite Factory	Caldwell	1883			Water				Shufford, Gwyn & Co.
Long Island	Catawba	1852	800(1869)	18(1869)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 15,000(1869)	25(1869)	Powell and Shufford
Factory			1,000(1879)	24(1879)			$ 20,000(1879)	35(1879)	

Company	Location	Dates	Spindles	Looms	Power	Product	Capital	Employees	Owners
Granite Shoals Factory (Beaumont Falls Mfg. Co., 1884)	Catawba	1854	650(1869) 1,000(1879)	24(1879)	Water	Yarn Yarn & Cloth	$ 14,000(1869) $ 25,000(1879)	20(1869) 50(1879)	Tate & Powell Claywell & Powell Turner Brothers (1884)
Newton Cotton Mill	Catawba	1881	2,040(1881)		Water	Yarn			W. H. Williams, Pres.
Maiden Mfg. Co.	Catawba	1883							H. T. Carpenter, Pres.
Chatham Cotton Mill	Chatham	1877	1,600(1877)	15(1877)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 52,000(1877)	40(1877)	E. W. & Mathew Atwater, George W. Thompson
Broad Rim Mills	Cleveland	1852	1,056(1879)		Water	Yarn	$ 25,000(1879)	26(1879)	J. Z. Falls & Co. (1852) N. A. Jackson (1860); E. A. Morgan (1881)
Cleveland Mills	Cleveland	1874	848(1874)	20(1874)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 25,000(1874)	28(1874)	H. F. Schenck & Co.
Morgan Falls Mfg. Co.	Cleveland	1881	1,224(1881)		Water	Yarn			E. A. Morgan & Co.
Neuse Mfg. Co.	Craven	1877	2,000(1877) 2,100(1884)		Steam	Yarn & Cloth	$ 25,000(1877) $ 40,000(1884)		J. D. Claypoole, George Allen, Richard Berry, and T. A. Green
Beaver Creek Manufacturing Co.	Cumberland	1841	1,000(1869) 2,900(1879) 3,360(1884)	24(1869) 75(1879) 69(1884)	Water Water	Yarn & Cloth Yarn & Cloth	$ 33,000(1869)	20(1869) 72(1879)	John Shaw (1869) Duncan Murchison E. J. Lilly
Enterprise Mfg. Co.	Cumberland	1868-1875							George Brandt (1868) J. D. Williams (1870)
Little River Mills	Cumberland	1867-1868							Duncan Murchison
Bluff Cotton Mills	Cumberland	1873	2,800(1873) 3,028(1883)	60(1873) 62(1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 42,000(1884)	72(1873)	John Shaw E. J. Lilly
Hope Mills of Rockfish Mfg. Co.	Cumberland	1873	4,000(1873) 4,500(1884)		Water	Yarn	$150,000(1879)	80(1879)	T. C. Oakman
Linwood Mfg. Co.	Cumberland	1875	600(1879) 700(1883)		Water	Yarn	$ 10,000(1879)	30(1879)	A. K. McDairmid, Treas. J. M. Beasley (1884)
Manchester Mills	Cumberland	1878	528(1878) 1,700(1883) 2,500(1884)	46(1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 50,000(1884)		A. K. McDairmid, Pres.
Rocky Mount Mills	Edgecombe (Nash)	1818/ 1866/ 1871	1,600(1869) 3,084(1879)	20(1869) 64(1879)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 50,000(1869)	30(1869) 90(1879)	William S. Battle and Son
Fries' Cotton Mill (Arista Co. 1880)	Forsyth	1840	1,614(1879) 3,394(1884)	40(1879) 102(1884)	Steam	Yarn & Cloth		100(1879) 100(1884)	Francis and Henry Fries
Laurel Factory	Franklin	1875	612(1879) 650(1884)		Water	Yarn	$ 15,000(1879)	12(1879)	J. F. Jones
Mountain Island Mill (Mt. Hecla)	(Guilford) Gaston	1818/1828 1848/1874	5,000(1879) 6,000(1883)	110(1879) 150(1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth		150(1879) 75(1884)	Thomas R. Tate George K. Tate (1879) G. K. & F. A. Tate (1883)
Woodlawn Mill	Gaston	1848	2,500(1879)	75(1879) 50(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth Sheeting	$ 50,000(1884)	100(1879)	L. S. Lineberger & Co. (1867) Lineberger, Rhyne & Co. (1872) C. J. Lineberger & Sons (1879) C. J. Lineberger & Co. (1884)
Stowe's Mill	Gaston	1849	1,154(1869) 1,400(1883)	24(1869)	Water	Yarn & Cloth Sheeting	$ 50,000(1869) $ 30,000(1879)	35(1869) 50(1879)	J. &. E. R. Stowe (1868) Hornsley & Oats (1879) T. M. Gaither (1883)
Island Creek Mill (Gastonia Cotton Mill, 1884)	Gaston	1875	3,400(1879) 2,500(1884)		Water	Yarn	$ 80,000(1879) $ 50,000(1884)	50(1879) 40(1884)	Wilson & Moore J. H. Wilson, Jr.
Mount Holly Springs Mill	Gaston	1876	1,232(1879) 2,800(1884)		Water	Yarn Warps	$ 36,000(1879)	26(1879)	A. P. Rhyne & Co.

Company	Location	Dates	Spindles	Looms	Power	Product	Capital	Employees	Owners
Lawrence Warp Mills	Gaston	1878	2,240(1879) 5,000(1883)		Water	Yarn	$ 40,000(1879) $ 60,000(1884)	35(1879) 60(1884)	C. J. Lineberger & Co.
McAden Mills	Gaston	1883	10,000(1884)		Water	Yarn	$200,000(1884)	100(1884)	R. Y. McAden
Logan Mfg. Co. (Oakdale Mills)	Guilford	1865	2,400(1869) 3,600(1879) 3,120(1883) 2,700(1884)	 125(1883)	Water	Yarn Yarn & Cloth	$ 50,000(1869) $ 60,000(1879)	65(1869) 60(1879) 80(1884)	W. L. Hill, Agt. C. P. Mendenhall, Pres.
Mt. Pleasant Mfg. Co.	Guilford	1880-1883	864(1883)	30(1883)		Yarn & Cloth			W. M. Kline, Secretary
High Point Mfg. Co. (Willow Brook)	Guilford	1880	3,000(1883)	60(1884)	Steam	Yarn & Cloth	$ 86,000(1884)	100(1884)	O. J. Causey, Treas. W. D. Jones, Pres.
Tuscarora Mills	Halifax	1876	1,500(1879)		Water	Yarn	$ 40,000(1879)	26(1879)	John T. Bellamy, James W. Mosely (1881)
Turnersburg Mill	Iredell	1849	660(1869) 650(1879) 680(1884)	10(1869) 10(1879) 10(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 30,000(1869) $ 26,000(1879) $ 26,000(1884)	25(1869) 28(1879)	Wilfred Turner W. Turner & Son
Rock Creek Shoals Factory (Nicholson's)	Iredell	1847/1867	528(1883)		Water	Yarn			J. H. Dalton (1868); T. N. & J. Cooper T. A. Nicholson & Son
Eagle Mills	Iredell	1849/1868	2,500(1879) 600(1884)		Water	Yarn & Cloth			Gaither & Co. (1869) Morrison, Gaither & Co. (1872)
Little River Mfg. Co. (Lowell Mills)	Johnston	1849	1,000(1869) 1,320(1879)	20(1869)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 25,000(1869) $ 40,000(1879)	25(1869) 24(1879)	William Edgerton G. G. & J. H. Edgerton (1884)
Ivey Shoals Factory	Lincoln	1848	816(1869) 1,800(1879) 2,016(1883)	26(1869) 26(1879) 75(1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 20,000(1869) $ 25,000(1879)	30(1869) 50(1879)	J. F. Phifer & Allison
Lincoln Mills	Lincoln	1883							Sumner & Phifer (1884)
Rock Island Mfg. Co.	Mecklenburg	1852-1870	2,200(1869)	63(1869)	Steam	Yarn & Cloth	$150,000(1869)	102(1869)	Young, Wilkes & Co.
Glenroy Cotton Mill	Mecklenburg	1878-1880	264(1879)		Water	Yarn	$ 7,000(1879)	7(1879)	E. C. Grier & Son
Charlotte Cotton Mill	Mecklenburg	1880	6,056(1883) 6,240(1884)		Steam	Yarn	$125,000(1883)	80(1884)	R. M. Oates
Yadkin Falls Mfg. Co.	Montgomery	1857	600(1883)	12(1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth			Mauney, McAlister & Co.
Swift Island Mfg. Co.	Montgomery	1845							C. W. Wooley (1869) E. Hurley (1884)
Wilmington Cotton Mills	New Hanover	1875	5,304(1879) 5,000(1884)	156(1879)	Steam	Yarn & Cloth	$125,000(1879) $ 70,000(1884)	95(1879) 100(1884)	W. G. McRae, Secretary Donald McRae, Pres.
Orange Factory	Orange (Durham)	1852-1883	1,300(1879)	42(1879) 45(1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth Plaids & Seamless Bags (1881)			W. H. Willard (1869) S. W. Holman (1883)
Fowler Cotton Mill	Pasquotank	1882	709(1883)						S. S. Fowler
Cedar Falls Mfg. Company	Randolph	1836/1856	1,824(1879) 2,144(1884)	58(1879) 30(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 25,000(1879) $ 48,000(1884)	90(1879) 90(1884)	George Makepeace, Agt. (1860-1876) O. R. Cox, Agt. J. M. Worth, Pres.
Island Ford Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1845-1870							Hugh Parks, Agt.
Randolph Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1839	1,200(1879) 2,000(1883) 1,800(1884)	25(1879) 50(1883) 40(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 35,000(1879) $ 32,000(1884)	75(1879) 60(1884)	Hugh Parks, Agt. J. D. Williams
Deep River Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1849-1880	1,056(1869) 1,100(1879)	20(1869) 25(1879)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 20,000(1869)	50(1869) 50(1879)	Dennis Curtis
Union Mfg. Co. (Randleman Plaid Mills)	Randolph	1849/1870	3,500(1879) 4,500(1884)	200(1879) 290(1883) 300(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$100,000(1879)	200(1879) 375(1884)	J. Walker (1867) J. B. Randleman (1869) J. H. Feree (1883) O. W. Carr (1884)

Company	Location	Dates	Spindles	Looms	Power	Product	Capital	Employees	Owners
Franklinsville Mfg. Company	Randolph	1839/ 1876	1,100(1879) 960(1883) 1,280(1884)	20(1879) 20(1883) 30(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 35,000(1879) $ 50,000(1884)	20(1879) 83(1884)	Hugh Parks, Agt. (1869) Benjamin Moffitt, Secretary Hugh Parks
Columbia Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1849/ 1879	2,880(1883)		Water	Yarn	$ 60,000(1884)	50(1884)	W. H. Watkins, Agt. J. S. Spencer, Pres.
Naomi Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1879	4,608(1883) 5,500(1884)	118(1883) 150(1884)	Water 12 bag looms.	Yarn & Cloth	$150,000(1884)		J. H. Ferree, Pres.
Enterprise Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1880	1,100(1883) 900(1884)	26(1883) 10(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 15,000(1884)	20(1884)	J. A. Cole
J. M. Worth Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1881	2,500(1883) 5,000(1884)	50(1883) 52(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$150,000(1883)	125(1884)	J. M. Worth
Central Falls Mfg. Company	Randolph	1883	5,000(1883) 2,500(1884)	36(1884)	Water	Yarn	$ 75,000(1884)	65(1884)	J. H. Ferree, Pres. A. M. Diffie, Treas.
Shortridge Mill	Richmond	1867-1868							John Shortridge
Laurel Hill Mill	Richmond	1867	1,900(1879) 2,408(1883) 1,200(1884)		Water	Yarn	$ 25,000(1879)	25(1879) 35(1879)	Charles Malloy and Mark Morgan
Richmond Mfg. Co.	Richmond	1834/ 1879	4,000(1869) 3,840(1879) 4,280(1883) 4,200(1884)	50(1869) 130(1879) 130(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$150,000(1869)	150(1869) 130(1879) 120(1884)	John W. Leake, Pres., (1872) W. L. Steele, Pres., (1879)
Pee Dee Mfg. Co.	Richmond	1874	2,016(1879) 4,000(1883) 4,032(1884)	100(1879) 136(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$150,000(1879) $103,000(1884)	120(1879) 150(1884)	Henry Rishton, Agt. W. L. Steele, Pres.
Midway Mills	Richmond	1881	1,000(1884)		Water	Yarn		25(1884)	Leake, Wall & McRae
Roberdel Mfg. Co.	Richmond	1882	3,264(1884)	100(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$100,000(1884)	100(1884)	
Ledbetter Mills	Richmond	1883	1,000(1884)		Water	Yarn	$ 25,000(1884)	100(1884)	T. B. & J. S. Ledbetter
Milledgeville Mill	Stanley	1840-1881			Water	Yarn			Valentine Mauney McAlister & Co. (1881)
Elkin Mfg. Co.	Surry	1848	1,800(1869) 1,000(1879) 1,500(1883) 1,200(1884)	20(1869) 15(1879) 15(1883) 15(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 75,000(1869) $ 20,000(1879) $ 28,000(1884)	50(1869) 32(1879) 35(1884)	Foard & VanEaton (1867) N. P. Foard & Sons (1869) R. R. Gwyn, Agt. James Gwyn, Pres.
Buck Shoals Factory (Mt. Airy Mills)	Surry	1851	600(1869) 576(1883)		Water	Yarn	$150,000(1869)	20(1869)	Jacob M. Brower and T. M. Brower Arden Hines (1884)
Green Hills Mill (Eureka Mfg. Co.)	Surry	1869	1,000(1869)	21(1869) 25(1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	$ 40,000(1869)		J. F. & W. A. Moore
Wilson Cotton Mill	Wilson	1883	5,320(1884)		Steam	Yarn	$100,000(1884)	80(1884)	A. Branch, Pres.
Larkin Cotton Mill	Yadkin	1868-1870							Sparkes, Johnson & Co.
Cary Steam Cotton Mill	Wake	1874							F. A. Page
Marion Mills	McDowell	1881				Yarn			H. C. Bennett

[1] For references to cotton mills whose foundation antedates 1865 see the authorities listed in Richard W. Griffin and Diffee W. Standard, "The Cotton Textile Industry in Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIV (January, 1957), 15-35; (April, 1957), 131-164.

[2] The following authorities were used in compiling the statistical information in this table: *Fayetteville Observer*, March 19, 1860; *Branson and Farrar's North Carolina Business Directory for 1866-1867, passim; Branson's North Carolina Business Directory for 1867-1868, for 1869, for 1872,* and *1884; Handbook of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1879), *passim; Daily Charlotte Observer*, January 15, 1879; *Dockham's American Report and Directory of the Textile Manufacture and Dry Goods Trade*, (Boston, 1881), *passim; Handbook of the State of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1883), *passim.*

THE NORTH CAROLINA BACKGROUND OF RICHARD JORDAN GATLING

By Thomas C. Parramore *

North Carolina has produced so few men of inventive genius that one might expect her to show special reverence for Richard Gatling. At the beginning of the present century he was undoubtedly the best-known Tarheel in the world. Yet the father of the Gatling gun and scores of other ingenious contrivances has been all but erased from the memory of his native State. The single token of North Carolina's regard is a historical highway marker near his Hertford County birthplace, itself a testament to decades of disregard. The cause is not difficult to fathom: The first use made of Gatling's revolutionary weapon was by the United States Army in the Civil War.



Richard Jordan Gatling, inventor of the Gatling gun. From *Potter's American Monthly.*

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The Gatling family tree extended its first branch across the Virginia line into North Carolina in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In what was then a frontier environment Jordan Gatling at the end of the century cleared 80 acres of land on the north bank of the Meherrin River. By studiously minding his own business and bidding his neighbors to do likewise Jordan acquired in 40 years a sprawling plantation of 1,200 acres and a number of Negro slaves. In the course of those years a twenty-by-sixteen log cabin gave way to a handsome "great house" behind which the cabin came to serve as the kitchen.[1]

Jordan Gatling was by nature uncommonly independent and resourceful, valuable qualities to be sure but unrelieved by any hint of social grace. When he wanted diversion from his work he found it in the solitary pastime of whittling. His collection of walking sticks was the marvel of the Maney's Neck neighborhood. Serpents coiled menacingly up the shanks of his canes and menageries of animals filled the interstices. The prize cane bore a total of 500 words of Roman text, including brief essays, poems, and the names of famous men of history equal, thought one who saw them, "to anything possible to the deftest Japanese whittler in delicacy of execution and minute accuracy of design and finish."[2] Jordan's neighbors watched him from afar and were never quite able to resolve the mixture of loathing and admiration which his eccentric personality evoked. A diarist down the road, summing up Jordan's life at its conclusion, could observe that he "possessed more enterprise than any man in the county . . . ," while adding in the same breath that "no one, not one of his neighbors, save his immediate family, regrets his death."[3] County historian John Wheeler Moore thought years afterward that "Charles Dickens would have delighted in his acquaintance and the portrayal of his oddities. While still in vigorous old age he was cut down amid safe predictions on the part of his neighbors that they should never look upon his like again. Jordan Gatling was a man of strange conceits and stranger actions."[4]

In striking contrast to the unsocial nature of Jordan Gatling was the outgoing benevolence of his wife, Mary Barnes Gatling. Long after she had reared the youngest of her five children and sent them out to make their way in the world she was remembered riding about the Maney's Neck countryside in a top gig drawn by an old gray horse, paying visits

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[1] Charles Henry Foster, "The Modern Vulcan," *Potter's American Monthly*, XII (May, 1879), 336, hereinafter cited as Foster, "The Modern Vulcan."

[2] Foster, "The Modern Vulcan," 332.

[3] Diary of William Darden Valentine, April 24, 1848, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[4] John Wheeler Moore, "Historical Sketches of Hertford County, Ch. XLVII," *Albemarle Inquirer* (Murfreesboro), September 27, 1877.

to her neighbors and lending a helping hand wherever she could.[5]

Like a manorial estate the Gatling plantation was almost completely self-contained and self-sufficient. Jordan was his own blacksmith and carpenter. When he became impatient with the tortuous process of planting and thinning cotton by hand he thought the problem through and invented both a cotton planter and a cotton thinner and for years performed by machine the work his neighbors handled according to the technique of the late Middle Ages. All this was done in spite of Abolitionist injunctions that the ownership of slaves was supposed to curtail inventive genius in a society. In constructing these devices, both patented in 1835, Jordan was assisted by his sons Richard and James Henry, each of whom was destined to turn the experience to account in inventions of his own.[6]

Of the Gatling children, Thomas B., James Henry, and Mary Ann were older than Richard, while Martha and William J. were younger. William went west to mine silver in Colorado and Canada, practiced law for a time in Wisconsin, and returned to Hertford County in the latter part of the century to serve his remaining years as clerk of court. James Henry spent much of his life pondering the riddles of flight and actually constructed a hand-powered aircraft in the 1870's. An intriguing combination of triangular wings and twin blower-type propellers, the craft came to grief against an oak tree on its maiden flight. It was still grounded when James Henry was murdered at the hog pen in 1879. Despite his impractical attempts to fly he inherited no small measure of the Gatling gift for contrivance. He invented and patented an entirely level-headed machine for chopping cotton stalks and a novel method of converting common old-field pine into lightwood. After Jordan Gatling died in 1848, James Henry and neighbor Jethro Barnes were the only two patenting inventors left in the County.[7]

Richard Jordan Gatling was born on his father's Maney's Neck plantation on September 12, 1818. His brief formal education took place at nearby Buckhorn School, the tedium of which was compensated by the excellent fishing possibilities offered by the Meherrin. He and brother Henry fished with poles or, in the spring, small hand-seines handled from a dugout canoe three and a half feet wide and carved from a single tree, a type of boat that can still be found in use

[5] Benjamin Brodie Winborne, *Colonial and State Political History of Hertford County* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printers, 1906), 175.

[6] *State Chronicle* (Raleigh), October 28, 1891, hereinafter cited as *State Chronicle*.

[7] F. Roy Johnson, "James Henry Gatling, the Tinkering Inventor," *The Roanoke-Chowan Story*, XII, 133-144. Johnson, formerly a Murfreesboro newspaper editor, pieced together the story of the Gatling aeroplane largely from interviews with aged local residents, who remembered having seen the craft as children.



Birthplace of Richard J. Gatling. From *Potter's American Monthly*

on the Meherrin and Chowan rivers.[8] Richard probably stood in the avenue leading to the great house in February, 1825, when he was six years old to watch the Marquis de Lafayette ride by in his carriage en route to Murfreesboro, his first overnight stop on the famous southern tour. Shortly before Richard's thirteenth birthday in 1831, Nat Turner, a slave on the Travis plantation a few miles north, roused the neighborhood slaves for the greatest Negro insurrection in American history. For days Maney's Neck farms lay deserted as terrified families fled for safety to Murfreesboro.

At the age of fifteen Gatling left Buckhorn School to become amanuensis in the Murfreesboro office of County Clerk Lewis Meredith Cowper. After a year of copying records Richard went back to the farm to help his father and it was in the next few months that he helped in constructing Jordan's cotton machines. During the 1837-1838 school year Richard taught at an "old field" school in the lower part of the County, an experience distinguished by the part it played in the education of a future United States senator, Jesse J. Yeates.[9] Shortly thereafter Gatling went into business for himself, opening a country store near the rural Hertford County community of Frazier's Cross Roads.

It was during these years as a country merchant that young Richard Gatling contrived his first invention, a device more revolutionary than the machine gun he was destined to devise a quarter-century later.

[8] Foster, "The Modern Vulcan," 334.
[9] *State Chronicle*, October 28, 1891.

The origin of his idea, as he recalled it long years afterward, came on a business trip he made to Norfolk, Virginia, for his father. While seated in the lobby of a hotel there, young Gatling overheard a group of naval officers discussing a new kind of propeller which was to be tested at Norfolk that afternoon. The Gatling curiosity was aroused enough to send him off to the waterfront to witness the trial. To his disappointment the new design "proved to be merely two paddle wheels placed horizontally one on either side near the stern of the boat. The forward part of the revolution was covered up in a compartment built into the boat itself, the backward and propelling stroke only, taking effect in the water." [10]

It now seems clear that Gatling witnessed one of the first trials of William Wallace Hunter's little steamboat, the "Germ." This craft, 50 feet long, nine feet in breadth and having a draft of two feet, underwent tests at Norfolk in the spring of 1841 and from there labored up to Washington, D. C., at the end of May. Hunter, a naval officer, for a time received government support in his horizontal-wheel experiments but the idea proved, in the long run, impracticable.[11]

Inefficient as it was, the Hunter wheels set Gatling to pondering the problems of marine propulsion as he rode back to Hertford County. In the weeks that followed he experimented on a small pond on his father's farm, at length working out a design on the windmill principle, four blades set at angles of 45 degrees about the axis of rotation, the whole propeller suspended so as to take effect in the water. The inventor saw a commercial future for his contrivance and asked his father for permission to go to Washington then and there to apply for a patent. Jordan, as the son later recalled it, "was cautious and said 'Wait awhile.'" [12] Consequently, seven months passed before Jordan consented to have his son leave for Washington. Upon exhibiting his invention at the Patent Office "he was informed that only a few days before, exactly the same thing had been patented." [13] John Ericsson's screw propeller was destined to revolutionize ocean transport within a decade. To the end of his life Gatling took pride in reminding interviewers that the idea was initially his own, developed on a farm pond in Maney's Neck.

For four more years Richard Gatling tended the store at Frazier's Cross Roads, occasionally placing orders with his brother Henry, who

[10] *State Chronicle*, December 15, 1891.
[11] *American Beacon* (Norfolk, Virginia), June 2, 1841. The writer is indebted to Alexander C. Brown of Newport News, Virginia, for calling his attention to Hunter's experiments with the "Germ" and similar craft.
[12] *State Chronicle*, December 15, 1891.
[13] *State Chronicle*, December 15, 1891.

for a while kept a store in Winton, eight miles north. On July 21, 1842, he professed religion for the first time by becoming a member of the nearby Union Methodist Church. In the course of these years Gatling's mind continued active in mechanical experiments, culminating in the perfection of a machine that would earn for him his first fortune.

Patented in May, 1844, the new machine was a rice-seed planter, a refinement and adaptation of his father's cotton planter of nine years before. The rice-planter was a rectangular, horizontal frame, drawn upon a roller by horse or other source of power. Seed in a hopper above the frame dropped through a perforated leather bottom in the hopper onto channels in a roller underneath. The roller channels carried the seed around to inclined spouts. Drills forward of these spouts made furrows into which the seed were deposited. The design called for five spouts and drills in a row diagonal to the furrows though presumably more might be added. Oblique scrapers or coverers behind the spouts covered the seed in the furrows and a compacting roller behind the scrapers packed the earth tightly over the seed. It was the motion of this compacting roller as it was drawn along the furrows which, by cogs or band pulleys, turned the channeled roller under the seed hopper.[14]

There is more significance to this innocent seed planter than meets the eye. Suppose that instead of rice seed the operator dropped bullets into the hopper, that the motive power of the rollers was a hand crank, and that the spouts were arranged according to Samuel Colt's principle of the revolving barrel. Such a device would employ the basic features of the greatest engine of destruction developed in the nineteenth century, the machine gun.[15] The Gatling gun was the child of the rice-planter and the grandchild of old Jordan Gatling's determination to see his cotton planted more efficiently.

By the summer of 1844 Jordan Gatling was in retirement and Henry had moved back to Maney's Neck to manage the plantation. Henry boasted in his account book that crops were excellent and that he "had cotton blooms 29th day of June" but storekeeping was beginning to weigh heavily on his brother's spirits.[16] The Albemarle region, bright with promise as the century opened, was rapidly losing its New Eng-

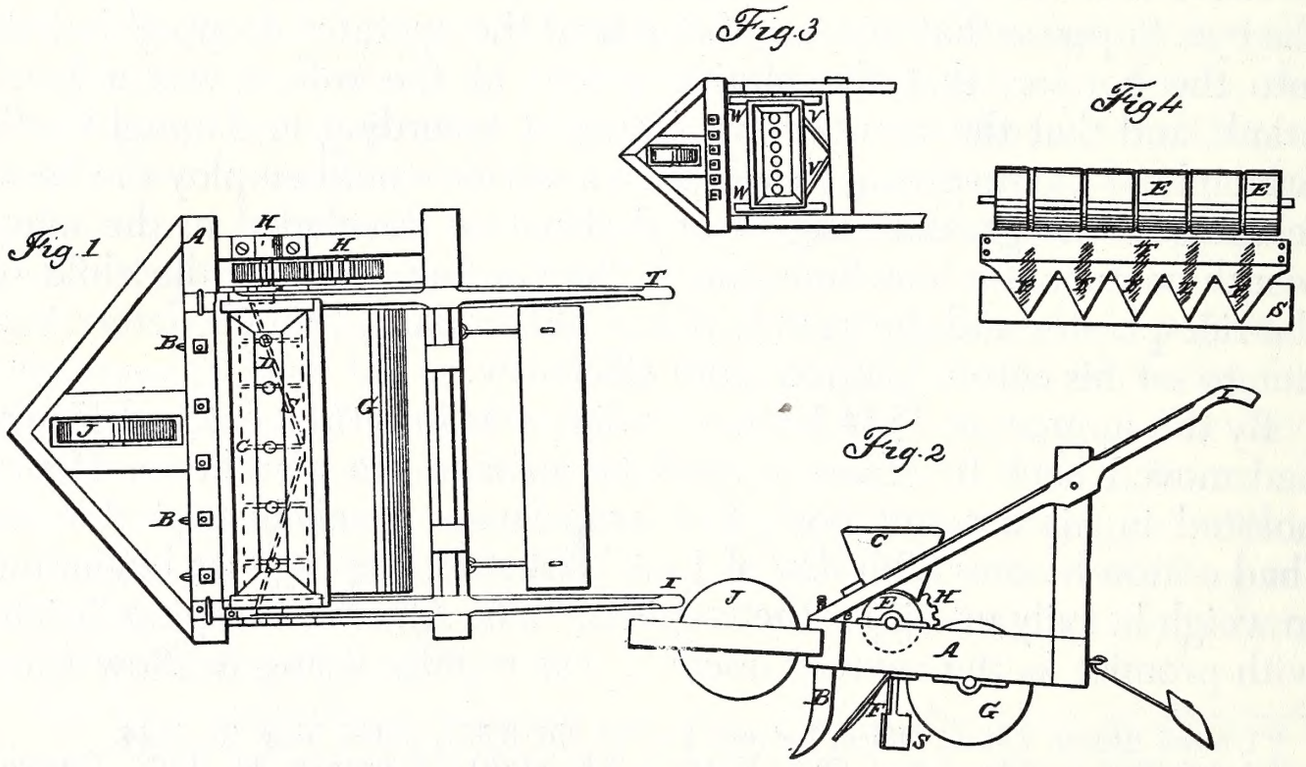
[14] United States Patent Office, Letters Patent No. 3,581, dated May 10, 1844.

[15] According to *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), February 24, 1963, Thomas Winborne of Raleigh at present owns a revolver which "furnished the idea for the famous gun." This six-shooter, identified as "Allen's Patent, 1837," was given to Winborne's grandfather by Richard Gatling.

[16] Account book of James Henry Gatling. Typed copy in possession of F. Roy Johnson of Murfreesboro.

land and West Indian trade to more accessible waterways. As many other young men of Albemarle had already done, Richard Gatling decided to seek his fortune in the West, finally fixing upon St. Louis as the most progressive city west of the Appalachians. In the autumn of 1844 he took what money he had, settled his affairs, mounted a horse, and set out for Raleigh on his way westward.

Richard Gatling rode west to international renown. Converting his rice-planter to a wheat-planter in St. Louis, he amassed a handsome fortune on the midwestern plains. The idea for his machine gun came to him in 1862 and received its initial test in Virginia in the following year under the sponsorship of the United States government. Despite the brief and indecisive use of the gun against Confederate troops, many southerners never forgave what they regarded as Gatling's treachery. North Carolina, unstinting in memorials to petty politicians in legion, has permitted the name of Gatling to fade into obscurity. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*



Drawings for R. J. Gatling's seed-planter, patented May 10, 1844. The drawings and the specifications, reproduced on the opposite page, are from the files of the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

RICHD. J. GATLING, OF MURFREESBOROUGH, NORTH CAROLINA.

IMPROVEMENT IN SEED-PLANTERS.

Specification forming part of Letters Patent No. **3,581**, dated May 10, 1844.

To all whom it may concern:

Be it known that I, RICHARD J. GATLING, of Murfreesborough, in the county of Hertford and State of North Carolina, have invented a new and useful Improvement in Machines for Planting Rice and other Grain and Seeds, which is described as follows, reference being had to the annexed drawings of the same, making part of this specification.

Figure 1 is a top view. Fig. 2 is a side elevation. Fig. 4 is a front view of the spouts, the coverers, and the grooved roller.

This machine consists of a rectangular horizontal frame, A, in which are placed drills B for opening or making parallel trenches or furrows to receive the rice; a hopper, C, having a perforated leather bottom, D, in which the rice to be planted is put; a revolving channeled or perforated roller, E, for receiving the rice from the hopper C and depositing the same into inclined spouts F, which conduct it to the furrows made by the drills B, and oblique scrapers or coverers S following said spouts for covering the rice; a roller, G, for rolling the earth hard down upon the rice; cog-wheels H, or band-pulleys, on the axles of said rollers, connected together, the power to turn the same being derived from the animal drawing the machine and the friction of the large roller G upon the ground; handles I to guide the machine; a wheel or wheels, J, placed in the forward part of the frame to regulate or determine the depth of entrance of the drills, and consequently the depth of the furrows. These parts are made of any suitable material and of any convenient size or proportion, and the arrangement of the gearing may be varied so as to cause the channeled roller to turn toward or from the hopper, and may be placed inside or outside the frame.

The channeled roller E is placed perpendicularly under the hopper C, and the spouts F are placed under the channeled roller with their points near the heels of the drills B, said spouts being fastened to the frame A. The coverer S is placed behind the spouts F and in front of the roller G, and said coverer is also fastened to the frame A. (Represented by dotted lines at S in Fig. 1.)

The leather or elastic bottom D of the hopper will yield when any grain falls between the edges of the leathern bottom and the outer surface of the grooved cylinder, and thus will the grain be prevented from being broken or injured.

Operation: The rice to be planted is put into the hopper C. The machine is drawn forward by animal or other power. The drills B open the furrows. The friction of roller G upon the ground turns cog-wheel H on its axle. This turns cog-wheel H′ on the axle of the channeled roller E, and also roller E. The latter receives the rice in its channels from the apertures in the leather bottom of the hopper and conveys it round to the spouts F, which conduct it to the furrows and deposit it therein. The oblique scrapers S, following after them, cover the earth over the rice. The roller G rolls the earth.

What I claim as my invention, and desire to secure by Letters Patent, is—

The combination and arrangement of the perforated hopper C D, revolving channeled cylinder E, and inclined conducting-spouts F, as above described.

R. J. GATLING.

Witnesses:
WM. P. ELLIOT,
BENJ. ROOP.

REPUBLICAN FACTIONALISM IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1904-1906

By David C. Roller*

In 1894 and again in 1896 the Populist and the Republican parties of North Carolina co-operated (or "fused," as the Democrats said) to defeat the Democrats, and to gain control of the legislature and the governorship. When the Democrats were returned to the legislature in 1898, they were determined to consolidate their victory in such a way that the Republicans might never again repeat their successes of that time. The Democrats enacted a system of highly partisan election laws and then, despite their earlier campaign pledges, proposed a constitutional amendment disfranchising the Negro ballot.[1] Disfranchisement cost the Republicans an estimated 50,000 votes,[2] and throughout the next 50 years the North Carolina Republican Party was unable to elect a governor or a State officer and managed to elect only eight congressmen. Although the Republicans drew from one-third to nine-twentieths of the popular vote, they were without influence and effective representation.

Yet, this prolonged condition of political ineffectiveness was not anticipated or inevitable in the first years of the century. Indeed, there were several reasons for supposing that the Republicans might succeed in organizing a strong and successful party in North Carolina. Many Republicans, although granting that disfranchisement had cost

* Mr. Roller is a doctoral candidate and Instructor in History at Duke University.

[1] Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 522-525. Mississippi in 1890, South Carolina in 1895, and Louisiana in 1898 had already legally excluded the Negro ballot. Alabama, Georgia, Virginia, and Oklahoma then followed North Carolina in this action.

The George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University, and the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, contain a great deal of material on the Republican Party during this period. There is, however, a paucity of information about Congressman E. Spencer Blackburn's effort to gain control of the Party. The Marion Butler Collection in the Southern Historical Collection is still closed for the period after 1900. The William Garrott Brown and the J. Elwood Cox collections in the George Washington Flowers Collection and the James Graham Ramsay and the Willis Grandy Briggs collections, Southern Historical Collection, provide only oblique and highly personal references relating to this subject. Thus contemporary newspaper accounts provide the major source of information about this portion of the history of the Republican Party in North Carolina.

[2] Hugh Talmage Lefler, *History of North Carolina* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 4 volumes, 1956), II, 702.

a large number of votes, considered the amendment to be the beginning of a new day for their party. As long as the Negro was identified with the Republicans, it was impossible to enlist the support of a majority of the white population and to build a strong State party composed solely of white voters. With the Negro effectively eliminated from State politics, Republicans could canvass as a second white man's party, and the Democrats could no longer equate Republicanism with Negro domination.

The gradual industrialization of North Carolina suggested a second reason for Republican optimism. In 1900 the State was still on the margin of the nation's industrial economy and could hardly be described as "industrialized" with only one-thirtieth of its population engaged in manufacturing. Nevertheless, a self-conscious group of entrepreneurs, most of whom were voting Republican in national politics, had arisen; and Republican leaders sought to convert these people to the Republican faith and doctrines on the State level as well.[3]

The conversion of "good" "white" southerners to the support, if not always to the faith, of Republicanism was made easier by the popularity of the Party's national standard-bearer, Theodore Roosevelt. His mother was from Georgia and he had Confederate uncles; this made him "half-southern" and as irresistible to Dixie as he was to the nation as a whole. Within weeks after becoming President, Roosevelt appointed a conservative and Democratic former governor of Alabama to a federal judgeship. The South was "delighted," southern newspapers predicted a "new era of good feeling," and many Republicans optimistically envisioned the section's flocking to the Roosevelt banner.[4]

Nevertheless, despite their use of the mantle of Roosevelt's popularity and their diligent efforts to develop the growing power of the business community as a political base, the Republicans of North Carolina failed to build the virile and successful party which many of them had envisioned as their future. The Republicans were aware of their party's opportunity for political growth, but they were unable to organize the sustained, unified, and concerted program needed to cultivate this promise of future success. Intraparty lawsuits, convention contests, and the running race for federal patronage provided constant distractions and frequent fissions within the ranks of the State

[3] Dan Mabry Lacy, "The Beginnings of Industrialism in North Carolina: 1865-1900" (unpublished master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1935), 127-136.

[4] Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., "Dinner at the White House: Theodore Roosevelt, Booker T. Washington, and the South," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, XVII (June, 1958), 112-113, 129.

Republican organization. This chronic factionalism, and not the disfranchisement amendment, was responsible for crippling the Republican Party during the early years of this century.

Illustrative of this internecine feuding was the challenge of E. Spencer Blackburn to the Republican organization from 1904 to 1906. While Roosevelt carried West Virginia and Missouri in the November elections of 1904, North Carolina Republicans reduced the Democratic gubernatorial majority of 1900 from 60,000 to 49,000, and they elected Blackburn to Congress from the Eighth Congressional District. Blackburn was the only State Republican to hold federal office by election and, although he had only a 245-vote majority, he had won this contest in the face of opposition from several ranking Republicans.[5] Speculation began immediately after his victory as to whether Blackburn, in his unique public position, would displace State Chairman Thomas S. Rollins as dispenser of federal patronage. If Blackburn were given control of patronage, he would naturally oust such officeholders as United States District Attorney A. E. Holton, who had opposed the new congressman's nomination and election.[6]

Roosevelt announced that Virginia's lone Republican congressman, Campbell B. Slemp, would control the patronage which formerly had been dispensed by the "Old Dominion's" State chairman, but the President gave no indication of following a similar policy in North Carolina. Rollins, after all, had a powerful friend and ally in Marion Butler, a former North Carolina senator and Populist Party national chairman. Butler, a new convert to progressive Republicanism and a "friend" of the President, was a major power behind Rollins and an old foe of many of Blackburn's supporters. If Blackburn was to gain control of the State organization and of federal patronage, he would have to wrest it from Butler, Rollins, and their supporters.

The initial contest between these groups arose, not over patronage, but over the establishment of a Republican daily newspaper. At a time when news coverage was slanted more often than not to the political views of a newspaper's owners, and in a State blanketed by Democratic presses, a daily newspaper was essential if the Republican view of the news was to be presented as the events occurred. There was good reason for supposing that an effort to publish such a daily newspaper in Greensboro would be successful, and the two factions of the Republican Party began a race to found such a journal.

On May 31, 1905, Congressman Blackburn chartered a corporation

[5] *The Morning Post* (Raleigh), December 4, 1904, hereinafter cited as *The Morning Post*. Blackburn had received a total of 15,566 votes to 15,321 for his opponent.

[6] *The Morning Post*, November 27, 1904.

which would publish the Greensboro Daily Tar Heel. He had been preceded in calling at the Secretary of State's office, however, by Judge Spencer B. Adams who had, less than an hour before, incorporated the *Daily Industrial News,* also in Greensboro, for a group headed by Rollins, Butler, and Holton.[7] The two factions competed all summer for support for their respective dailies, but Butler and Rollins succeeded in publishing their paper first.

Blackburn's projected newspaper eventually appeared in Greensboro as a weekly and immediately assumed a distinctly anti-Rollins and anti-Butler posture.[8] It dismissed the *Daily Industrial News* as the personal spokesman of Butler and proclaimed itself to be "against the arrogated powers of an office-holding oligarchy, headed and dominated by the repudiated Boss of another party."[9] The more genteel *Daily Industrial News* ignored the remarks of its contemporary and refused even to carry a news item noting the initial publication of the weekly. Fuss and fume as the *Tar Heel* might, Blackburn had lost his first contest to the State organization.

Blackburn quickly regrouped his forces and soon issued a reform platform of 22 points. The Congressman called for the replacement of the "patronage machine" with a vigorous popular party, and he spoke against the leadership of the Republican Party by Marion Butler, the "repudiated leader of another party." The "reformer" was also opposed to reappointment of any federal officeholder who had served two terms of office.[10] Since most incumbents were supporters of the Rollins-Butler combine, the policy of limiting officials to two terms of office would have struck at the core of the organization's support and opened innumerable positions to be filled by Blackburn's men. Blackburn's suggestion was probably better as a political expedient than as a plank of progressive reform.

A week after issuing his 22-point manifesto, Blackburn went to Washington at the head of a "flying squadron" of 20 North Carolina Republicans. In an hour-long interview with Roosevelt, the Blackburn group protested against the influence of Butler and against Rollins' "office brokerage."[11] The President agreed to look into the matter and directed Attorney General William H. Moody and Republican National Chairman and Postmaster General George B. Cortelyou to conduct an

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[7] *The Morning Post,* June 1, 2, 3, 1905.

[8] *Weekly Tar Heel* (Greensboro), hereinafter cited as *Weekly Tar Heel,* began publication on November 9, 1905. The *Daily Industrial News* (Greensboro), hereinafter cited as *Daily Industrial News,* first appeared on October 8, 1905.

[9] *Weekly Tar Heel,* November 16, 1905.

[10] *Weekly Tar Heel,* December 7, 1905.

[11] *Charlotte Daily Observer,* December 15, 1905.

analytical study of North Carolina politics. The Blackburn group greeted this action as a highly favorable sign and its first significant victory.[12]

The White House visit was soon followed by Roosevelt's nomination of Blackburn's men as postmasters in Goldsboro and Greensboro. This was a new peak for Blackburn's influence, as organization-backed candidates were passed over in both instances; the Greensboro appointment especially had been tagged by Butler and Rollins for the Editor of their *Daily Industrial News*, Robert Dick Douglas. (Douglas was the grandson of the famous Stephen A. Douglas and the son of a prominent North Carolina Republican, Robert M. Douglas.) The State organization was observably jarred by these nominations, and the Washington correspondent of the Democratic *Charlotte Daily Observer* reported that:

> The prediction is now being freely made that the President has concluded to deal with Mr. Blackburn in his representative capacity and that he will, before a great while, secure the scalps of others who have been known as his opponents.[13]

Chairman Rollins, National Committeeman Carl E. Duncan, and a disappointed Editor Douglas made a beeline for Washington to meet with Butler and to make an appeal to the President.[14] There, although they failed to persuade Roosevelt to withdraw his appointment of Blackburn's candidates, they apparently won an even greater victory. Postmasterships were key plums for rank-and-file support; but the two district attorney positions and those of the two United States revenue collectors and the two United States district marshals of the State represented six positions which a group of major postmasterships could not equal. Three of these posts required new appointments and all three were awarded to the organization forces. The President renominated District Attorney Holton, a principal political foe of the Congressman; he passed over Blackburn's chief aide to reappoint Marshal J. M. Millikan, an organization Republican; and he awarded the other marshal's office to a candidate backed by Rollins.[15]

With the ambiguous Roosevelt swinging like a pendulum between the two factions, the patronage fight shifted to Congress where Blackburn used his congressional influence to tie up Holton's confirmation in the Senate Judiciary Committee.[16] Blackburn told the senators that

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[12] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, December 21, 1905.
[13] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, January 25, 1906.
[14] *Daily Industrial News*, January 27, 1906.
[15] *Daily Industrial News*, February 6, 1906.
[16] *Daily Industrial News*, February 10, 1906.

Holton placed politics above his duties as district attorney, and the Congressman secured even Democratic support for his opposition to the incumbent.[17]

The appointment of Holton was both a personal fight between Blackburn and Holton and a test of strength between Blackburn and the organization. The Congressman had used his position in Congress to check Holton, and the District Attorney countered by using his office against Blackburn. Holton presented a bill of indictment charging Blackburn with illegally practicing law before the Department of Justice. Blackburn yelled "politics," but the grand jury indicted him on eight counts and the seesaw battle for power continued.[18]

The *Charlotte Daily Observer* suggested in an editorial that Holton was acting under the direction and with the approval of the national administration in an attempt to curb the rambunctious Congressman,[19] but it is impossible to substantiate this idea from Roosevelt's actions. One week before the indictment, the President had withdrawn the nominations of Blackburn's men for Goldsboro and Greensboro; then three days after the grand jury's report, he resubmitted their names and was reported pressing for their confirmation.[20]

Publicly, Blackburn was undismayed, but his political stature was clearly shortened under the force of his indictment. Despite the Congressman's testimony, the Senate confirmed Holton's nomination; and, despite Roosevelt's urgings, Butler managed to tie up the approval of Blackburn's Greensboro and Goldsboro postmasterships.[21]

The basis of the indictment was a statute directing that:

> No Senator, Representative, or Delegate, after his election and during his continuance in office . . . shall receive or agree to receive any compensation whatever, directly or indirectly, for any services rendered, or to be rendered, to any person . . . in relation to any proceeding, contract, claim, controversy, charge, accusation, arrest, or other matter or thing in which the United States is a party. . . .[22]

To remove the trial from the influence of State politics, Holton was replaced as prosecutor by a federal attorney from Virginia, and a judge

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[17] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, February 11, 15, 1906.
[18] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, February 22, 1906.
[19] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, February 22, 1906.
[20] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, February 14, 25, 1906.
[21] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, April 8, 1906.
[22] Title XIX, Section 1782, *Revised Statutes of the United States, Passed at the First Session of the Forty-Third Congress, 1873-1874* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878), 316. Conviction under this statute carried with it imprisonment for not more than two years, a fine of not more than $10,000, and prohibition from holding public office.

from outside the State was brought in to preside. Blackburn's defense was based on the point that each instance on which he was charged with practicing law illegally had occurred prior to undertaking his duties as an actual member of Congress. The trial went on for three days, but the judge, at the conclusion of his directions to the jury, dismissed the case with this instruction:

> If you should bring in a verdict of guilty I would promptly set it aside, so to avoid further delay in this unfortunate case I herewith direct you to write the words "not guilty" upon each of the eight indictments against the defendant.[23]

Reaction to the verdict was mixed. The *Daily Industrial News* hoped editorially that the verdict would be the end of the dispute and called for unity,[24] but Butler labeled Blackburn a "fool" who had narrowly "escaped the penitentiary."[25] The Democratic *Charlotte Daily Observer*, however, considered the indictment to have been a "flimsy case" and the aquittal to have given Blackburn "supreme" power within the Eighth District.[26]

Blackburn remained in Greensboro long enough to organize his campaign for State chairman and then he confidently returned to Washington. After the Congressman visited the White House, the Washington *Star*, a Roosevelt organ, opined that "Mr. Blackburn will put the Butler-Rollins combination out of business."[27] Indeed, Roosevelt's patronage appointments did appear to support Blackburn. Two Blackburn nominees for postmasters were confirmed and, to everyone's surprise, a Blackburn nominee ousted an organization incumbent as the second North Carolina collector of revenue.[28] The collectorship was the greatest patronage plum that Blackburn had received during his contest with the organization,[29] a contest which was fast approaching its climax. A new State chairman was to be elected at the Party's State convention in July, and Blackburn's lieutenants were vigorously soliciting delegates.

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[23] *Daily Industrial News*, April 21, 1906.
[24] *Daily Industrial News*, April 21, 1906.
[25] *The Caucasian* (Raleigh), May 3, 1906.
[26] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, April 21, 1906.
[27] *The Star* (Washington, D. C.), quoted in the *Charlotte Daily Observer*, May 11, 1906.
[28] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, June 1, 19, 1906.
[29] Roosevelt, in his letter to the new collector, George H. Brown, explicitly forbade the use of this federal office "in any shape or way in the faction contest between Mr. Blackburn and Mr. Blackburn's opponents." Nevertheless, the ouster of the organization's incumbent in favor of Blackburn's nominee was an unquestioned laurel for the Congressman. Theodore Roosevelt to George H. Brown, June 20, 1906, Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 8 volumes, 1951-1954), V, 308.

At the end of May, with the organization clearly on the defensive, Rollins, Holton, and Duncan went to confer with Butler in Washington. They still controlled the convention's program, but more than an agenda was needed to turn the increasing power of the warring Congressman. A strategy was agreed upon, and on the day following this Washington conference, Chairman Rollins resigned. Judge Spencer B. Adams was selected to fill out Rollins' term. Blackburn admitted that the change was a "distinct surprise," but considered the change to represent no lessening of Butler's hated influence.[30] Adams immediately began to marshal the machine's support.

Blackburn's strength was localized in the western counties in and surrounding his congressional district. The core of the organization's support came from the eastern counties where, except for Butler's Sampson County, Republicans were seldom elected to office, and party members had accustomed themselves to the discipline (and the patronage) of the State organization. Adams' problems was, therefore, to obtain as much support as possible from the western and central counties where large numbers of Republicans viewed Blackburn as an insurgent "mountaineer" who was corroding the strength of the Party in a factional war for his personal aggrandizement.

In addition to the questions of Blackburn's personal following opposed to the State organization and of east-west sectional differences, the hazy question of presidential politics further beclouded the contest for the State chairmanship. Although Blackburn's *Weekly Tar Heel* described itself as "Republican of the Roosevelt-type," it was fonder of recalling the glories of Hayes, Harrison, and McKinley than of lauding the reforming Roosevelt. Blackburn himself had courted the favor of several presidential hopefuls, and there were rumors that, should Blackburn gain control, the State convention would declare its support of House Speaker Joseph Cannon for President.[31] Butler, on the other hand, was a faithful supporter of the progressive policies of Roosevelt and was hopeful that he would accept a third term. If Roosevelt declined, the ex-Populist was willing to support Roosevelt's favorite, Secretary of War William Howard Taft.

The extent to which Blackburn's un-Rooseveltian intentions affected the alignment of Republicans in the State cannot be determined, but they were a decisive influence on the President. Roosevelt had tried to maintain the support of both factions; he enjoyed the backing and the support of Butler and the organization, but he respected the

[30] *Weekly Tar Heel*, May 31, 1906.
[31] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, May 27, 1906.

popular success of the maverick Congressman. When Blackburn appeared to be stepping away from the President's political camp, however, three Rooseveltian thunderbolts fell on North Carolina Republicans. Butler and Adams announced that Taft, Roosevelt's troubleshooter in international, national, and Republican Party politics, would be the keynote speaker at the State convention under the slogan "Adams and Harmony."[32] Then the Party received a letter from Republican National Chairman Cortelyou. It was addressed to "My dear Mr. Adams":

> I am deeply interested in the convention, and believe that if properly conducted upon broad lines of harmonious action, in the furtherance of clean politics, it will exert a powerful influence for good in the affairs of North Carolina. In a state as well as in national affairs a clear definition of party lines, based upon well-defined policies, is a vital factor in the struggle for good government. *As a necessary feature of such political alignments, there must be party organization—an organization that represents not an individual or a faction, but the fundamental principles for which the party stands.*[33]

If these two actions left any room for doubt as to the attitude of the national administration, Roosevelt emphasized his support of the State organization with a convention-eve patronage nomination. Butler had bottled up the confirmation of Blackburn's Greensboro postmastership, and now Roosevelt, with a most dramatic effect, withdrew the nomination of the Congressman's candidate and replaced it with that of R. D. Douglas, editor of the organization's daily paper.

Meanwhile, the organization had been countering Blackburn's drive for delegates with a counterdrive of its own. Adams was attending as many county conventions as he was able, Butler presented the organization's case to old friends and enemies alike through the mails, and the *Daily Industrial News* increased its attack upon the challenging Congressman. The tide had apparently turned by the week before the convention when Judge W. P. Bynum, Jr., publicly endorsed Chairman Adams for re-election.[34] Bynum had been a steadfast supporter of Blackburn and had served as the chief attorney defending the Congressman in the trial of the preceding April; his defection represented the growing reluctance of the party members to take on the organization in an open fight.

Indeed, the theme of Secretary Taft's message in Greensboro was a

[32] *Daily Industrial News*, June 23, 1906.
[33] *Daily Industrial News*, July 10, 1906. Italics added by the author.
[34] *Daily Industrial News*, July 7, 1906.

warning against such an intraparty squabble. His judgment that the existence of federal patronage hindered rather than abetted State Republicans received the greatest attention from the Democratic papers, but more central to his thought was an appeal for harmony and unity; without this condition, Taft warned, the State's "men of substance" would refuse to support the Republican cause.[35]

The work of Adams, the campaign of the *Daily Industrial News*, President Roosevelt's quiet strength, and the resilience of the organization were together enough to check the insurgent Blackburn. During a riotous and disorderly session, 55 per cent of the delegates stood by the organization and Judge Adams was re-elected State chairman.[36]

His long campaign to overthrow the existing organization had ended in defeat, and Blackburn, at the conclusion of the balloting, personally moved that Adams' election be made unanimous. The organization took its cue and made one of Blackburn's lieutenants, W. S. Pearson, permanent party secretary. The contest had been earnestly and bitterly fought, but a reconciliation was accomplished. The organization's *Daily Industrial News* switched from its attacks on Blackburn to call for peace.

> Let us have peace. And when we say peace we mean peace that comes from mutual determination to give and take, peace that implies a mutual consideration and respect for the rights of all men within the party. . . .
>
> Let us have peace, and secure in all that peace, let us Republicans, one and all, put our shoulders to the wheel and give to our new-elected [*sic*] state chairman a most whole-hearted and enthusiastic support and at the same time send to the next congress E. Spencer Blackburn, and if possible give him one or more associates to help him uphold the Republican banner.[37]

In turn, Blackburn's *Tar Heel* gave the appropriate response.

> The Convention is now a thing of the past and Mr. Adams will be State Chairman for the next two years. The factional fight has ceased and where strife and bitterness existed last week, friendship and harmony prevail today. . . . Mr. Adams is chairman of the party in the State. Mr. Blackburn is the only Republican Representative in Congress from the State. Upon the shoulders of these two strong, sturdy and stalwart men rests the destiny of the party—its integrity, its honor and its success.[38]

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[35] *Daily Industrial News*, July 10, 1906.

[36] Spencer B. Adams received 468 votes, E. Spencer Blackburn received 300 votes, and C. J. Harris (a dark horse, pro-Taft, antiorganization candidate) received 84 votes. *Daily Industrial News*, July 11, 1906.

[37] *Daily Industrial News*, July 11, 1906.

[38] *Weekly Tar Heel*, July 12, 1906.

If the unanimity which prevailed after Adams' election had continued, the Blackburn fight might have been a beneficial catharsis for State Republicans. It was, however, only one of the running series of factional battles which dissipated the Republican Party's energy, money, and attention. It was a single instance of the factionalism which prevented the Republican Party from capitalizing upon a genuine opportunity for political growth in a southern State.

The most frequent of these Republican cleavages originated—as they did during the period of Blackburn's challenge—over the distribution of federal patronage. Indeed, R. D. W. Connor has credited these patronage contests with checkmating the Party's chances for growth.

> . . . the Republicans of North Carolina, for a mess of Federal pottage, threw away the best chance their party ever had to lay the foundation of a strong party in a southern state.[39]

Yet, although the desire to secure a federal stipend was the motive of many individual candidacies, more than "spoils" was involved in these patronage appointments. Each appointment represented a possible element of political power. Each postmastership and each revenue collectorship was viewed as a political pawn by would-be party chieftains and by those who sought to influence the presidential nominations of the national Republican Party. Even President Roosevelt, who wanted to raise the quality of federal appointments, was acutely aware of the political potentialities of patronage awards. Concerned over the threat which Mark Hanna's organizations in the southern States might pose to his renomination in 1904, Roosevelt built his own support through an astute distribution of patronage. With it he courted, at various times and often simultaneously, "Black and Tan" Republicans, "Lily White" Republicans, and conservative Democrats. In fact, "the one constant, continuing result of his Southern patronage policies was his surer control of the Republican party."[40]

Likewise, the patronage fights which divided North Carolina Republicans were often struggles for the components of party power. The most idealistic reformer and the most cynical machine boss would have found that as their control over federal appointments waxed or waned, so would their relative influence within the party organization vary. Thus, to say that the Republicans threw away a promising op-

[39] R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding An Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (Chicago, Illinois: The American Historical Society, Inc., 4 volumes, 1929), II, 528.

[40] John Morton Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954), 47.

portunity for a "mess of Federal pottage" is misleading in the suggestion of a self-indulgent melee for the spoils of office.

It is clear, however, that the Republicans, because of their chronic factionalism, forfeited their opportunity for growth. They competed for patronage, they fought lawsuits, and they contested State conventions. They dissipated their strength fighting one another when they should have been organizing a concentrated effort to build a vigorous second party in North Carolina.

CAROLINA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CONTEMPORARY PUBLICATIONS

By William S. Powell*

Fascinating passages in the scientific reports of Thomas Hariot and the reports of explorations by Amadas, Barlow, Lane, and others associated with the Roanoke colonies between 1584 and 1590 were slow in losing their grip on the imagination of the English people. Even after the beginning of the seventeenth century several half-hearted attempts were made to locate the lost colonists whom Governor John White had failed to find in 1590. For one reason or another—to gather herbs for the London market or to follow vague Indian clues—these efforts came to naught. Books published for a number of years afterwards, however, repeated the facts first related by the literate members of the various expeditions and reprinted the map drawn by White.

Explorations southward from Jamestown during the time of Captain John Smith were made to search for Sir Walter Raleigh's colonists, but from 1622 onward, after John Pory made an expedition simply to get an idea of the lay of the land, there were other motives for exploration. Rumors or hopes of finding gold, silver, and copper were always rife. In time, the expanded population in the Jamestown area caused the more venturesome to seek good tobacco land to the south. All of these efforts were spontaneous within the Virginia colony. But some of them had commercial overtones. Expeditions were sometimes formally organized and the sponsors' expectation of a profit from them prompted the publication of their findings with the hope of encouraging settlement. Large grants of land might be expected by those who could promise that the land would be settled.

After 1663, when King Charles II granted the territory of Carolina to eight of his loyal supporters, there was increased activity in both exploration and publication. Some of the tracts and broadsides reported with a degree of accuracy the state of affairs in Carolina. Others, de-

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signed only to lure colonists who would open up the country and begin to make the vast domain of the eight Lords Proprietors a source of profit, were misleading in the extreme. But venturesome Englishmen fell for the bait, and the printing press proved a useful ally in the Proprietors' frantic activity to lure settlers to Carolina.

The term "promotional literature" has sometimes been applied to certain of the tracts issued for this specific purpose. But in effect everything not derogatory published about the American colonies in the seventeenth century was promotional, though sometimes not overtly so. Englishmen at home and Protestants on the continent were keenly interested in the American colonies. General geographical works nearly always devoted numerous pages to England's American possessions.[1]

Logically one might also class as promotional literature several other categories of seventeenth-century publications—the 1670 treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain which related to the American colonies and the various editions of the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina under which colonists might expect to live. There were also a few publications which were issued for personal reasons—those relating to Captain Henry Wilkinson, who had been appointed Governor of Carolina; a notice by a merchant about outfitting colonists for the Atlantic voyage; or the proposal of a man with a new system for clearing land.

As contemporary accounts of Carolina this varied assortment of tracts, broadsides, maps, and chapters in longer works represents an invaluable source. Some of the information contained there is obviously based on an intimate knowledge of the region, and much of it does not appear in the published *Colonial Records of North Carolina* or in other readily available sources.[2] These tantalizing glimpses of an earlier Carolina whet the appetite for further details. One could wish for more information, for instance, on Captain Dunbar, Clerk Ash and

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[1] In this study I have intentionally omitted reference to publications which were based on information growing wholly out of the sixteenth-century explorations on and around Roanoke Island. For a fuller discussion of the role of promotional literature in the settlement of the American colonies, see Hope F. Kane, *Colonial Promotion and Promotion Literature of Carolina, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, 1660-1700* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1948), a 23-page abstract of her doctoral dissertation at Brown University, 1930, hereinafter cited as Kane, *Colonial Promotion;* Jarvis M. Morse, *American Beginnings, Highlights and Sidelights of the Birth of the New World* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1952), 86-88.

[2] Five of the entries in this bibliography (Publication Numbers, 6, 8, 9, 22, and 27) are reprinted in Alexander S. Salley, Jr., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911). Four (Publication Numbers 4, 5, 7, and 8) are reprinted in Peter Force, *Tracts and other Papers, Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, From the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776* (Washington: Peter Force, 4 volumes, 1836-1846). Publication Number 14 was reprinted in 1958 by the University of Virginia Press with an introduction and notes by William P. Cumming.

the "Richmond," or for a good account of Nathan Sumers' [*sic*] machine, which sounds like a modern bulldozer, with which he proposed to clear land in Carolina.[3]

As sources for detailed information about transportation to Carolina, these pieces are unrivaled. Fares often are quoted, terms of payment are set forth, sailing schedules are given, and lists of goods recommended to accompany the departing colonists are often repeated.

An examination of the various publications, in chronological order, reveals how frequently one writer plagiarized another. Perhaps the work of John Lederer is more often quoted than any other.[4] Some writers were honest enough to indicate that they were quoting, but sources were seldom specifically cited. A chronological study also makes it clear as to when new information became available.

There are also several cases in which printers and publishers were responsible for more than one title in this area. Thomas Harper, for example, printed both Edward Williams' *Virgo Triumphans* (1650) and Edward Bland's *The Discovery of New Brittaine* (1651) for John Stephenson.[5] The unidentified "J. C." who printed William Hilton's *A Relation of a Discovery* (1664) also printed John Lederer's *Discoverie* (1672).[6] Dorman Newman was responsible for having a second edition (1678) printed of Richard Blome's *A Description of the Island of Jamaica* (1672) and for the initial printing of Blome's *The Present State of His Majesties Isles* (1687).[7] Meyndert Uytweft of The Hague was the printer in 1685 and 1686 of items in French relating to Carolina.

A study of the printers also reveals that material on Carolina was issued in London, Bristol, Dublin, The Hague, Rotterdam, and perhaps in Scotland and France.[8]

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[3] See Publication Numbers 22, 23, 25, and 26, below.

[4] See Publication Number 14, below.

[5] Harper was a London printer who worked between 1641 and 1656. Several times during the Rebellion he was in trouble for printing works against Parliament. Stephenson was a London bookseller during the years 1649-1652. Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1907), 91, 172, hereinafter cited as Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers, 1641 to 1667.*

[6] The only London printer known to be operating at this time whose initials were J. C. was James Cottrell. Works from his shop appeared for more than 20 years following 1649. During the Commonwealth some pamphlets from his press offended the authorities and in 1664, the year in which Hilton's *Relation* appeared, he was arrested for illegally printing law books. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers, 1641-1667*, 54.

[7] Newman, a bookseller, was also one of the largest publishers of his day. Between 1665 and 1694 he had four different shops in London. Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668-1725* (Oxford: University Press, 1922), 217, hereinafter cited as Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers, 1668 to 1725.*

[8] Information on many of the printers and booksellers associated with these works may be found in the two books by Plomer previously cited. The political sentiments of some of them suggest that they may have had more than a passing business interest in the promotion of the settlement of Carolina.

The following bibliography describes only the first edition but it should be noted that frequently subsequent editions were not mere reprints but in fact were revisions which presented the latest information available. Symbols used giving the location of copies are those used in the National Union Catalog of the Library of Congress. No attempt has been made to compile a census of all known copies; instead the locations recorded at the Library of Congress and in several standard bibliographies have been given.[9] However, when five copies or

[9] Among the more important of these bibliographies are: George Watson Cole, *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America, Forming a Part of the Library of E. D. Church* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 5 volumes, 1907), hereinafter cited as Cole, *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Early History of North and South America;* Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America From Its Discovery to the Present Time* (New York: Joseph Sabin, 29 volumes, 1868-1936), hereinafter cited as Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America;* Donald Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700* (New York: Columbia University Press, 3 volumes, 1945-1951). The following location symbols have been used in accordance with the list in *Symbols Used in the National Union Catalog of the Library of Congress* (Washington: The Library of Congress, Eighth Edition, 1960).

CLU-C	University of California at Los Angeles
CSmH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
DFo	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.
DGU	Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
DNLM	National Library of Medicine, Washington, D. C.
DNR	Department of Navy Library, Washington, D. C.
ICN	Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
ICU	University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
IU	University of Illinois, Urbana
MA	Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
MB	Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
MBAt	Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Mass.
MdBJ	Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
MdBP	Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md.
MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
MiD	Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Mich.
MiD-B	Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit, Mich.
MiU-C	William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
MnU	University of Minnesota, Minneapolis
MWiW-C	Chapin Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
N	New York State Library, Albany
NcD	Duke University, Durham
NcD-L	Law Library, Duke University
NcU	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
NHi	New-York Historical Society, New York
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
NjPT	Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.
NN	New York Public Library, New York
NNUT-Mc	McAlpine Collection, Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.
OCl	Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio
PBL	Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa.
PHC	Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPiU	University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
PPL	Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPL-R	Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgeway Branch, Philadelphia, Pa.

fewer are located it may be assumed that no more are known. It should be noted that no copies are known of No. 34 in this bibliography, but the strong evidence of the existence of one in 1842 seems to warrant the inclusion of as much information as is known about it.

1622 [1]

Copland, Patrick

Virginia's God be Thanked,/ or/ A Sermon of/ Thanksgiving/ for the happie/ success of the affayres in/ Virginia this last/ yeare./ Preached by Patrick Copland at/ Bow-Church in Cheapside, before the Honorable/ Virginia Company, on Thursday, the 18./ of April 1622. And now published by/ the Commandement of the said hono-/ rable/ Company./ . . . ./ [*rule*]/ London/ Printed by I. D. for William Sheffard and John Bellamie,/ and are to be sold at his shop at the two Grey-/ hounds in Corne-hill, neere the Royall/ Exchange. 1622./

13 x 17.6 cm. [6], 36, [6] p. CtY DFo ICN ICU MH NjP NN RPJCB ViU

Copland apparently was the first to record in print a reference to an exploration of the Chowan River region made in February, 1622, by John Pory. The report by Pory that he had "past through great forests of Pynes 15. or 16. myle broad and above 60. mile long, which will serve well for Masts for Shipping, and for pitch and tarre, when we shall come to extend our plantatios to those borders," together with a few other facts or observations, was for many years the best seventeenth-century eyewitness account of the region south of the Jamestown colony. The few facts provided by Pory were repeated by numerous other writers for many years.

1649 [2]

Bullock, William

Virginia/ Impartially examined, and left/ to publick view, to be considered by all Iudi-/ cious and honest men./ Under which Title is compre-/ hended the Degrees from 34 to 29, wherein/ lyes the rich and healthful Countries of Roanock,/ the now Plantations of Virginia/ and Mary-land./ Looke not upon this Booke, as/ those that are set out by private men, for private/ ends; for being read, you'l find, the publick/ good is the Authors only

PU	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
RPJCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.
ScU	University of South Carolina, Columbia
Vi	Virginia State Library, Richmond
ViU	University of Virginia, Charlottesville
ViW	College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.

aime./ For this Piece is no other then the Adventurers/ or Planters faithfull Steward, disposing the Ad-/ venture for the best advantage, advising/ people of all degrees, from the highest/ Master, to the meanest Servant, how suddenly to raise/ their fortunes./ Peruse the Table, and you shall finde the/ way plainely layd downe./ By William Bvllock, Gent./ [*rule*]/ 19 April, 1649. Imprimatur, Hen: Whaley./ [*rule*]/ London:/ Printed by John Hammond and are to be sold at his house/ over-against S. Andrews Church in Holborne. 1649./

12.5 x 17 cm. [12], 66 p. CSmH CtY DLC ICN MB MH MiU-C MWiW-C N NcD NcU NjP NN Vi ViW

This book, according to the author, was written in haste—in six days. Yet it shows signs of being the result of a great deal of thought and research. The advice to would-be settlers is marked by common sense suggestions and an understanding of the situation in Virginia. Roanoke, Virginia, and Maryland are lumped together for his purposes, and although there is a separate description of Roanoke based on Hariot, Lane, and John Smith, the body of the book contains advice applicable to the whole region. The advantages of this southern area are stressed over those of New England

The dedication is to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey and to the Lord Baltimore, the former of whom held the Heath patent of 1629 to Carolana. Information on which Bullock's book is based came from material in his own library, he reports, and from a number of men whom he named who had lived in Virginia or engaged in trade with the colony. Among these was Samuel Vassell, who had an interest in the colonization of Carolana under the Heath grant of 1629.

1649 [3]

Numb. 215./ The/ Moderate Intelligencer:/ Impartially communicating Martiall/ Affairs to the Kingdome of/ England./ [*rule*]/ From Thursday, April 26. to Wednesday, May 2. 1649./ [*rule*]/ . . . . At the intreaty of a well-willer, the following lines are inserted./ There is a Gentleman going over Governour into Carolana in America, and many/ Gentlemen of quality and their families with him./ This place is of a temperate Climate, not so hot as Barbado's nor so cold as Virginia;/ the Winter much like our March here in England. . . ./
Imprint on p. [12] : Printed for R. Leybourn in Monkswel street. Imprimatur, Theo. Jennings.

14 x 18 cm. Pages [4-5] CSmH MnU

This contemporary newspaper reference is the only indication known that a governor was appointed for Carolana in 1649. Among the products of the country described here are "Tarre, Rosin, and Turpentine." Prospective emigrants are directed to "repair to Mr. Edmond Thorowgood, A Virginia Merchant, living in White-Crosse-Street" for information as to "what conditions shall be given to Adventurers, Planters, and Servants."

The complete report, with an introduction by Hugh T. Lefler, was published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXII (January, 1955), 102-105.

1649 [4]

A Perfect Description of/ Virginia:/ Being,/ A full and true Relation of the present State/ of the Plantation, their Health, Peace, and Plenty: the number/ of people, with their abundance of Cattell, Fowl, Fish, &c. with severall/ sorts of rich and good Commodities, which may there be had, either/ Naturally, or by Art and Labour. Which we are fain to/ procure from Spain, France, Denmark, Swedeland, Germany,/ Poland, yea, from the East-Indies. There/ having been nothing related of the/ true estate of this Planta-/ tion these 25 years./ Being sent from Virginia, at the request of a Gentleman of worthy note,/ who desired to know the true State of Virginia as it now stands./ Also,/ A Narration of the Countrey, within a few/ dayes journey of Virginia, West and by South, where people come/ to trade: being related to the Governour, Sir William Berckley,/ who is to go himselfe to discover it with 30 horse, and 50 foot,/ and other things needful for his enterprize./ With the manner how the Emperor Nichotawance/ came to Sir William Berckley, attended with five petty Kings,/ to doe Homage, and bring Tribute to King Charles. With his/ solemne Protestation, that the Sun and Moon should lose/ their Lights, before he (or his people in that Country)/ should prove disloyall, but ever to keepe, Faith/ and Allegiance to King/ Charles./ [*decorative device*]/ London, Prin^{d} for Richard Wodenoth, at the Star under Peters/ Church in Cornhill, 1649./

17.6 x 13.4 cm. 19 p. CtY DLC MA MBAt MH MiU-C MWiW-C NHi NN PPL ViU

A report of the 1622 exploration of the Chowan River region by John Pory is given by way of supplying information on the part of Virginia "to the Southward of James River." The new information is given that Governor Sir George Yeardley perhaps intended to outfit a larger expedition to explore the land which Pory had visited, but that the massacre of 1622 and the withdrawal of the charter of the Vir-

ginia Company two years later prevented the completion of his plans to that end.

1650 [5]

Williams, Edward

Virgo Trivmphans:/ or,/ Virginia/ richly and truly valued; more especi-/ ally the South part thereof: viz./ The fertile Carolana, and no lesse excel-/ lent Isle of Roanoak, of Latitude from/ 31 to 37 Degr. relating the meanes of/ raising infinite profits to the Adventu-/ rers and Planters:/ Humbly presented as the Auspice of a beginning Yeare,/ To the Parliament of England,/ And Councell of State./ [*rule*]/ By Edvvard Williams, Gent./ [*rule*]/ [*woodcut*]/ [*rule*)/ London, Printed by Thomas Harper, for John Stephenson,/ and are to be sold at his Shop on Ludgate-Hill, at the Signe/ of the Sunne, 1650./

18.5 x 13.5 cm. [12], 47, [8] p. CSmH DLC ICN MH NcU NN PPL RPJCB Vi

A new edition appeared the same year with the title *Virginia: More Especially the South Part Thereof, Richly and Truly Valued.* Only the title page and alterations in the prefatory matter make this edition different from the first. A copy in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, lacks the errata which appears on [C2] verso, the eight-page table and supplement at the end, and it has a different title page, being entitled *Virgo Triumphans: or, Virginia in General.*

This work is dedicated to Parliament with a statement concerning 12 advantages to be gained by England from the settlement of "the South parts of Virginia." The reader is promised that in this book he "shall discover the beauties of a long neglected Virgin the incomparable Roanoake, and the adjacent excellencies of Carolana, a Country whom God and nature has indulged with blessings incommunicable to any other Region."

The natural products of the country are described in glowing terms, and some 14 pages are devoted to a discussion of the possibilities of raising silkworms. Ralph Lane, Thomas Hariot, John Pory, and Sir William Berkeley are cited among the sources of information. A brief "Supplement" attempts to allay some doubts which seem to have been expressed by prospective settlers of the region when they showed signs of fear of the Indians on the uncleared frontier.

1651 [6]

Bland, Edward

The/ Discovery/ of/ Nevv Brittaine./ Began August 27. Anno Dom. 1650./ By/ [*bracket*] Edward Bland, Merchant./ Abraham Woode, Captaine./ Sackford Brewster,/ Elias Pennant,/ [*bracket*] Gentlemen./ From Fort Henry, at the head of Appa-/ mattuck River in Virginia, to the Fals of Blandina, first River in New Brit-/ taine, which runneth West; being/ 120. Mile South-west, between 35./ & 37 degrees, (a pleasant Country,)/ of temperate Ayre, and fertile Soyle./ [*rule*]/ London,/ Printed by Thomas Harper for John Stephenson, at the/ Sun below Ludgate. M.DC.LI./

18 x 12.5 cm. [6], 16 p. CSmH CtY DLC MiU-C NHi PBL RPJCB

New Britain, as described here, is northeastern North Carolina.[10] In August, 1650, Bland and three other men explored a part of the region soon to become Albemarle County in Carolina. Upon their return to Virginia they were authorized by the Assembly on October 20, 1650, to explore and settle "to the Southward in any convenient place where they discover." Here Bland gives an appealing account of their voyage of discovery during which they assigned names to the streams, islands, and other features of the land. Aside from the report on the geography of the region, this account contains some interesting Indian lore but less detail about the products of the country than later studies. It was, however, designed to interest settlers who might make up the 100 men which Bland was required to have in his colony in order to meet the specifications of the grant from the Virginia Assembly.

1662 [7]

G[reen], R[oger]

Virginia's Cure:/ or/ An Advisive Narrative/ Concerning/ Virginia./ Discovering/ The true Ground of that Churches/ Unhappiness, and the only true Remedy./ As it was presented to the Right Reverend Father in/ God Gvilbert Lord Bishop of London,/ September 2. 1661./ [*rule*]/ Now publish'd to further the Welfare of that/ and the like Plantations:/ By R. G./ [*rule*]/ [*quotations*]/ [*rule*]/ London, Printed by W. Godbid for Henry Brome at the Signe of/ the Gun in Ivy-lane, 1662./

16.2 x 12 cm. [6], 22 p. CSmH MH NHi PPL PPL-R

[10] Apparently Samuel Purchas was the first to use the term New Britain in connection with the American colonies. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World* (London: William Stansby, 1613), 631.

The Rev. Roger Green, long ascribed as the author of this tract, received a grant of 1,000 acres of land "where it shall seem most convenient to him" in the vicinity of the Roanoke River, on the south side of the Chowan River, in 1653. Of especial Carolina interest in this publication is the description of the boundaries of Virginia. The author cites the Chowan River as being the southern limit of that colony.

1664 [8]

Hilton, William

A/ Relation/ of/ A discovery lately made on the Coast of/ Florida,/ (From Lat. 31 to 33 Deg. 45 Min. North-Lat.)/ By William Hilton Commander, and/ Commissioner with Capt. Anthony Long,/ and Peter Fabian, in the Ship Adventure, which/ set Sayl from Spikes Bay, Aug. 10, 1663. and was/ set forth by several Gentlemen and Mer-/ chants of the Island of Barbadoes./ Giving an account of the nature and tempera-/ ture of the Soyl, the manners and disposition/ of the Natives, and whatsoever else is/ remarkable therein./ Together with/ Proposals made by the Commissioners/ of the Lords Proprietors, to all such per-/ sons as shall become the first Setler on the/ Rivers, Harbors, and Creeks there./ [*rule*]/ London, Printed by J. C. for Simon Miller at the Star neer the/ West-end of St. Pauls, 1664./

18 x 14 cm. 34 p. CSmH CtY DLC MB MH MiU-C NcD NjP NN RPJCB

The New York Public Library copy differs in that the imprint reads: London,/ Printed by J. C. for Richard Moon, Book-seller in/ Bristol, 1664./ It was perhaps printed for distribution by other booksellers than those in London and Bristol. Mention of the home town of a prospective colonist in the imprint would surely lend authority to the claims made in the text.

Hilton, under the sponsorship of a group of citizens of Barbados, led an expedition to Carolina just five months after King Charles II had granted a charter for the region to the eight Lords Proprietors. The first exploration was of the area between the Combahee River (now in South Carolina and Port Royal, but after a little more than a month the group sailed north to "Cape Fair"—now Cape Fear. From early October until December 4 Hilton and his companions explored the rivers and sounds of the Carolina coast and the mainland in the vicinity of the Cape Fear River. Many of the names which they gave to geographical features (Stag Park and Rocky Point, for instance) are still in use. Their comments on the land, plants, and wildlife, as well as on the Indians, are reminiscent of those of the Roanoke explorers nearly a century earlier. In this account there are comments on the at-

tempt of some New Englanders to colonize the Cape Fear area in 1663.

The immediate results of Hilton's voyage and report were the announcing of generous inducements to settlers by the Lords Proprietors and the establishment on the Cape Fear of a colony from Barbados.

1666 [9]

A Brief Description/ Of/ The Province/ of/ Carolina/ On the Coasts of Floreda./ And/ More perticularly of a New-Plantation/ begun by the English at Cape-Feare,/ on that River now by them called Charles-River,/ the 29th of May. 1664./ Wherein is set forth/ The Healthfulness of the Air; the Fertility of/ the Earth, and Waters; and the great Pleasure and/ Profit will accrue to those that shall go thither to enjoy/ the same./ Also,/ Directions and advice to such as shall go thither whether/ on their own accompts, or to serve under another./ Together with/ A most accurate Map of the whole Province./ [*rule*]/ London, Printed for Robert Horne in the first Court of Gresham-/ Colledge neer Bishopsgate street. 1666./

14 x 19.5 cm. 10 p. CSmH DLC ICN MiU-C NcU NHi NjP NN RPJCB ViU

A very brief description of the geography of Carolina is followed by a statement about the Cape Fear [Clarendon County] settlement. This colony landed, according to this pamphlet, by May 29, 1664, and had grown to about 800 persons with good houses and forts. A report on the quality of the land and the trees growing there is designed to tempt the would-be settler. Among the six "Privileges" of the colonists are "full and free Liberty of Conscience," "freedom from Custom for all *Wine, Silk, Raisins, Currance, Oyl, Olives,* and *Almonds,*" and the authority "to choose annually from among themselves a certain Number of Men, according to their divisions, which constitute the General Assembly. . . ." Finally there is a special invitation to "all Artificers, as *Carpenters, Wheel-rights, Joyners, Coopers, Bricklayers, Smiths,* or diligent Husbandmen and Labourers . . ." to "repair to Mr. *Matthew Wilkinson, Ironmonger,* at the Sign of the *Three Feathers* in *Bishopsgate-street,* where they may be informed when the Ships will be ready, and what they must carry with them."

"If any Maid or single Woman have a desire to go over," one reads, "they will think themselves in the Golden Age, when Men paid a Dowry for their Wives; for if they be but Civil, and under 50 years of Age, some honest Man or other, will purchase them for their Wives."

1670 [10]

The/ Fundamental/ Constitutions/ of/ Carolina./

No imprint. Consists of 120 sections. Dated March 1, 1669 [*i. e.*, 1670]. 27 x 16.2 cm. 25 p. DLC MH NN

The Fundamental Constitutions, designed for the government of Carolina, were first drawn up on July 21, 1669, and contained 81 or 111 sections.[11] The copy described here, a revised version, was issued on March 1, 1669 [*i.e.*, 1670], and consisted of 120 sections. On January 12, 1681 [*i.e.*, 1682], a further revision, but still made up of 120 sections, appeared, and on August 17 of the same year a version consisting of 121 sections was approved. A final edition, dated April 11, 1698, was made up of only forty-one sections. Of these five editions of the Fundamental Constitutions, apparently only three were printed. Those issued March 1, 1670; January 12, 1682; and April 11, 1698, are described in this bibliography as they were printed.

1670 [11]

A/ Treaty/ for the [*bracket*]/ Composing of Differences,/ Restraining of Depredations, and/ Establishing of Peace/ In/ America,/ Between the Crowns of/ Great Britain/ and Spain./ [*rule*]/ Concluded at Madrid the 8th/18 Day of/ July, in the Year of Our Lord 1670./ [*rule*]/ Translated out of Latin./ [*rule*]/ Published by His Majesties Command./ [*rule*]/ In the Savoy,/ Printed by the Assigns of John Bill and Christopher/ Barker, Printers to the Kings Most Excel-/ lent Majesty, 1670./
18.5 x 13.7 cm. Copy has been trimmed. [12] p. RPJCB

A preamble and the text of a treaty drawn up by Sir William Godol-

[11] It lies outside the province of this study to make a comparison of the various surviving contemporary copies of the Fundamental Constitutions, but it is apparent that such a study might profitably be made. The New York Public Library's Ford Collection has a contemporary copy in John Locke's hand, dated July 21, 1669, which lacks the first eight sections and consists of only 81 sections. Cole, *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America*, IV, 1664. A copy in the Public Record Office in London, also in Locke's hand and bearing the same date, consists of 111 sections. *The Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1872), 258-269. Neither version was officially promulgated nor sent to Carolina, so it may be assumed that these were drafts of the first "official" version signed on March 1, 1669 [1670]. For a study of the Fundamental Constitutions, see Junius Davis, "Locke's Fundamental Constitutions," *The North Carolina Booklet*, VII (July, 1907), 13-49, and A. S. Salley, "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, IV (1934), 25-31. Introductory notes and transcriptions of several versions of the Fundamental Constitutions will be found in Mattie Erma Edwards Parker (ed.), *North Carolina Charters and Constitutions, 1578-1698* (Raleigh: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 128-240.

phin, on behalf of King Charles II, and the Earl of Penaranda, on behalf of the Queen-Regent Maria-Anna of Spain, declares "Universal Peace, true and sincere Amity in America" to be the desire of both nations. There are 16 sections relating to the obligations and hopes of both parties on the subject of their nationals in the New World.

1671 [12]

Ogilby, John

America:/ Being the Latest, and most/ Accurate Description; of the/ Nevv World;/ Containing/ The Original of the Inhabitants, and the Re-/ markable Voyages thither./ The Conquest of the vast/ Empires/ of/ Mexico and Peru,/ and other large/ Provinces and Territories,/ with the several European/ Plantations/ in those parts./ Also/ Their Cities, Fortresses, Towns, Temples,/ Mountains, and Rivers./ Their Habits, Customs, Manners, and Religions./ Their Plants, Beasts, Birds, and Serpents./ An Appendix, containing, besides several other considerable/ Additions, a brief Survey of what hath been discover'd of the/ Vnknown South-Land and the Arctick Region./ [*rule*]/ Collected from most Authentick Authors, Augmented with later Observations, and/ Adorn'd with Maps and Sculptures, by John Ogilby Esq; His/ Majesty's Cosmographer, Geographick Printer, and Master of the Revels/ in the Kingdom of Ireland./ [*rule*]/ London,/ Printed by the Author, and are to be had at his House in/ White Fryers, M.DC.LXXI./

32 x 44.2 cm. [8], 674 p. CSmH CtY DLC ICN MB MH NcU NN RPJCB

"Carolina" is on pages 205 to 212, and preceding it is a double-page map of the province. The text apparently was newly composed for this purpose and bears no relation to any of the previously published works on Carolina. A few references—to the black mold and to the similarity of the pure air of Carolina to that of Bermuda, for instance—suggest that the writer may have elaborated upon some points mentioned in *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina* printed in 1666 for Robert Horne. This is truly a promotional piece, and Carolina is described in glowing terms. Tall trees suitable for masts, woods well stocked with deer, rabbits, birds, and other game, rivers "stor'd with plenty of excellent Fish of several sorts, which are taken with great ease in abundance," and a "happy Climate" all combine to make Carolina "promising in its very Infancy." An explanation of the "Fair Terms propos'd to whomsoever shall remove thither" concludes that the

"Countrey promises to the Planter Health, Plenty and Riches at a cheap Rate." Finally, there is a summary of the Fundamental Constitutions.[12]

1672 [13]

Blome, Richard

A/ Description/ Of the Island of/ Jamaica;/ With the other Isles and Territories/ in America, to which the/ English are Related, vix./ Barbadoes,/ St. Christophers,/ Nievis, or Me-/ vis, Antego,/ St. Vincent,/ Dominica,/ Montserrat,/ Anguilla,/ Barbada,/ Bermudes,/ Carolina,/ Virginia,/ Maryland,/ New-York,/ New-England,/ New-Found-/ Land./ Taken from the Notes of Sr. Thomas/ Linch Knight, Governour of Jamaica;/ and other Experienced Persons in the/ said Places. Illustrated with Maps./ [*rule*]/ Published by Richard Blome./ [*rule*]/ Printed by T. Milbourn, and sold by/ I. Williams Junior, in Cross-Keys-/ Court, in Little Brittain, 1672./

9.5 x 14.7 cm. [8], 192 p. CtY DGU DLC DNR ICN MB MBAt MiU-C NcD NcU NjP NHi NN PPiU RPJCB ViU

There was also a 1678 edition.

"A Description of Carolina" on pages 125 to 138 is apparently an up-to-date report on conditions in the colony. Along with the usual glowing account of the geography and a catalog of the fruits, herbs, trees, fish, and fowl, there are extensive quotations from John Lederer whose book was published the same year. Mention is made of the Lords Proprietors, their scheme of government, and the fact that there "are at present two considerable Settlements of the English, for so short a time, the one at Albemarle-River in the North, and the other about the midst of the Countrey on Ashley River. . . ."

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[12] It has been suggested that John Locke was the author of this account of Carolina. William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Princeton, New Jersey: PrincetonUniversity Press, 1958), 32, hereinafter cited as Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*. Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, XII, 305, calls this work "an impudent plagiarism" of Arnoldus Montanus' *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld* printed in Amsterdam the same year. Since this section on Carolina did not appear in Montanus, however, this problem is of no concern here. References to "an English version" of Montanus by Ogilby appear in Cole, *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America*, III, 1,387. An apparently unique copy of Ogilby's work bearing the date 1670, now at Harvard, would seem to open the question of "plagiarism" to further study.

1672 [14]

Lederer, John

The/ Discoveries/ of/ John Lederer,/ In three several Marches from/ Virginia,/ To the West of/ Carolina,/ And other parts of the Continent:/ Begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670./ Together with/ A General Map of the whole Territory/ which he traversed./ [*rule*]/ Collected and Translated out of Latine from his Discourse/ and Writings,/ By Sir William Talbot Baronet./ [*rule*]/ [*4-line quotation*]/ [*rule*)/ London, Printed by J. C. for Samuel Heyrick, at Grays-/ Inne-gate in Holborn. 1672./

16.7 x 12.5 cm. viii, 28 p. CSmH DLC ICN MB MdBJ MH MiU-C MnU MWiW-C NHi NjP NN PHC PP PPiU PPL PU RPJCB ViU

This perhaps is less a promotional piece for Carolina than an attempt to add luster to the name of Lederer. In a note "To the Reader" Talbot observes that he thought the "Printing of these Papers was no injury to the Author, and might prove a Service to the Publick." During June and July, 1670, Lederer journeyed southward from Virginia, passed to the east of present-day Greensboro, crossed the Pee Dee River, and went as far to the southwest as the vicinity of modern Rock Hill, South Carolina. His return route was approximately through the site of Fayetteville, to the east of Rocky Mount, and northward to Petersburg. Between March and September he also traveled westward to the Appalachian Mountains.

Lederer describes the country through which he passed, comments on Indian customs, and notes the produce of the land. Three short essays are entitled "Conjectures of the Land beyond the Apalataean Mountains," "Instructions to such as shall march upon Discoveries into the North-American Continent," and "Touching Trade with Indians." [13]

1675 [15]

An Epitome/ of/ Mr. John Speed's Theatre of the Empire/ of/ Great Britain./ And of His Prospect/ Of the Most Famous Parts of the World./ [*rule*]/ In this New Edition are added,/ The Descriptions of His Majesties Dominions abroad, viz./ . . . Carolina, . . ./ [*rule*]/ London, Printed for Tho. Basset at the George in Fleet street, and Ric. Chiswel at the/ Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1676./

[13] For a discussion of Lederer's explorations see William P. Cumming (ed.), *The Discoveries of John Lederer* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1958).

10.8 x 17 cm. 2 vols. in one. [375]; [2], 276 [*i.e.*, 278] p. Second part has separate title page: A/ Prospect/ of the Most/ Famous Parts of the World./ . . ./ [*rule*]/ London, Printed by W. G. 1675./[14] CtY DLC ICN MH MHi MiU-C N NcU NHi NN RPJCB

"The Description of Carolina" is on pages 252 to 254 of part two. An error in paging occurs here, however, and the sketch actually is five pages in length plus a full-page map. There are also two paragraphs on Carolina on page 247 in connection with "The Description of Florida."

The account of Carolina seems to represent an attempt to be factual rather than laudatory. Like the sketch in Speed's larger work which appeared the following year, this one is based largely on Lederer and contains information about the form of government in the colony.

1676 **[16]**

Speed, John

The/ Theatre of the Empire/ of/ Great-Britain,/ Presenting an Exact Geography of the/ Kingdom of England, Scotland, Ireland,/ and the Isles adjoyning:/ As also the Shires, Hundreds, Cities and Shire-Towns within the Kingdom/ of England and Principality of Wales;/ with a/ Chronology of the Civil-wars in England, Wales and Ireland./ Together with/ A Prospect/ of the most Famous Parts of the World, Viz./ Asia, Africa, Europe, America./ . . ./ [*rule*]/ By John Speed/ [*rule*]/ In this New Edition are added;/ In the Theatre of Great-Britain,/ . . ./ The Descriptions of His Majesty's Dominions abroad; with a Map fairly engraven to each Description,/ viz. New-England, Carolina, Virginia, Jamaica,/ New-York,/ Florida,/ Mary-Land,/ Barbadoes./ . . ./ [*rule*]/ London;/ Printed for Thomas Basset at the George in Fleet-street, and Richard Chiswel/ at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, MDCLXXVI./

44.5 x 30 cm. 9 p. *l.*, 94 numb. *l.*, [95]-98 p., 99-126 numb. *l.*, 8 p., [127]-129 p., 121-132 numb. *l.*, [133]-135 p., 137-146 numb. *l.*, 1 *l.*, 56 numb. *l.*, [11] p. CtY MH MiD N NjP Vi

"The Description of Carolina" fills two columns of a single page, but there is some Carolina material in the report on Florida since "Carolina . . . [was] formerly accounted a part of *Florida*, though of late separated into a peculiar Province. . . ." Much of the geographical de-

[14] For the full titles as well as additional bibliographical information, see Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, XXII, 515-516.

scription is based on Lederer, and there is a report on the form of government to be established "according to a Plat-form and model drawn up by my Lord *Shaftsbury.*" On the verso of leaves 49 and 50 there is a large map, "A New Description of Carolina." While the maps differ, the text is identical with that included in *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* published the year before.

[1679?] [17]

Description du Pays nommé Carolina./ [London? 1679?]

19.5 x 31.5 cm. 3 p. British Museum Public Record Office

This little "Description of the Country named Carolina" is entirely in French and was intended to interest French Protestants in removing to the colony. In very simple language it sets forth the essential information: location, climate, system of government, natural products (both plant and animal), and offers assurance that the Indians are not to be feared. There was royal authority for granting "les Protestans Etrangers" the same rights and privileges as the king's other subjects in the province. Tarheels today will agree with the anonymous writer of this tract that "cette Province est une des plus belles Contrées de Monde."

The British Museum assigns the date [1679?] to this publication while in the Public Record Office it is filed with the Shaftesbury papers for 1671-1672.

1680 [18]

Morden, Robert

Geography/ Rectified:/ or,/ A Description/ of the/ World,/ In all its Kingdoms, Provinces, Countries,/ Islands, Cities, Towns, Seas, Rivers, Bayes, Capes,/ Ports; Their Antient and Present Names, Inhabitants,/ Situations, Histories,/ Customs, Governments, &c./ As also their Commodities, Coins, Weights, and Mea-/ sures, Compared with those at London./ Illustrated with above Sixty New Maps./ The Whole Work performed according to the more accurate discove-/ veries of Modern Authors./ [*rule*]/ By Robert Morden./ [*rule*]/ London,/ Printed for Robert Morden and Thomas Cockeril. At the/ Atlas in Cornhill, and at the three Legs in the Poultrey/ over against the Stocks-Market. 1680./

15 x 19.8 cm. 6 p. *l.*, 418 [*i. e.*, 388] p. CLU-C CtY DLC MiU-C RPJCB ViU

Other editions appeared in 1688, 1693, and 1700.

Pages 379 to 381 are devoted to "A Description of Carolina." A great deal of information is packed into this brief report, and in addition to the usual geographical description and reports on flora and fauna, something is said of the "Liberty of conscience" permitted in Carolina. "And they have a Register of all grants and conveiances of Land to prevent suits and controversies; and in summ, their frame of Government is generally so well put together, that Juditious men that have seen it, say its the best for the people that live under it, of any they have read."

1681 [19]

The/ Information/ of/ Ca^{pt}. Hen. Wilkinson,/ of/ What hath passed betwixt him and some other/ Persons, who have attempted to prevail with him/ to Swear/ High Treason/ Against the/ Earl of Shaftsbury./ [*double rule*]/ London:/ Printed for Henry Wilkinson. 1681./

17.5 x 27.7 cm. [viii], 11 p. Pages 5-8 incorrectly numbered 9-12. CtY MdBP MH NcU PU

Captain Henry Wilkinson was appointed Governor of Carolina by the Lords Proprietors in February, 1681, but delays in sailing and some problems resulting from debts prevented his departure for Carolina. These facts are recited in this publication, but the main body is devoted to Wilkinson's account of efforts to persuade him to appear in court as a witness against the Earl of Shaftesbury who was accused of a plot to overthrow King Charles II.[15]

1681 [20]

[Rochefort, Charles César de]

Recit/ De/ L'Estat/ Present/ Des/ Celebres Colonies/ De la Virginia, de Marie-Land, de la Caroline, du Nouveau Duché/ d'York, de Penn-Sylvania, & de la Noubelle Angleterre, situées/ dans l'Amerique septentrionale, entre les trente deuxiéme/ & quarante sixiéme degrés de l'élevation du Pole du/ Nord, & établies sous les auspices, & l' autorité/ souveraine du Roy de la grand' Bretagne./ Tiré fidelement des memoires des habitans des mêmes Colonies,/ en faveur de ceus, qui auroyent le dessein de s'y/ transporter &

[15] The facts of the case are related in "Captain Henry Wilkinson," by Charles M. Andrews in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XV (July, 1916), 216-222.

de s'y établir./ [*decorative device*]/ A Rotterdam,/ Chez Reinier Leers,/ [*rule*]/ M.DC. LXXXI./

22.8 x 17.8 cm. 43 p. DLC MB PPAmP PPL-R RPJCB

The second chapter in this little account of the English colonies in America is devoted to Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina. There are four brief paragraphs on "l'excellente colonie . . . de la Caroline" pointing out, among other things, that foreigners there have "la même liberté & franchise" as Englishmen. The flourishing state of the settlement on the Ashley and Cooper rivers is stressed to the exclusion of any reference to the remainder of Carolina.

This volume was issued as a supplement to the 1681 edition of the author's *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amerique* which first appeared in 1658.

1682 [21]

Animadversions/ on/ Capt. Wilkinson's/ Information./ Being highly conducive to the better informing and/ disabusing the Minds of Men, and tending to/ the publick Peace and Safety./ [*rule*]/ [*quotation*]/ [*rule*]/ [*printers device*]/ [*rule*]/ London,/ Printed for Walter Davis, 1682./

17.5 x 27.5 cm. [20] p. Pages 13 to 20 incorrectly numbered 11 to 18. CtY DLC NcU

In this attack on Henry Wilkinson's pamphlet,[16] the unidentified author points out numerous inconsistent statements which suggest that the Captain did, indeed, know something of a plot "against King and Government." There are several references to Wilkinson's Carolina interests, one of which is described as his "intended or pretended Voyage to *Carolina.*"

1682 [22]

A[sh], T[homas]

Carolina;/ or a/ Description/ Of the Present State of that/ Country,/ and/ The Natural Excellencies thereof, viz. The/ Healthfulness of the Air, Pleasantness of the Place,/ Advantage and Usefulness of those Rich Commo-/ dities there plentifully abounding, which much/ encrease and flourish by the Industry of the Plan-/ ters that daily enlarge that Colony./

[16] See Publication Number 19, above.

[*rule*]/ Published by T. A. Gent./ Clerk on Board his Majesties Ship the Richmond, which was/ sent out in the year 1680. with particular Instructions to/ enquire into the State of that Country, by His Majesties/ Special Command, and Return'd this Present Year, 1682./ [*rule*]/ London,/ Printed for W. C. and to be Sold by Mrs. Grover in Pelican/ Court in Little Britain, 1682./

19 x 13.5 cm. 2, 40 p. CSmH CtY DLC ICN MB MH MiU-C MWiW NcD NcU NN RPJCB ViU

As noted on the title page, author T[homas] A[sh] was clerk on board the "Richmond" [17] which was sent out in 1680 "with particular Instructions to enquire into the State of the Country." This is a report based on the findings of that expedition. It has an authentic tone and is certainly more interesting to a modern reader than many of the other glowing but frequently misleading reports. After a hasty review of the history of Carolina, Ash enters upon a descriptive report of the natural products of the country and of the cultivated plants, of the wild animals and the domesticated stock. His report on the 'possum and the hummingbird, neither of which was familiar to Englishmen, is delightful while his description of fireflies is particularly good. In many respects Ash's report rivals the later accounts of John Lawson for frankness and appeal.

Of Indian corn he writes, "At *Carolina* they have lately invented a way of makeing with it good sound Beer; but it's strong and heady: By *Maceration,* when duly fermented, a strong Spirit like *Brandy* may be drawn off from it, by the help of an *Alembick.*"

1682 [23]

F[erguson], R[obert]

The/ Present State/ of/ Carolina/ with/ Advice to the Setlers./ [*rule*]/ By R. F./ [*rule*]/ [*decorative device*]/ [*rule*]/ London,/ Printed by John Bringhurst, at the Sign of the/ Book in Grace-Church-Street, 1682./

18 x 14 cm. 36 p. CSMH DLC MiU-C NHi NN RPJCB

[17] Thomas Ash, otherwise unidentified, has long been ascribed as the author of this tract, but in the absence of substantial evidence in his favor it seems more likely that it was written by Thomas Amy, relative of Lord Proprietor Sir John Colleton. Amy, later a Proprietor in his own right, was made a Cacique late in 1682. St. Julien Ravenel Childs, *Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press [*The Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science,* Series LVII, No. 1], 1940), 189.

Captain Dunbar of the "Richmond" is mentioned on page 10 of *The Present State of Carolina* (London: John Bringhurst: 1682). See Publication Number 23, below.

Ferguson, a friend of Shaftesbury and author of several religious and political tracts, writes in part from "my own observation" and in part from information "from very good hands." A reference to Captain Dunbar of the "Richmond" suggests that he may have drawn on much the same source for his information as did Thomas Ash, whose book also appeared the same year. Ferguson gives us a report on the Indians of Carolina, including some population estimates and a comment on birth control among the natives. Some notes on the weather, fish, birds, livestock, and servants complete the main body of his report. A reference to Negro slaves is perhaps the earliest mention of that class of people in Carolina. In conclusion, the prospective settler is invited to visit the Carolina Coffeehouse in Birching Lane, London, for further information. The final nine pages take the form of an open letter of "Advice to Carolina" admonishing the settlers, among other things, to act in all matters like Christian gentlemen; to realize that there is "no distinction betwixt those . . . native Subjects born in England; and those implanted and born in America"; and to work for "the good and happy issues of Prosperity to the Settlement."

Following the text is an "Advertisement" stating that Nathan Sumers [*sic*] "Engineer for Carolina," will clear ground for cultivation at a set charge per tree.[18] The Lords Proprietors had entered into an agreement with Sumers [*sic*] it was reported, to give him and his heirs a 14-year monopoly in this undertaking since he would use an engine which he had invented.

1682 [24]

[*Decorative device*]/ The/ Fundamental Constitutions/ of/ Carolina./ Our Soveraign Lord the/ King having out of His Royal Grace and/ . . . . 26.2 x 16 cm. 23 p. CSMH MH NN

No title page.

This version of the Fundamental Constitutions has 120 sections and is dated January 12, 1681 [*i.e.*, 1682]. See publication number 10, above.

The New York Public Library copy has manuscript notes interleaved as well as additions, deletions, and corrections on the printed pages believed to be in John Locke's hand.

[18] See Publication Numbers 25 and 26, below.

1682 [25]

Somers, Nathan

Proposals/ for/ Clearing Land/ in/ Carolina, [*vertical line*] East Jersey,/ Pensilvania, [*vertical line, cont'd*] West Jersey:/Or any other Parts of/ America. . . . Nathan Somers,/ And Partners./ [*rule*]/ London, Printed and Sold by John Bringhurst, at the Book in Grace-Church-Street, August, 9. 1682./

Broadside. CSmH DFo NNUT-Mc

Somers and his partners offer "to raise Trees up by the Roots quite out of the Earth, and throw them down near the place where they grew" and to "carry the fallen Trees, and lay them in order round the intended Inclosure . . . as an indifferent Boundary for Cattle; and carry the Remainder into convenient heaps within the said Inclosure." Those supplying Somers with laborers to assist in the work could have his services at half price.

1682 [26]

A true/ Description/ of/ Carolina./ Carolina is part of the Main in America, and so much celebrated by Monsieur/ Laudonere, that he entitles it Florida, because of her florid and fragrant/ . . . ./ London, Printed for Joel Gascoine at the Plat near Wapping old Stairs, and R [*page trimmed*]/[19] at the Rose and Crown in Budg-Row./ [1682]

18.7 x 15 cm. [4] p. Imprint on p. 4. RPJCB

No title page.

The chief value of this little work is its map. It records much detail along the coast from Cape Henry in Virginia southward to below St. Augustine and has been described as "the most accurate representation of the Carolina region yet to appear." [20] The interior, of course, is much less accurate, but a few Indian settlements are identified westward to the "Apalatian Mountaines."

The four pages of text accompanying the map are largely a verbatim reprint of portions of *The Present State of Carolina with Advice to*

[19] There is space for only one other initial and it undoubtedly was *G*, as Thomas Ash, Publication Number 22, above, refers to a publication by "Joel Gascoyne, *near* Wapping *Old Stairs*, and Robert Green *in* Budge Row, London, 1682." Kane, *Colonial Promotion*, 2, suggests that R. F., author of *The Present State of Carolina*, Publication Number 23, above, was probably the author of this work as well. *The Present State of Carolina*, she points out, appears to be an expanded account of the subjects dealt with in *A True Description*.

[20] Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 159.

the Setlers by R. F. It contains nothing not in that volume. In some instances the first few words in a paragraph have been changed slightly or omitted altogether, or whole sentences or more deleted. In the case of the reference to Captain Dunbar and the "Richmond," the complete paragraph is omitted.

Apparently *A True Description of Carolina* was set in type by a careless composer working directly from *The Present State of Carolina.* A comparison of the two texts reveals carelessly omitted words or sentences; a divided word in the latter appears with the wrong ending picked up by the typesetter's roving eye a line or two down. This suggests that the work was done hastily. Perhaps the map had just become available, and the work was rushed to press to supersede the information given in Samuel Wilson's *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America.*

An "Advertisement" for Nathan Sumers' [*sic*] engine, designed for clearing land, appears at the end of the text and above the imprint.

1682 [27]

[Wilson, Samuel]

An/ Account/ of the/ Province/ of/ Carolina/ in/ America./ Together with/ An Abstract of the Patent,/ and several other Necessary and Useful Par-/ ticulars, to such as have thoughts of Tran-/ sporting themselves thither./ Published for their Information./ [*rule*]/ London:/ Printed by G. Larkin for Francis Smith, at the Elephant/ and Castle in Cornhil. 1682./

20.5 x 15 cm. 27 p. CSmH CtY DLC ICN MB MH MiU-C MWiW-C NcU NHi NN PHi PPL RPJCB ScU [21]

The dedication of this volume is to the Right Honorable William Earl of Craven "and the rest of the true and absolute Lords and Proprieters [*sic*] of the Province of Carolina." Wilson, "Secretary in your Carolina-Affairs now four years," states that he undertook to prepare this account because he had discovered that people intending to go to America knew nothing of Carolina. "I have most strictly kept to the Rules of Truth," he declared, "there not being any thing that I have written in Commendation of [the] Province, which I cannot

[21] Two editions were published in the same year, but the National Union Catalog does not make a distinction in recording the copies held by the various libraries. The libraries listed here (with the exception of the Unversty of North Carolina at Chapel Hill which has the second edition) may have either or both editions.

prove by Letters from thence now in my possession, and by Living Witnesses now in England."

The northern settlement in Albemarle is passed over with just a few lines to point that it has all the good qualities of Virginia "only exceeding it in Health, Fertility, and Mildness of the Winter." The Ashley River colony is discussed at some length, its history reviewed, and the products of the land carefully set forth. Wilson pointed out that "an Ox is raised at almost as little expence in *Carolina,* as a Hen is in *England.*" A catalog of the produce of the country was intended to tempt those who had even the slightest thought of venturing themselves to the New World.

Finally, Wilson recorded that "some of the *Lords Proprietors,* or my self, will be every Tuesday at 11 of the clock at the *Carolina*-Coffee-house in *Burching*-Lane near the Royal Exchange, to inform all people what Ships are going, or any other thing whatsoever."

The final seven pages are devoted to "An Abstract of the Pattent granted by the King, the 30th of *June,* in the 17th Year of his Reign" to the eight Lords Proprietors.

The map illustrating Wilson's work is the Ogilby-Moxon "First Lords Proprietors' Map" of 1672.[22] Since the second Lords Proprietors' map appeared in 1682 it is likely that Wilson's work was published quite early in 1682 before the new map became available.

1683 [28]

[Crafford, John]

A New and Most/ Exact Account/ Of the Fertiles [*sic*] and Famous Colony of/ Carolina/ (On the Continent of America,)/ Whose Latitude is from 36 Deg. of North Latitude, to 29 Deg./ Together with a/ Maritine [*sic*] Account of its Rivers, Barrs, Soundings and Harbours;/ also of the Natives, their Religion, Traffick and Commodities./ Likewise the Advantages accrewing to all Adventurers by the Cu-/ stoms of the Countrey; Being the most Healthful and Fertile/ of His Majesties Territories on the said Continent of/ America./ As also an Account of the Islands of Bermudas, the Harbours, Situa-/ tion, People, Commodities, &c. belonging to the said Islands;/ the whole being a Compendious Account of a Voyage made (by/ an Ingenious Person) for a full discovery of the above said places./ Begun in Ocotber 82, and finished this present year, 1683./ [*rule*]/ Dublin,/ Printed for Nathan Tarrant at the Kings-Arms in Corn-Market,/ 1683.

18.8 x 14.3 cm. 7 p. NN

[22] Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps,* 151-152.

Crafford's name is added in manuscript and his authorship is further borne out by comments in *Carolina Described more fully then heretofore,* publication number 29 below.

This "Compendium of a Journall from the River of Clyd in the Kingdom of Scotland, to Port-Royal in Carolina" was "Taken by John Crafford, who was Supercargo of the goodShip [*sic*] the James of Erwin burthen about 50 Tuns." The subtitle identifies the work as "a Maritine Account of its Rivers, Barrs, Soundings and Harbours" and so on. With this expressed interest it is not surprising to find that Crafford made some interesting observations on the possibilities of trade between Bermuda and Carolina. His ship visited Charles Town in Carolina, and he took advantage of the opportunity to examine and report on the products of the land and to comment on the Indians. His remarks in most instances differ very little from those previously made by other observers. He did note that Indian corn "by some is Called Turkey wheat." As to the religion of the Indians, he said, "I judge they are *Pagans,* but some judge them to be of the Captive *Isralites,* by their faces, *Colour of Hayr,* worshiping the new *Moon,* and some other Ceremonies resembling it."

1684 [29]

Carolina/ Described more fully then heretofore:/ Being an Impartial/ collection/ Made from the several Relations of that Place in/ Print, since its first planting (by the English,) and/ before, under the Denomination of Florida, From/ diverse Letters from those that have Transpor-/ ted themselves (From the Kingdom of Ireland.)/ And the Relations of those that have been in/ that Country several years together./ [*rule*]/ Whereunto is added the Charter, with the/ Fundamental Constitutions/ of that Province./ [*rule*]/ With Sundry necessary observations made thereon; use-/ full to all that have a Disposition to Transport them-/ selves to that Place; with the Account of what Ship-/ ing bound Thither from this Kingdom, this present/ Summer. 1684./ And the Charges of Transporting of Persons and Goods./ [*rule*]/ Dublin, Printed 1684./

19.6 x 14.6 cm. 56 p. CSmH MWiW-C NN

In an ingenious fashion the writer of this piece questions some of the statements made by earlier writers about Carolina. It could not possibly be the wonderful place it was claimed to be. By frankly doubting the reliability of Samuel Wilson's *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America* because the author was secretary to the Lords Proprietors, the writer must have disarmed many prospective colonists.

He cites John Crauford [*sic*] and his journal which was kept on a voyage from Scotland to Port Royal in October, 1682, reporting that a copy had come to him through a mutual friend. This journal, as well as letters from people in Carolina, bore out what Wilson had written so one is led to believe that Wilson was right after all. Pages 17 to 27, therefore, contain a careful reprint of Wilson's text, and his abstract of the patent to the Proprietors is copied even to the word "Finis" which actually is out of place here. There also is a summary of the Fundamental Constitutions for those who have not the time or inclination to peruse the whole 120 sections which are printed on pages 35 to 36. A note dated June 6, 1684, lists vessels scheduled to sail for Carolina "towards the latter end of June" from Dublin, Cork, Londonderry, Limerick, and Belfast.

1684 [30]

Gibson, Walter

Proposals./ By Walter Gibson, Merchant in Glasgow, to such/ persons as are desirous to Transport themselves to Ame-/ rica, in a Ship belonging to him, bound for the Bermu-/ das, Carolina, New-Providence, and the Caribby-/ Islands, and ready to set Sail out of the River of Clyd,/ against the 20. of February in this instant year, 1684./ . . . ./

Broadside. CSmH CtY DFo IU MH NNUT-Mc NjPT

Merchant Gibson advertises that he will transport adults at £5 each, children between two and fourteen years for 50 shillings each, and children under two at no charge. Tradesmen unable to pay their own fare will be transported at Gibson's expense provided they will serve him for three years, he to "furnish them sufficiently with Meat, Cloaths, and other necessaries." He offers to advise prospective settlers on questions which they might have and announces that he has on hand in Glasgow "Patterns of some Tools which are used" in Carolina. "Those who go in this Vessel," he notes, "will have the occasion of the good company of several sober, discreet Persons, who intend to settle in *Carolina*, will dwell with them, and be ready to give good advice, and assistance to them in their choice of the Plantations; whose Society will be very helpful and comfortable, especially at their first setling there."[23]

[23] On December 20, 1683, the Privy Council of Scotland received a petition (not further identified) from Walter Gibson which was sent to the Committee on Public Affairs. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Oct. 1, 1683-April 30, 1684* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938), 160.

1685 [31]

[Crouch, Nathaniel] [24]

The English/ Empire/ in/ America:/ Or a Prospect of His Majesties Dominions/ in the West Indies. Namely,/ Newfoundland/ New-England/ New-York/ Pennsylvania/ New-Jersey/ Maryland/ Virginia/ Carolina/ Bermuda's/ Barbuda/ Anguilla/ Montserrat/ Dominica/ St. Vincent/ Antego/ Mevis, or/ Nevis/ S. Christophers/ Barbadoes/ Jamaica/ With an account of the Discovery, Scituation,/ Product, and other Excellencies of these Countries./ To which is prefixed a Relation of the first Discovery/ of the New World called America, by the Spaniards./ And of the Remarkable Voyages of several English-/ men to divers places therein./ [*rule*]/ Illustrated with Maps and Pictures./ [*rule*]/ By R. B. Author of Englands Monarchs, &c. Admirable/ Curiosities in England &c. Historical Remarks of Lon-/ don, &c. The Late Wars in England, &c. And, the/ History of Scotland and Ireland./ [*rule*]/ London, Printed for Nath. Crouch. At the Bell in/ the Poultrey near Cheapside. 1685./

8.3 x 14.2 cm. [2] p. *l.*, 209, [3] p. CLU-C CtY MiD-B NN

Other editions appeared in 1692, 1698, and in the eighteenth century.

Chapter X, "A Prospect of Carolina with the Scituation and Product thereof," on pages 137 to 153, briefly recites the facts of the 1663 charter of Carolina and hastily dismisses the Albemarle colony as "bordering upon Virginia, and only exceeding it in Health, Fertility, and Mildness of the Winter." As Albemarle is "much of the same nature with it [Virginia]," the reader is not troubled with a further description. These words, Crouch neglected to say, were Samuel Wilson's.

The Ashley River settlement is reported upon by "an Englishman, who has lived there, and was concerned in the settlement thereof." Here is perhaps the most accurate account yet given of Carolina winters with no attempt to make the region seem semi-tropical. The difference in winter temperatures in this area and those in the same latitude in Europe is commented upon. Flora and fauna, both wild and domesticated, also seem to be more correctly described than usual.

Many of the planters "have an Indian Hunter which they hire for less than twenty Shillings a year, and one Hunter will very well find a Family of thirty People with as much Vinison and Fowl, as they can well eat."

Steps by which land grants might be obtained are carefully explained, and the recommended equipment and supplies are specified.

[24] Nathaniel Crouch was a London bookseller from 1663 to about 1725. Under the pseudonym of Richard or Robert Burton he compiled at least 46 of the books which he sold. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers, 1668 to 1725*, 89.

The final few pages are drawn from the account of "Mr. I. L., an Englishman"—John Lederer, no doubt—who had traveled "into the western parts of Carolina" some 14 years previously.

1685 [32]

Nouvelle/ Relation/ de la/ Caroline/ par/ un Gentil-homme François arrivé,/ depuis deux mois, de ce nou-/ veau pais./ Où il parle de la route qu'il faut tenir,/ pour y aller le plus furement, &/ de l'état où il a trouve cette/ Nouvelle contrée./ [*globe*]/ A La Haye./ [*rule*]/ Chez Meyndert Uytweft/ Marchand Libraire de Meurant/ dans le Gortstraet./ [1685]

13.2 x 7.3 cm. 36 p. DLC MH MiU-C PHi RPJCB ViU ViW

Apparently designed as a guide for French Protestants who might be interested in coming to Carolina, this book contains many of the typical promotional statements on the good climate and weather, two crops in one season, and good land available at low cost. Geography, the produce of the land, animals (wild as well as domesticated), and the form of government all are described at some length. In so far as it is specific, the information relates to Charleston and vicinity.

Publication at The Hague probably was necessary because of the persecution of Protestants in France. It was in this year that the Edict of Nantes was revoked and thousands of French Huguenots fled the country.

1686 [33]

Plan pour former un Establisse-/ ment en Caroline./ A vant que d'entrer dans l' examen particulier de ce/ project, il faut faire quelques considerations, . . ./ A La Haye./ Chez Meindert Uytwerf, Marchand/ Librarie dans l'Acterum. l'An 1686./

19.5 x 15.5 cm. 15p. PHi RPJCB

A brief statement concerning the geography of Carolina is followed by a rather full explanation of the government as set up under the Fundamental Constitutions. With the approval of the Lords Proprietors, it was proposed to establish a "Confederation" in Carolina. A series of 12 points concerning the plans are explained. Such things as the number of persons expected to join; "les graces & privileges que l'on demandera" of the Lords Proprietors; size of the tracts of land to

be occupied; the use of Negroes for labor; the "Artisans absoulment necessaires"—including metal workers, carpenters, brickmasons, a tailor, a doctor, "Une sage femme entendue aux accouchemens," butchers, bakers, and so on; produce expected—grain, grapes for wine, cattle; and finally in the list under the heading "Quelles doivent estra les conditions de la confederation & la forme que l'on y peut donner," is an "Acte de Confederation" consisting of 31 subsections setting forth the rights and obligations of the Confederation on one hand and the "Seigneurs Proprietaires" on the other. A list of 29 "Conventions de la Communauté" contains details for the conduct of routine affairs of the settlement.

Those desiring further information are directed to address "Monsieur ————————" (name intended to be supplied in manuscript) in London, another in Amsterdam, and a third in Rotterdam.

[1686?] [34]

[Remarques sur la Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline, par un Gentilhomme François.—MDCLXXXVI.]

"A thin duedecimo *brochure.*" No copy known.

A translation of this pamphlet appears in the September, 1842, issue of *The Magnolia; or, Southern Apalachian* (New Series, Vol. I, No. 3, pages 226-229), published in Charleston, S.C. The contributor of the translation is not identified, but in his prefatory remarks he states that this brochure came to his attention while he was "looking over some old pamphlets and manuscripts."

According to the translation the pamphlet was an almost page-by-page attack on the *Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline par Un Gentilhomme François* published at The Hague probably the year before. Following this attack there was a section entitled "Some Remarks on the Country, People and Government of Carolina" in which the author launched out on his own in criticizing Carolina, particularly its location near Spanish settlements and its form of government. Earlier, to substantiate his own statements the author tells that he had been intimately acquainted with "a gentleman who was one of its [Carolina's] former governors." Since this thin volume was unfavorable to Carolina and would therefore tend to discourage French Huguenot migration, it may very well have been printed in France as an antidote to the volume which it attacked.

1687 [35]

[Blome, Richard]

The/ Present State/ of His Majesties/ Isles and Territories/ in America,/ Viz./ Jamaica, Barbadoes, Anguilla, Bermudas,/ S. Christophers, Nevis, Carolina, Virginia,/ Antego, S. Vincent, New-England, Tobago/ Dominica, New-Jersey, New-Found-Land,/ Pensilvania, Monserat, Mary-Land, New-York; With New Maps of every Place./ Together with/ Astronomical Tables,/ Which will serve as a constant Diary or Calendar,/ for the use of the English Inhabitants in those/ Islands; from the Year 1686, to 1700./ Also a Table by which, at any time of the Day or Night here in/ England, you may know what Hour it is in any of those parts./ And how to make Sun-Dials fitting for all those places./ [*rule*]/ Licens'd, July 20. 1686. Roger L'Estrange./[*rule*]/ London:/ Printed by H. Clark, for Dorman Newman, at the/Kings-Arms in the Poultrey, 1687./

11.5 x 18.5 cm. [8], 262, [36] p. DLC ICN ICU MB MBAt MH MnU NcU OCl PHi PBL PPL ViU ViW WHi

"A Description of Carolina" is on pages 150 to 182. Illustrating the account is "A New Map of Carolina By Robt Morden." The text for the most part is copied directly from Samuel Wilson's *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America.* Occasionally words or phrases have been changed, the order of a few paragraphs has been altered, and a little of Wilson's account omitted entirely. A concluding report on "Creatures" and on Indians is attributed to an unidentified "Gentleman"—actually John Lederer—who had also been credited for information previously reported. The text of the 1665 charter of Carolina to the Lords Proprietors is included in this report following the text of the "Description."

1695 [36]

[Peachie, John]

Some/ Observations/ Made upon the Herb/ Cassiny;/ Imported from Carolina:/ Shewing/ Its Admirable Virtues in curing/ the Small Pox./ [*broken rule*]/ Written by a Physitian in the Countrey to/ Esq; Boyle at London./ [*broken rule*]/ London,/ Printed in the Year 1695./

19 x 13 cm. 8 p. CSmH DNLM

John Peachie or Pechey, to whom this and similar works has been ascribed, was a London physician and apothecary. He describes here some of his experiences with the "Famous *Carolina* Herb called Cassiny." For his smallpox patients he prescribed "a few Drops of the

Tincture of this temperate Herb in Water-gruel, or in Panado, or Posset-drink." In one instance he treated "several young Gentlewomen" at a boarding school "who highly valued their Beauty," with Cassiny, and he knew of "a Court Lady of great Beauty" who was given the same herb. All recovered without a blemish to mar their beauty.

The Cassiny which the London physician praised so highly is *Ilex Cassine*, better known in North Carolina as yaupon.

1698 [37]

The Two/ Charters/ Granted by/ King Charles IId./ To the/ Proprietors/ of/ Carolina./ With the first and last/ Fundamfntal [*sic*] Constitutions/ of that/ Colony./ [*rule*]/ London:/ Printed, and are to be Sold by Richard Parker, at the/ Unicorn, under the Piazza of the Royal Exchange./

22 x 16.7 cm. 60 p. CSmH DLC MH MWiW-C NcD-L NcU NN NNC PPL

The final version of the Fundamental Constitutions dated April 11, 1698, appears on pages 53 to 60, and is made up of 41 sections. The March 1, 1670, version consisting of 120 sections is on pages 33 to 52. It is this latter version which was officially promulgated and sent to Carolina, hence its description as "the First . . ." on the title page.

The date 1698 is not assigned without reservation. That date is given because it is the latest date recorded in the text. Most copies have an additional eight pages, separately numbered, bound in following page 60. These pages contain "The Copy of an Act lately pass'd in Carolina, and sent over to be confirm'd here by the Lord Granville, Palatine, and the rest of the Lords Proprietors of the said Colony. . . ." The act is dated May 6, 1704, but it bears evidence of having been separately printed and merely bound in at the end of the preceding work.

The copy of this book in the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina was formerly owned by Lord Craven and was acquired by the late Bruce Cotten from Combe Abbey in 1924. It bears the bookplate of William Lord Craven.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance, Volume I, 1843-1862. Edited by Frontis W. Johnston. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1963. Foreword, preface, illustrations, and index. Pp. lxxiv, 475. $5.00.)

Zebulon B. Vance, born in Buncombe County, North Carolina, May 13, 1830, obtained his education at Washington College, Tennessee, and the University of North Carolina. He was admitted to the bar in 1853, establishing himself in practice in Asheville. The next year Vance was sent to the State legislature and in 1858 he was elected to the United States Congress. Up until the firing on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops he was opposed to secession but these two events caused him to reverse his position. Declining all overtures to be a candidate for the Confederate Congress, Vance raised a company of troops and marched off to war. By the end of the summer he had risen to the rank of colonel, and on March 14, 1862, commanded the 26th North Carolina Regiment in the Battle of New Bern. The climax of his military career came the following July in the bloody fighting around Richmond.

The harsh realities of war were, nevertheless, unable to take the young colonel's mind far from politics. He ran for Governor of his native State in the summer elections of 1862 and won a smashing victory over William Johnston. Vance's critics charged that the Raleigh *Standard,* under the astute editorship of W. W. Holden, had played up his role in the Battle of New Bern to make him governor. This charge cannot be substantiated. Doubtless, "he was a better war governor for having been a soldier."

As the second winter of the War approached, the condition of the North Carolina troops in the Confederate army was "little short of desperate." The Governor tried a number of temporary expedients, but he realized that a more permanent solution must be found. "It was under these circumstances that Vance turned to the most celebrated device of the war, the idea of running the blockade." Unfortunately for the reader, the story of this exciting business will have to come in a later volume, as the one under review covers only the letters written to and from Vance during the years from 1843-1862.

Dean Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College is to be commended for his fine editorial work. His biographical sketch of Vance is excellent. The explanatory notes for the letters are more than adequate and an Index and illustrations add to the value of this large volume. If any criticism can be made of this volume it is that it was a long time in reaching the printer. Also, it covers only a short period in the long and colorful career of one of North Carolina's better known public figures.

John G. Barrett

Virginia Military Institute

Prelude to Yorktown: The Southern Campaign of Nathanael Greene, 1780-1781. By M. F. Treacy. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Maps, notes, and index. Pp. vi, 261. $6.00.)

Nathanael Greene's masterful conquest of the Carolinas has never ceased to fascinate historians. The latest study, though it deals only with the period of Greene's duel with Cornwallis in North Carolina, is no doubt the best account of those momentous three months that has been written. Surprisingly, this book was a doctoral dissertation, so well written and well researched that it needed very little revision before publication. If the result is not a typically dry, factual dissertation, it is also true that Mrs. Treacy was hardly a typical graduate student. For the past half century her life has been associated with army people; her husband is a retired army colonel. To her subject she has brought a wealth of military background and insight. The book literally bristles with sparkling observations and interpretations that are new and revealing. Since full justice cannot be done this fine volume in a brief review, it can simply be said that her work is a must for any scholar in the field of Revolutionary war history in the southern States.

No one, including Greene himself, held out high hopes for the short, stocky Rhode Islander at the time he assumed command of the shattered southern army after the Battle of Camden. No theater of the war had been such a graveyard for the reputations of American generals. There Robert Howe, Benjamin Lincoln, and Horatio Gates had met with failure. Greene, who had never previously set foot below the Potomac, found himself with only 800 men properly clothed and equipped for regular duty. Approximately three and a half months later his command had won the Battle of Cowpens, staggered Cornwallis at

Guilford Courthouse, and drawn the British general so far from his South Carolina base of supply that he wandered off to Virginia and, eventually, to a date with destiny at a place called Yorktown.

How did Greene accomplish all this? Part of the answer, at least, lies in the nature of the man. Greene was a thorough realist; Mrs. Treacy notes that he had "a tendency to view life from the gloomy side and to view the future with foreboding." Yet, once a decision was made, Greene exuded confidence and determination. "If, coupled with this inner trust in his own integrity," writes Mrs. Treacy, a soldier is "alert, intelligent and resourceful with the tools at hand," he "can be well nigh invincible." And so it was with Greene. His military talents were in no way of the romantic variety, for he lacked the personal touch of a Daniel Morgan who inspired men in combat. Indeed, the battlefield was really not Greene's forte. As the author remarks, "His genius lay rather in an infinite capacity for taking pains in advance." As a planner and organizer he was unexcelled by any British or American general in the war. Perhaps no one expressed the reasons for Greene's success better than the man himself: "I have been obliged to practice that by finesse, which I dare not attempt by force."

Don Higginbotham

Louisiana State University

The Civil War in North Carolina. By John G. Barrett. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. viii, 484. $10.00.)

With indefatigable research (the adjective being used advisedly), Professor John G. Barrett of the Virginia Military Institute history department has brought together a splendid account of the part of the Civil War fought within the borders of North Carolina. His volume not only will stand out as one of the pinnacles of the Centennial observance in the State, but also likely will remain the standard work on this subject for long to come.

Perhaps the greatest value of the book is its comprehensive coverage of the various campaigns along the North Carolina coast, from Ben Butler's early descent on Hatteras to the disastrous loss of Fort Fisher in the closing months of the conflict. Not before, as far as this reviewer is aware, has this aspect of the War been given such careful study and intelligent treatment. The author is not offering a complete picture of

the State's War effort, the most sanguinary part of which went into the Virginia campaigns of Lee's army.

The reader is treated with a procession of stories, such as Hoke's capture of Plymouth, the destruction of the Confederate Ram "Albemarle," the desperate fighting at Fort Fisher, the warfare between neighbors in the mountains and numerous grueling but usually minor campaigns not awarded much space in the general histories.

Professor Barrett writes with strict objectivity. He does not undertake to extol the State beyond a recital of the facts. The depressing stories of North Carolina desertions and of the bushwhacker war in the western counties are related candidly. Governor Vance is credited (p. 242) with sympathizing with the deserters, though he was energetic to recover them for the army. The book gains in interest as the War progresses. Among the best chapters are those at the close dealing with Bentonville and the Bennett farmhouse surrender of Johnston to Sherman. The reader experiences the full burden of sadness when the breakup of the Confederacy occurs.

A point of interest is the understanding, even sympathetic treatment of Sherman, whose ruthless warfare is credited with defeating the South, but who was cordial and considerate to his former enemies once the fighting ceased. The author explains: "It was not a sense of cruelty and barbarism that prompted Sherman to formulate his theory of total war. This conception was the outgrowth of a search for the quickest, surest, and most efficient means to win a war" (p. 292).

This reviewer misses adequate character or personality sketches of the main soldiers brought across the stage—Hoke, D. H. Hill, Whiting, Matt Ransom, and several others. Idolizers of Zeb Vance will regret that he is not given a more dominant role in the State's war effort. His significance seems secondary throughout and even in the matter of the blockade-runner "Advance," he had to be subjected to "much persuasion" by Adjutant General James G. Martin before authorizing the purchase and outfitting of the famous ship. One does not glimpse in this volume the greatness ordinarily associated with Vance.

Purely from a structural standpoint the book suffers from an excess of punctilious documentation. One chapter contains 311 supernumerals of citations and explanations in the back, plus 61 additional footnotes beneath the text. Citation appears to have reached here a startling extreme. Another chapter has 157 citations plus footnotes, and still another 147. Professor Barrett's book suggests that unless the growing trend toward overcitation is moderated a reader's revolt might well result. He would have served the average student better by annotating

only fresh or unusual material, or what might be subject to question, and by allowing his bibliography to carry a heavier part of the load borne by his distracting dual set of notes.

This book, like most of those packed with vast detail, is not without minor error. D. H. Hill was a native of South Carolina, not North Carolina (p. 150). Burnside was a native of Indiana, not Rhode Island (p. 90). Burnside would not likely have known Colonel Reuben P. Campbell, an adversary at New Bern, at West Point, since their classes were seven years apart. But these matters do not defeat the essential excellence of the book. Professor Barrett is to be commended for the scope of his inquiries into old manuscripts, memoirs and letters, as well as the printed sources, many of them obscure. Altogether he is to be congratulated on a noble achievement of great value to all concerned with the Civil War in North Carolina.

Glenn Tucker

Flat Rock

Union List of North Carolina Newspapers, 1751-1900. Edited by H. G. Jones and Julius H. Avant. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1963. Introduction. Pp. xiii, 152. $3.00.)

Newspapers are an invaluable source for the study of American civilization, and this is especially true in earlier history when the making and keeping of records was not nearly as extensive as today. A newspaper reflects the public and private character of a community, and it is frequently the source of specific facts unobtainable elsewhere. The speech, humor, business activities, social life, marriages, births, deaths, political contests, proceedings of organized groups, whether for social, business, educational, or religious purposes, may be seen in the press. The newspaper reflects the life and times of a society and for variety and interest it has no equal among historical records.

Other valuable bibliographies of newspapers have been compiled, on a national scale, but they are inevitably incomplete. A few States have compiled lists of their newspapers, but probably none is as complete as this list of North Carolina newspapers. It is the work of many hands over a long period of time, and was brought to completion by the State Department of Archives and History in co-operation with the North Carolina Library Association. It not only lists but it also locates

every known copy of every North Carolina newspaper from the beginning through 1900. It also includes "several hundred titles" not in any previous list, as well as titles of which no known copy exists. Further, as additional copies of North Carolina newspapers come to light supplemental lists will be issued. Serials, mostly magazines which are sometimes difficult to distinguish from newpapers, are listed but not located.

This has been a tremendous undertaking and the result should be a source of satisfaction to all who are interested in North Carolina's past. It is important to note that the State Department of Archives and History has undertaken to microfilm files of North Carolina newspapers and that it is now possible to secure positive copies on film of approximately 75 per cent of all newspapers published prior to 1900.

Robert H. Woody

Duke University

North Carolina: The History of a Southern State. By Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. [Revised edition] 1963. Appendixes, bibliography, and index. Pp. xii, 756. $8.00.)

Professor Lefler has strengthened an already distinguished and highly useful history of North Carolina, which was first published nine years ago, by the revisions made for this edition. Some 70 pages of additional narrative have allowed him to cover the twentieth century with the same depth and balance that characterize the earlier portions of the book.

To illustrate the enhanced value of this new edition, one might note what has happened in the treatment of North Carolina's recent political history. The first edition contained two chapters, entitled "Political Trends" and "Impact of Outside Forces," that hit the highlights of the State's political history from 1900 through 1952. This edition, however, has chapters on "A New Era in North Carolina Politics, 1901-1920"; "Politics, 1920-1932: Governors Morrison, McLean, and Gardner"; "The New Deal to the Outbreak of World War II, 1933-1941"; "World War II and After: Progress and Problems, 1941-1952"; and "In the Mainstream: A Decade of Great Growth and Change." Altogether, four entirely new chapters have been added aside from the extensive reorganization of all the material, economic and social as well as political, dealing with this century.

In his treatment of contemporary developments, Professor Lefler is refreshingly candid. He notes, for example, that despite the *National Geographic's* calling North Carolina a "Dixie Dynamo" in 1962, the State still has a problem of inequitable representation in the legislature as serious as it had in the 1830's, when North Carolina was known not as a dynamo but as the "Rip Van Winkle State." And despite all the progress, illiteracy in the State remains a blight and disgrace.

The book ends with a sentence that, if it should come true, would surely justify a third edition: "There were even predictions that the Republicans might win the gubernatorial election of 1964."

Robert F. Durden

Duke University

Here Lies Virginia: An Archaeologist's View of Colonial Life and History. By Ivor Noël Hume. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1963. Illustrations and index. Pp. xx, 317. $7.95.)

The subtitle to the fetching title of Ivor Noël Hume's book clearly indicates its content and, as he states in the Preface, he has "tried to demonstrate that archaeology and recorded history can and must combine together to fill in the missing details." The historical records of colonial Virginia, even after persistent efforts to find, retrieve, and preserve them, are fragmentary at many points; and historians have been lethargic in recognizing and using sources available through historical archeology. In providing the first comprehensive survey of the subject Mr. Hume, chief archeologist of Colonial Williamsburg, develops it always with attention drawn to archeological principles, but equally with feeling for the entertaining incident and the unusual artifact that will hold the interest of the reader. By effective use of the specific example he also makes and reiterates the plea for preservation and investigation of valuable sites that become expendable as an expanding, irresponsible population encroaches on them.

Chapter I, "In Defense of Yesterday," deals with principles (chronology, stratigraphy) and points out that "the ability to identify and date the relics of the past is the first requirement for the archaeologist, no matter in what period of history or pre-history he specializes." Since Virginia's colonial period is one of historical archeology, Mr. Hume devotes the other nine chapters to demonstrating the peculiar contribution of this discipline to modern knowledge of the people and

their way of life. He considers his subject first by means of the geo-historical approach, looking closely at Roanoke Island and the "Lost Colony" (Chapter 2), Jamestown (Chapter 3), Williamsburg (Chapters 4-5), and selected plantations—"Rosewell," "Corotoman," "Green Spring" (Chapter 6)—where field work has been carried on. For each location a historical sketch supplies the framework in which pertinent archeological data supply evidence lacking in the written records. Thus the digging at Jamestown leads to the conclusion that the first capital was not densely settled; at Williamsburg, that Middle Plantation attracted few residents during the seventeenth century, to judge by the scarcity of artifacts of that period. A survey of the Williamsburg Restoration project in Chapter 5 serves as background for appreciating the importance of archeological work in rebuilding the Governor's Palace and restoring the Wren building.

The last four chapters are richer in archeological data. Here the author concentrates on artifacts and their survival in relation to the materials from which they were made: glass, iron, clay, silver, wood; and he demonstrates irrefutably that an expert knowledge of the history of arts and crafts is indispensable for identifying and dating the objects (often fragments) and for drawing valid conclusions from them in relation to one another in their particular location. Mr. Hume's previous research in England has proved advantageous in applying his knowledge of English artifacts and changes in style and taste to the Virginia scene.

The archeological information in Mr. Hume's book comes from some 15 sites and 20 digs (not counting individual locations in Williamsburg) since the earliest, on Roanoke Island in 1895. The first work began at Jamestown in 1901, and it is very fitting that he commends the zealous efforts of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities in preserving historic sites there and in Williamsburg, which in due time yielded invaluable data. Although Mr. Hume declares that his book does not purport to be "a history of colonial archaeology in Virginia," the incidental information he has included on this subject should not be overlooked.

In his opening chapter Mr. Hume asserts that "the discovery of an artifact . . . makes us want to know how it came to be where it was found. The object itself is of secondary importance." Or, as Sir Mortimer Wheeler puts it, "the archaeologist is digging up, not *things*, but *people*." Thus Mr. Hume recognizes the evidence that confronts him; he asks meaningful questions of it; and in readable fashion he makes possible a richer appreciation of colonial Virginians and how they

lived. His volume, an artistic specimen of bookmaking in the manner of Knopf publications, is profusely illustrated, the pictures and text conveniently co-ordinated for pleasurable reading.

Lester J. Cappon
Institute of Early American History and Culture

Messages of the Governors of Tennessee. Volume VI, 1869-1883. Edited by Robert H. White. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission. 1963. Illustrations, appendixes, topical index, and general index. Pp. vi, 799. $4.00.)

This volume covers the 14 years during which the chief executive office of Tennessee was occupied successively by DeWitt Clinton Senter, 1869-1871; John Calvin Brown, 1871-1875; James Davis Porter, 1875-1879; Albert Smith Marks, 1879-1881; and Alvin Hawkins, 1881-1883. As in the earlier volumes of this series, the space allotted to the messages of each governor is preceded by a handy biographical sketch of the governor in question, and the messages themselves are supplemented and interspersed with useful introductory, explanatory, and extra documentary material, to such an extent in fact as to make the volume a virtual legislative history of the State during the period it covers.

This period of Tennessee history was one of recovery and readjustment following the Civil War and Reconstruction periods which had left the State burdened with a debt of more than $32,000,000 and a large element of the white citizenry deprived of the elective franchise. These two heritages of war and reconstruction led to spirited political campaigns on the part of candidates for office and absorbed a large share of the time and activity of governors and legislatures. The elective franchise was restored to former Confederates during the Senter administration, but while none of the five governors of the period 1869-1883 recommended repudiation of the State debt, any proposed plan of settlement was met by various counterplans throughout the major portion of this period, resulting in legislative chaos and frustration.

Despite the precarious financial situation, the period was not devoid of achievement along other lines. Exercise of the recently-acquired veto power by Governor Senter disclosed the value of this prerogative. Two important State agencies which have functioned continuously

since their creation were established by the legislature at the request of Governor Porter—the State Board of Education in 1875 and the State Board of Public Health in 1877. Two exceedingly important Supreme Court decisions, *Williams v. Bougner* in 1869 and *Lynn v. Polk* in 1881, respectively, broke the power of the Radicals in Tennessee and invalidated the Funding Act of 1881 which would have made State bond coupons "receivable in payment for all taxes and debts due the state" for 99 years.

In general the editor has approached this strategic period of Tennessee history with the same care and judgment as have been evident in his preceding volumes of this series. Exceptions are noted on pages 405-406 which unnecessarily reproduce a message initially appearing on pages 393-394 and on page 515 on which is repeated a message already printed on page 513.

James W. Patton
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Ante-Bellum Thomas County, 1825-1861. By William Warren Rogers. (Tallahassee: The Florida State University [Florida State University Studies Number Thirty-Nine]. 1963. Illustrations and index. Pp. xvi, 136. $4.50.)

Created in 1825, Thomas County lies in South Georgia along the Florida boundary, geographically and historically more akin to the latter than to the former. This brief study by Professor Rogers attempts to depict the economic, political, social, and institutional history of that County up to the Civil War, with the intention of continuing the account after 1861 in a second volume.

Thomas County, although it contained a number of cotton and sugar plantations, possessed the fluid society of the Alabama and Mississippi frontiers. Its citizens participated in the Seminole Indians Wars, founded towns, fought unsuccessfully for railroads and better roads, and established churches and schools. Most of its trade was carried on through Florida ports, and it was even a part of the Florida District of the Methodist Church. There were some homes of elegance, a good high school known as Fletcher Institute, a newspaper, and a number of professional men, although no great Georgia leaders came from Thomas County during this period.

Of particular merit are the chapters on "Indian Troubles and Citizen Soldiers," "The Gospel Truth," and "Education—Town and Country,"

undoubtedly because of a greater wealth of source materials. The chapter on "Town Life" suffers from a paucity of sources, as does "Politics and the Approach of War." Enough details to reconstruct these aspects of life come chiefly from newspapers, and there appears to be no satisfactory run of local papers until 1855.

Professor Rogers' research has been painstaking. His writing, however, exhibits a number of poorly organized paragraphs and sections. There are too many typographical errors, and "yeoman" and "integral" are consistently misspelled. The one inadequate map lacks clarity and the statistical tables are poorly arranged. Many questions occur to the reader which are not answered. Although not as satisfactory as Sarah Gober Temple's *Cobb County*, it is nevertheless a worthwhile study and will increase in value when Volume II is published.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon

Meredith College

Florida During the Civil War. By John E. Johns. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1963. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. ix, 265. $6.00.)

This book tells the story of the Civil War in a State that was largely on its periphery and which was never important enough to be either strongly defended by the Confederacy or consistently occupied by the Union. Not a definitive work, it has been criticized by Civil War buffs (an insatiable breed!) for lack of military detail, but those who do not dote on military history will find it a satisfactory summation of Florida's Civil War role.

Professor Johns' narrative style is engaging and the book is a pleasure to read, but it tells little that was not told by William Watson Davis (*Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, New York, 1913). Essentially, this is the story of a sparsely populated State with slim resources which, under the pressures of war, experienced political, economic, and social disintegration. It begins with secession, mobilization, and the early sparring around Pensacola Bay and virtually ends with the Battle of Olustee, the only large-scale Civil War engagement in Florida. In between, Professor Johns details governmental, economic, and social problems.

Florida unsuccessfully experimented with an "Executive Council" designed to curb the governor, was frequently hindered by an inability

of local officials to perform their functions, and avoided severe clashes with the Richmond government largely because Governor John Milton was not an ardent state rights man. Frictions arose from the extended existence of the secession convention, interfering in legislative matters, and trouble arose in the militia from animosities between officers appointed by former Governor Madison S. Perry and those named by Milton.

Economic problems centered in government finance, agriculture, industry, and transportation. The State met most of its obligations by printing money or borrowing; taxes were not raised and tax revenues actually declined during the War. Agricultural problems largely involved shifting from cotton to food production and, exhorted by public opinion and coerced by State limitations on cotton acreage, Florida farmers succeeded in making the change. By war's end Florida was a leading supplier of provisions to the Confederate armies. Industry counted for little in the State's economy but federal blockades made salt scarce, and during the war years salt-making became the State's largest industry with Florida producing more than any other southern State. Florida railroads were not extensive and were practically useless in the war effort.

Wartime social tensions centered upon disloyalty and fear of the Negroes. Interestingly, Professor Johns shows that white deserters, draft-dodgers, and unionists were a more serious threat than either slaves or free Negroes. In the latter half of the War great areas of the State, not under Federal occupation, were under effective control of anti-Confederate forces.

This admirable book warrants only a few criticisms. More space could have been given to life in federal Florida—Key West and the frequently-occupied eastern regions. This is really a Confederate view of the Civil War in Florida. A few judgments of the author—such as his view that only headstrong men thought James Buchanan's course was ridiculous (pp. 42-43), and his assertion that Florida railroads were not seriously hampered by the enemy (p. 137)—are demonstrably at odds with fact. Though this reviewer wishes more attention had been given to political machinations, he persists in judging this a good book.

Herbert J. Doherty, Jr.

University of Florida

The Confederate Constitutions. By Charles Robert Lee, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Appendix and index. Pp. viii, 225. $6.00.)

In the mythology of present-day politics which passes for political theory, centralization in government is known to be progressive, while State Rights is a highly conservative position. The protection of minorities is progressive, as is the extension of executive power, while concepts of fiscal integrity are so outmoded as to be sheer reactionary. As touchstones for evaluating government activity these concepts break down when confronted with the provisions and constitutions of the Confederate States of America. Here was an instrument, in fact two instruments, of government designed for a political body which was known to be conservative. Yet these instruments contained basic reforms which in later years were taken up by "progressives" and presented as fundamental reforms of the American governmental system. There was, for example, the executive budget; there was the item veto —both adding to the power of the presidency—there was a written-in constitutional guarantee of the rights of the minority and careful safeguards against logrolling and wasteful appropriations for internal improvements.

Dr. Lee has made a careful day by day study of the formation of the two Confederate constitutions. Within 35 days the 50 delegates to the Montgomery Convention framed two distinct constitutions. Both were based upon the Constitution of the United States, yet each contained significant improvements which had been dictated by experience. There was, for example, a six-year term for the president of the Confederacy and a provision that he should not be eligible for reelection. There were increased checks and balances, and the constitutions provided for cabinet members being permitted seats in Congress with voices if not votes. This might well have created a parliamentary system had the Confederacy lasted into the period of peace. Altogether, concludes Dr. Lee, the spoils system had its harmful effect corrected by the two constitutions and they insured the fiscal integrity of the government. They were, he said, "The ultimate constitutional expression of the states rights philosophy and the state sovereignty concept in America." They made valuable contributions to governmental reforms.

Dr. Lee has studied the activities of the Montgomery Convention with a great deal of care. He has surveyed the available literature relating to the formation of the provisional and the permanent consti-

tutions. Perhaps, indeed, a longer study might have led into a greater exposition of the basic constitutional theory upon which the Confederates acted. Yet the student of that larger phase will not need to repeat the careful work that Dr. Lee has ably done.

William B. Hesseltine

University of Wisconsin

The Stonewall Brigade. By James I. Robertson, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1963. Foreword, sources, and index. Pp. xii, 271. $6.00.)

Much has been written about the legendary Civil War general, Stonewall Jackson, and of the men from the Valley of Virginia who formed the Brigade that lovingly used his great name. On April 27, 1861, General Robert E. Lee, commanding all the Virginia forces, ordered an unknown officer from the Virginia Military Institute to take charge of the troops stationed at Harpers Ferry. No one dreamed that this would begin an association that would develop into a four-year chronicle of courage, devotion, and achievement that would win everlasting fame for both Jackson and the Brigade.

Unlike biographies of military leaders or accounts of individual battles, this volume superbly traces the complete history of a single unit from formation to the bitter end of defeat, by analyzing its leadership, man power, strategy, and participation in every engagement throughout the Civil War. The author has made it into a very readable study by describing the camp life, the famous Jackson marches, the personal experiences; and the result is "a vivid and often moving account of courage and cowardice, triumph and heartbreak—and endurance perhaps without parallel."

The original muster of the brigade consisted of 2,611 men. Eleven months later battle casualties, illness, and resignations had depleted the ranks to 1,418, and by the end of the Second Manassas Campaign it was down to 635; yet by the end of 1862 its number was brought back up to 1,200 by re-enlistments. Replacements continued to trickle in until the end of the War, but never enough to offset the tremendous casualties incurred at Chancellorsville (barely 200 remained after this battle), Gettysburg, and Spotsylvania. So many members were captured at Spotsylvania that the Brigade was consolidated with the remnants of three other brigades and served out the War in relative obscurity. At Appomattox 210 officers and men surrendered.

The Valley Brigade was a young unit, three-fifths of its men being between eighteen and twenty-five while the most common age was nineteen. The soldiers possessed a varied occupational background. Farmers were the most numerous, followed by laborers, carpenters, students, clerks, merchants, tanners, blacksmiths also many lawyers, printers, doctors, civil engineers, and one minister. The Rockbridge Artillery became one of the most celebrated batteries in the whole Confederate Army and had on its first roll 28 college graduates, 25 theological students, and seven men who held master's degrees from the University of Virginia.

Within the ranks of the Stonewall Brigade were a number of men who distinguished themselves in both war and peace. Eight attained the rank of general. Three achieved postwar fame in the field of medicine. Many became prominent in law and State politics while two became outstanding jurists. Prominent clergymen were always conspicuous in Jackson's army and all-night prayer services were not uncommon. As one private snorted, "Our parson is not afraid of Yankee bullets, and I tell you he preaches like Hell." Noted families represented in the Brigade include Lee (Robert E. Lee, Jr., and his cousin, William Fitzhugh); Raleigh T. Colston, grandson of John Marshall; two sons of Union Admiral David D. Porter; as well as the father of the Confederacy's best-known female spy, Belle Boyd.

Seven men officially commanded the Brigade during the long War. It was Stonewall Jackson who whipped the rough fighters into shape that earned for them a reputation for invincibility accepted by North and South alike. Confederate troops seemed to grow in confidence when they knew the Brigade was charging in an assault with them. Federal soldiers came to feel that the Brigade possessed some superhuman power, a quality which they attributed to the unpredictable and mysterious Jackson. Upon his promotion in October, 1861, to command the Valley District, he was followed by Richard B. Garnett; but after the trouble at Kernstown, March, 1862, Jackson relieved Garnett for failure to obey orders. The third commander was Charles Sidney Winder, who was noted for his high standards and severe discipline. He was killed during the Peninsula Campaign at Second Manassas. William Smith Hanger Baylor served as the fourth commander until his death in the Battle of Antietam. Elisha Franklin Paxton became the fifth commander and served until Chancellorsville where he and Jackson were killed. James Alexander Walker took over in May, 1863, and led the Brigade until Spotsylvania, whereupon William Terry served out the remainder of the War.

War ended at Appomattox, but not for the Stonewall Brigade. With them the final muster came in July, 1891, when an impressive statue of Jackson was dedicated over Old Jack's grave in Lexington, Virginia. A handful of grayhaired veterans gathered with 30,000 other people to pay a final tribute to the General. The Brigade members had been the center of attention and when a chill came into the air on the night before the ceremony, anxious townspeople wanted to make certain that the veterans should have warm and suitable accommodations for the night. A search in homes and hotels failed to yield a single soldier, but by midnight they were found huddled in blankets and overcoats seated around Jackson's statue in the cemetery. The local citizens urged the men to get up from the damp ground and partake of the town's hospitality, but no one stirred until one man finally arose. Speaking for the others, he said simply, "Thank ye, sirs, but we've slept around him many a night on the battlefield, and want to bivouac once more with Old Jack." And bivouac they did.

Horace W. Raper

Tennessee Polytechnic Institute

The Democratic South. By Dewey W. Grantham, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. [Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures, 1962] 1963. Notes. Pp. xii, 108. $2.50.)

Two decades of research on the part of historians and political scientists have virtually rewritten the post-Civil War political history of the South. A volume which would pull together the results of this work has been badly needed. Now Dewey Grantham, Georgia-born Professor of History at Vanderbilt and historian of southern progressivism, has provided a well-conceived and well-written story of all those complexities of southern politics which are not illuminated by such handy stereotypes as the "solid South." The groundwork for this analysis lies in the pioneer studies of C. Vann Woodward and V. O. Key. The superstructure is drawn from a number of theses, articles, and monographs, including Grantham's own, which have appeared in a steady stream since 1946. The point which most of these studies have in common becomes the thesis of this book: That beneath the illusion of solidarity created by the race question and the omnipresence of the Democratic Party, there has been and is a steady procession of social, economic, and sectional conflicts. These conflicts have been

the engine of social change and, one hopes, of social progress, in the South.

Although not much is made of it here, even the race issue has not benn the subject of monolithic opinion in the South. From G. W. Cable in Reconstruction times, to W. D. Weatherford in 1912, W. W. Alexander in the thirties, and the rapidly growing group of southern supporters of civil rights today, there is a tradition of native dissent from the majority view of this matter.

Dissent on other questions, as this book makes clear, has been vigorous. From the independency movements of the eighties, the Populists and Republicans in the nineties, the Progressives in the first three decades of this century, to the southern New Dealers and present-day followers of Stevenson and Kennedy there has been a strong—though not always effective—liberal tradition. Some of the reasons for its existence are developed here, and interesting prognostications for the future, at least by implication, are offered. Since southerners are as likely as anyone else to be taken in by their own mythology. Grantham's book deserves the widest reading not only among students but also among lay politicians. In the South that includes nearly everyone.

Anne Firor Scott

Duke University

John Clayton: Pioneer of American Botany. By Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Appendix, notes, and index. Pp. ix, 236. $6.00.)

The present volume is a welcome addition to the rapidly increasing collection of books pertaining to the cultural and social history of colonial America. In the field of botany, there has been a tendency for biographies of the chief figures to appear in alphabetical order. E. P. Earnest's work on the Bartrams was followed by a biography of Mark Catesby by G. F. Frick and R. P. Stearns. And now Professor Berkeley presents John Clayton.

The first four chapters of the book are devoted to background material, pertaining both to Clayton himself and to the inter-relation between American and English botanical activity during the century prior to 1750. The central chapters are concerned with Clayton's correspondence with Gronovius and Linnaeus and his development into a botanist of international stature, culminating in 1773 with his election as President of the newly-formed Virginia Philosophical Society for

the Advancement of Useful Knowledge. Professor Berkeley concludes with an assessment of Clayton's work, emphasizing the influence of his *Flora Virginia* on Linnaeus. A particularly valuable feature of the book consists in its wealth of information on prominent eighteenth-century naturalists other than Clayton.

Although rather short, the book is well organized and, for the most part, clearly (if somewhat stiffly) written. It is but seldom that the reader stumbles over such strange prose as "Bartram has made this trip in the fall of the year, that he might collect seeds. These, and plants, wrapped in paper, he packed in his two saddlebags, where the long, rough trip mixed them altogether. Eventually they arrived in England, unnamed and a perfect potpourri along with turtle eggs and insects" (page 91). Or, "His comments often include not only the character of habitat in which the plant thrives, but also the time of its flowering, other plants associated with it, methods of propagation, other than flowering, effects of weather, and relations with animals" (page 144).

The biography is very well documented. The source material is widely scattered and the authors have done an impressive job of bringing it together. He has made extensive use of the correspondence and other writings of Linnaeus, Colden, and Bartram, and has included a large number of explanatory notes (quite proper and necessary in a work containing many scientific terms).

It is to be hoped that biographies of Alexander Garden (the John Clayton of South Carolina), John Mitchell, and a new one of Cadwallader Colden will soon follow the Berkeleys' splendid account of the life work of John Clayton. If alphabetical order is to continue as the criterion, the logical successor to *John Clayton, Pioneer of American Botany* might well be "Cadwallader Colden, Naturalist." Professor Berkeley?

Robert W. Ramsey

Hollins College

Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1963. Maps, illustrations, a note on sources, and index. Pp. ix, 266. $5.50.)

This in-depth biography of Duncan L. Clinch, a man whose life was filled with frustrations and difficulties, throws the spotlight of extensive research on a man who served his nation and his adopted State of

Georgia with honor and distinction as soldier, congressman, and citizen.

Born in Edgecombe County, this native "Tar Heel" received his first appointment as a lieutenant of the Third Infantry in 1808 at the recommendation of J. Blount of "Tarborough," and continued his career in the United States Army until his resignation in 1836 as a brigadier general.

With his sharp instinct for the dramatic in a man's life, Mr. Patrick opens his account with a reminder of the most colorful assignment in Clinch's many years of service: the demolition of a Negro fort near Apalachicola Bay in Florida in 1816.

During the War of 1812, a constant source of apprehension to the United States, in general, and President James Madison, in particular, was the presence of Indians along the border. It was feared that they might join the Spanish or the British. In 1815 and 1816 Spanish Florida was infested with adventurers, fugitives, thieves, plunderers, renegades, and other criminally inclined persons. Moreover, camps of Negroes, armed and ruling themselves, made slaveowning southerners particularly sensitive about this area.

Ever present was the fear of a slave rebellion such as those heard of in San Domingo. In addition, southern editors had never given Negro troops credit for their service to the United States at the Battle of New Orleans; yet the news of their exploits became known by the grapevine, as well as the existence of a Negro militia and a self-governing community in Florida.

Earlier, in 1814, the British had selected the Apalachicola region as the most favorable point for controlling the river and for possible rendezvous. After the War they turned the fort over to the Negroes and the Choctaws on the condition that they would never allow a white man, other than an Englishman, to come in and that they would kill all white Americans who came near.

In 1816 the fort sheltered 100 Negro men and their families and about 20 Choctaw braves. After careful preparation and many council meetings, Colonel Clinch, who had been ordered to demolish this fort, gave the command for a few trial shots by the gunboats which had come up the river and anchored near his battery, just opposite the Negro fort. To the surprise of everyone, the first shot was on target. So elated was the Sailing Master that, although he had no furnace for heating balls, he got a makeshift fire going, heated the cannonball red-hot, and thrust in into the powder-wadded cannon. This lucky shot exceeded his wildest dreams. The noise was heard all the way to

Pensacola; the Negro fort seemed to burst, catapulting debris and human bodies in every direction.

In his official report Clinch noted that of the 100 men, 200 women and children, and 20 Choctaw braves, not more than one-sixth escaped instant death. On August 2 the Colonel's campaign against the Negro fort was ended, and he returned to Camp Crawford.

After this engagement, relatively peaceful years followed for Clinch in which he was absorbed in family affairs. The United States was pursuing a policy of removal of the southern Indian tribes to lands allotted to them west of the Mississippi and in 1828 the treaties with the Indians were made and broken by both sides. The Indians knew that no matter what the white man said, or signed, he would be pushed out of his native hunting grounds. On the other hand, the white man felt that the very presence of Indians was a continual threat to his own way of life.

General Clinch tried to be compassionate to the Indians, but it was very nearly impossible. In 1835 Osceola, a fierce half-breed, angered by the many indignities to his fellow tribesmen, with his own hand scalped and assassinated General Wiley Thompson, President Jackson's representative, who had been sent to speed the removal of the Indians. On the same day, December 28, Major Francis Dade and 100 men were ambushed and massacred on the way to Fort King. Only two seriously wounded men were able to drag themselves back to tell the tragic story.

Although Clinch was unaware of the disaster of the day before, he started his march toward the Withlacoochee on December 20 and there met the Seminoles in a shattering engagement. Time after time when his men were falling back in confusion, he rode his horse along the lines giving orders and shouting encouragement. When his horse went down with many wounds, Clinch on foot rallied his tired men for yet another attack.

Even before the march back to Fort Drane, a controversy began which is unresolved to this day: Should they have pursued the Seminoles across the river? But then it appeared to boil down to a simple matter of logistics; there was only one canoe, and the river was deep.

After this Clinch resigned. He wanted to spend more time with his large family and he needed to look after his estate. Actually, however, he did go into politics, serving as Georgia's representative in Congress. His military fame, as well as his personal integrity and good character, led the Georgia Whig Party to draft him as their nominee for the governorship in 1847. In a bitter gubernatorial campaign he

was defeated by a narrow margin. This left him disillusioned with politics, and once again, he withdrew to private life. He died in Macon, Georgia, November 27, 1849.

Even to a peripatetic layman, Mr. Patrick's chapters of Indian warfare in Florida are lively and informative. The biography is a scholarly and well-documented account of the colorful and useful patriot, citizen, and soldier of the Indians wars. It fills a useful niche in the adolescent period of the history of the United States.

Louise Smith

Greensboro

Sam Houston: American Giant. By M. K. Wisehart. (Washington, D. C.: Robert B. Luce, Inc. 1962. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. xvi, 712. $10.00.)

The author of this long, interestingly written book is a journalist who spent 20 years in its research and writing. None of the earlier Houston biographers, including Marquis James and Llerena Friend, has found so many details about the career of Sam Houston as his M. K. Wisehart. His narrative would have been improved by more compactness.

Young Sam early gave evidence of a precocious mind. He was restless, energetic, and determined. In physical make-up he was tall, muscular, and had great endurance. Sam had little formal education although he was reading Homer in Greek at fourteen years of age. In early manhood he became an alcoholic, a condition which contributed to his extreme jealousy. This in turn caused the dissolution of his early marriage and his resignation as Governor of Tennessee. After leaving Tennessee, Houston joined some of his Cherokee friends in Arkansas, but shortly thereafter he migrated to Texas. Some biographers have maintained that Houston went to Texas as the agent of Andrew Jackson but Wisehart more accurately interprets Houston's motivation as the desire to better himself economically and politically. Another inaccuracy is clarified by this book. Houston did not begin immediately upon his arrival in Texas to foment revolution against Mexico but joined a movement which others had already set in motion.

During the war between Texas and Mexico Houston was instrumental in getting the Cherokees to sign a treaty of neutrality and was disappointed when Governor Lamar later violated the agreement. Made commander of the Texas forces, Houston retreated for some time in order to drill and to discipline his meager forces. Finally at San

Jacinto he made his stand, defeating and capturing Santa Anna. President Jackson praised his old friend for sparing the Mexican General's life.

As President of Texas, Houston requested annexation to the United States. When he was refused, he established diplomatic relations with England. He declined to run for re-election as President but continued to work for the admission of Texas to the American Union. Soon after Texas became a State, Sam Houston became a United States Senator. As a member of the Senate, he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill because he felt that its adoption would mean the destruction of the Union. When Lincoln was elected to the presidency, Houston was again serving as Governor of Texas. In this capacity, as the author correctly reveals, Houston argued against secession and sought the re-creation of the Lone Star Republic or an independent status for his adopted State.

Since Houston died in 1863, *American Giant* is his centennial biography. And what a testament to his greatness it is! This may not be the last word on Sam Houston, but no student of this unique and able American can afford to ignore the book.

George Osborn

University of Florida

Benjamin Franklin Wade: Radical Republican from Ohio. By H. L. Trefousse. (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc. 1963. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. 404. $6.50.)

Benjamin Franklin Wade is known to history primarily for the following: As Senator form Ohio during the Civil War he was chairman of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War; he was co-author of the Wade-Davis Bill which was killed by Lincoln with a pocket veto; he was co-author of the Wade-Davis Manifesto which condemned Lincoln's plan of reconstruction and which berated Lincoln personally; he was a leading advocate of Radical reconstruction plans and the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson; and as President *pro tempore* of the Senate he would have succeeded to the presidency had Johnson been convicted by the Senate of high misdemeanors. With the exception of an adulatory volume that appeared soon after his death Wade has not been the subject of a full-length biography until the appearance of the present volume. However, since he was a key figure, the general histories of the period and the biographies of other leading

figures have dealt with Wade and have often portrayed him as a vindictive troublemaker, roughneck, bully and meddlesome radical—"a horrible caricature," according to the author. This book attempts to fulfill the need for a full-scale biography and to portray Wade in his true light. "Since he was engaged in a good cause, and since he added to this cause the zest which was needed to overcome the timidity of conservatives everywhere, he deserves to be remembered for what he was: a great fighter for human freedom" (p. 9).

In the first chapters the author traces the Puritan background and early struggles of Wade. Born near Springfield, Massachusetts, the tenth of 11 children, he experienced a poverty-stricken childhood and acquired only a meager education. When he was twenty-one the family moved to the Western Reserve District of Ohio where, after trying his hand at farming, at studying medicine, and at teaching school, Wade finally settled on the law as a profession. Practicing in Jefferson, Ashtabula County, Wade prospered. Before his election to the Senate in 1851 he served as various times in the State legislature and as district judge. As a leading Whig and later as a Republican Wade favored "progress," or as the author says, "He kept his party in the mainstream of Western thought." In concrete terms this meant during the 1850's advocating high tariffs, public improvements at federal expense, colonization for the Negro (on a voluntary basis), and free homesteads. The author quite correctly devotes the major portion of his book to the Civil War years. In general he defends Wade's methods as Chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War on the ground that Wade understood modern total war, that he prodded the conservatives, and on the ground that the propaganda issued by the Committee from time to time strengthened the will in the North to fight. The author makes little or no attempt to defend Wade, in his struggles with Lincoln calling the Wade-Davis Manifesto "Wade's Greatest Blunder." With regard to Reconstruction policies and the struggle over impeachment the author regards President Johnson as wrong in principle and inept in method. Unlike some of his more conservative colleagues Wade in his later years advocated suffrage for the Negroes in the North as well as in the South, women's rights, and legislation favorable to labor.

The main virtues of this biography are that it is written in a clear and vivid style, it is based on extensive research in both manuscript and printed sources, it is well proportioned, and in a sense it is objective. That is, the author makes no attempt to defend all of Wade's actions or all of his methods. Nevertheless, he sometimes paints in the

warts only to wipe them out or blur them. The main shortcoming of the volume is its simplistic frame or reference. There are good guys and bad guys, right causes and wrong causes, those in favor of progress, and those opposed to it, and so forth. If the human psyche is so uncomplicated, if great issues are really this simple there is no need of historians or philosophers. One has have only to resort to copybook maxims.

Harry L. Coles

The Ohio State University

Dawn Like Thunder: The Barbary Wars and the Birth of the U. S. Navy. By Glenn Tucker. Maps by Dorothy Thomas Tucker. (Indianapolis, Indiana, and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1963. Illustrations, acknowledgments, bibliography, and index. Pp. x, 487. $6.95.)

Temporarily, at least, Glenn Tucker has deserted the Civil War, a field in which he has been pre-eminently successful, to write the fascinating and too-little known story of the Barbary Wars and the birth of the United States Navy. *Dawn Like Thunder* will certainly rank with the best of Mr. Tucker's Civil War books.

In the late-eighteenth century, American shipping, as well as that of other nations, was the constant prey of the piratical forces of the Barbary States, and the paying of tribute, or bribes, to an assortment of rapacious beys and bashaws was the order of the day. Finally, growing demands for protection of American shipping and for cessation of payments of tribute led to the Navy Bill of 1794, which was enacted in spite of the opposition of Nathaniel Macon and the entire North Carolina delegation in Congress.

The bill led to the creation of a navy which was truly one of iron men and wooden ships. Preble, Stephen Decatur, Lawrence, MacDonough, Porter, Somers, and Wadsworth, to name only a few officers of the young navy, won undying fame for themselves and respect for their fledgling nation. The burning of the "Philadelphia" by Decatur and his intrepid band remains a great epic in naval history, and the exploits of the indomitable Lieutenant Presley N. O'Bannon on "the shores of Tripoli" live on in the words of the Marine Corps hymn.

The author finds a degree of similarity between the payment of tribute to the Barbary States and some of the United States' current foreign aid programs, and critics of some of these present-day foreign policies will find familiar reading in the unhappy ending to the heroic

efforts of Consul Eaton and Lt. O'Bannon to oust the villainous Bashaw of Tripoli and place his friendly brother on the throne, only to have another agent of the United States make peace with the Bashaw, thus leaving friendly forces stranded in the desert.

In his research, Tucker not only consulted most available sources in this country, but also visited Tripoli in search of information in order to familiarize himself with the area. This reviewer's only criticism—a minor one—is that Tucker placed too much emphasis on historical background, with the result that the reader may find it difficult to follow him as he jumps from country to country and from era to era in the early chapters of the book.

Mrs. Tucker's excellent maps are of considerable assistance in following the courses of battles and campaigns described in the book.

A. M. Patterson

State Department of Archives and History

American Slavers and the Federal Law, 1837-1862. By Warren S. Howard. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, and index. Pp. xii, 336. $6.50.)

This study makes fascinating reading, and it has a timeless quality in its presentation of the age-long proclivity of men to seek all kinds of devices to evade the law for their private gain. It supersedes the study of DuBois' work on the subject, particularly in greatly reducing the exaggerated estimate by the Negro historian of the number of slaves smuggled during the illegal African slave trade. It also combats the allegation that Democratic administrations controlled by southerners were responsible for the lack of enforcement of the laws against the smuggling of slaves. Another of its virtues is that, though it recognizes the horror and unspeakable cruelty of the slave trade, it places emphasis on another aspect of the trade, namely the reasons for the failure of law enforcement.

The author lists a number of explanations arising predominantly out of the national character of Americans in the period of slave smuggling. Among these traits were the individualism, pride, and Anglophobia of Americans which prevented the Senate from concluding a treaty with Great Britain to allow its cruisers to search American vessels on the high seas for the purpose of detecting and arresting slavers. Not until 1862, after the American squadron had been called

home from the African Coast for military action against the Confederacy did Congress finally abandon its national pride and conclude a treaty allowing the British to police American vessels. The small American squadron, established in 1839, to arrest slavers was miserably managed, and captured only nine ships laden with slaves and about 50 others that were fitted for the slave trade. The really effective force in combatting the slave trade was the much larger and more zealous British squadron. Another important reason for the relative nonenforcement of the American laws against the slave trade was the severity of the law of 1820 making participation in the slave trade piracy a capital offense, and consequently juries were reluctant to convict. Only one American, a northern captain named Nathaniel Gordon, was ever executed—in 1862. Still another reason for the failure of enforcement of the American slave trade laws was the strict construction of these laws by federal judges.

The illegal slave trade from Africa (almost all of it after 1837 from the Congo region) centered in Brazil and Cuba. It was carried on largely in American ships that were sold or chartered to Brazilians, Cubans, and Portuguese, some of them naturalized American citizens, and operated mainly from New York and Havana. One of the most important findings of this volume is that relatively few of the thousands of slaves imported from Africa during this period were smuggled into the southern States. In Cuba public sentiment strongly supported the slave trade and the American Consul in Havana, Nicholas Trist, played a highly dubious role in the attempts of the United States to prevent its ships from being used in the trade. In Brazil, on the other hand, the United States Minister Henry A. Wise exerted himself strenuously to combat the desecration of the American flag in this illegal trade, and by 1851 importation of slaves into Brazil was vanishing. The story of the illegal African slave trade is necessarily based to a large extent on circumstantial evidence and rumors. Mr. Howard has done an excellent job of using this dubious and scanty evidence and has written his story with restraint, yet with verve.

Clement Eaton

University of Kentucky

American Military Insignia, 1800-1851. By J. Duncan Campbell and Edgar M. Howell. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1963. Preface, bibliography, introduction, illustrations, and notes. Pp. xv, 124 [For sale by the Superintendent of Public Documents, U. S. Government Printing office]. $2.00.)

This work is Bulletin 235 of the scholarly publications of the United States National Museum and is issued in quarto size. Its Preface announces that it is a catalog containing a "descriptive and interpretive listing of the insignia of the Army of the United States—other than buttons, epaulets, and horse furniture—in the National Collections that were prescribed or worn during the period 1800-1851." Its 276 exceptionally fine illustrations are accompanied by concise, clear descriptive statements which will appeal somewhat more to the collector than to most scholars.

Its authors state that the catalog, while a "developmental history of American military insignia," is in no sense a definitive treatment of the subject. The fragmentary records concerning Regular Army devices prior to 1821 make it necessary for the student to depend upon specimens recovered in excavations at sites known to have been occupied by identifiable units at specific times. The profusion of insignia in use among the numberless independent uniformed militia companies during this early period makes it doubtful that the study can ever be completed.

Despite the highly specialized nature of the subject of this work it should have some utility to the student of military history because of its bibliography. Equally useful is the four-page Introduction which presents a summary of the organization of the Regular Army and of the Militia in the first half of the nineteenth century. Here one learns how the 2d Infantry Regiment in today's Regular Army came to antedate the 1st Infantry Regiment, a point which present-day members of the latter unit find difficult to accept.

Here is described also the evolution of the national Militia from the "common" Militia of colonial times to a *corps d'elite* of amateur soldiers who derived much satisfaction from participation in military exercises and the ceremonies which were—and still are—part of the military tradition. In the twentieth century this attitude was made the basis of the popular song, "I Love a Parade."

The catalog section of the book contains numerous examples of the insignia of South Carolina militia units, but none that is unique to North Carolina. Tarheels, nevertheless, may take solace in the knowledge that they were well represented in this sphere. For among the

units mentioned by the authors as being "a spectacular, colorful, and exciting integral of the social and military life" of the period, the "Raleigh Cossacks" are listed!

John D. F. Phillips

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

Our Recent Past: American Civilization in the Twentieth Century. By Thomas Neville Bonner. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. ix, 470. $10.00.)

Surveys of recent American history are much alike. Beginning with a sweeping view of economic, social, and intellectual changes in the latter years of the nineteenth century, they then turn to a detailed discussion of events which have shaped contemporary America, centering especially on reform movements and the country's growth as a world power. Since the southeastern States did not figure largely in these major themes, there is customarily little mention of them until post-World War II racial unrest became a matter of national concern. Since, too, these surveys are aimed at the widest possible audience, the authors stick mostly to accepted historical interpretations.

These generalizations describing the half-dozen or so surveys that are currently available also disclose the substance of the book under review. Bonner's volume differs from its competitors mainly in that it is short—about half the length of a book by Arthur Ling, for example. Its brevity presumably will attract the general reader; as a textbook, its size will permit the assignment of library materials. Thus, if a short synthesis is what one seeks, this volume ought to be satisfactory. Within the limits of his space, Bonner has treated his subject adequately; his writing is simple and clear; his illustrations contribute to the reader's interest; and his bibliography is not only well selected and annotated but also includes sound and film materials.

Burton F. Beers

North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina
at Raleigh

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

A Guide to the Study and Reading of North Carolina History, by Hugh Talmage Lefler, will prove an invaluable guide to persons interested in delving into North Carolina's history. This second revised and enlarged edition was published by the University of North Carolina Press, as was the 1955 edition. The contents of the book include sources for the study of State and local history, books and articles relating to North Carolina, rosters of North Carolina soldiers, a select bibliography of North Carolina folklore, bibliographies to be used in conjunction with the Lefler and Newsome text on North Carolina history, and materials relating to North Carolina counties and towns. Students and writers of the history of North Carolina will find the revised edition of Dr. Lefler's *Guide* a tremendous asset for their libraries. It may be obtained from the University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill for $2.40.

Superior Court Judge Allen H. Gwyn has written *Work-Earn and Save,* published by the Institutes for Civic Education, Extension Division, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Called "observations on crime and correction," Judge Gwynn discusses probation and punishment and the need for judicial analysis; changes in points of view with regard to crime and punishment; the work, earn, and save plan, including case histories of defendants operating under the system; observations on methods of preventing crime; and probation and parole, showing how these concepts in practice help in crime prevention. The book will be of especial value to persons interested in social problems and North Carolina's approach to them. Copies may be ordered from the publisher; the price is $1.50.

Another study in the series of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, is *Shonto: A Study of the Role of the Trader in a Modern Navaho Community,* by William Y. Adams. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for $2.00, the book will be significant to those interested in Indian lore and the social and economic changes occurring among this group of people. The 329-page book is illustrated.

In the same series is the eighth bulletin in the *River Basin Surveys Papers,* edited by Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr. Subtitled *Inter-Agency Archeological Salvage Program,* the 344-page book is also available

for sale from the Superintendent of Documents. The price is $3.00. The seven reports in this volume relate to work done in four reservoir areas in the Missouri Basin.

Two additional numbers in the *Preliminary Inventories* series, published by the National Archives, have been issued. Number 155, *Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer,* compiled by Mabel E. Deutrich, is a 26-page booklet; Number 157, *General Records of the Department of State* compiled by Daniel T. Goggin and H. Stephen Helton, contains 311 pages. Both are available without charge from The National Archives, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C., 20408.

The American Revenue Association has issued a 27-page booklet, *New Discovery From British Archives on The 1765 Tax Stamps For America,* edited by Adolph Koeppel. Philatelists will be fascinated by the illustrations. History of the Stamp Act and action taken following its passage is included. The account of the actual production of the stamps themselves and the use to which surplus stamps was put is of interest to the general reader as well as the historian. Additional information may be obtained from the American Revenue Association at Boyertown, Pennsylvania.

A new church history is that by Charles Crossfield Ware, *The Church Bell: A History of The First Christian Church, Wilson, N. C.* The hardbound book contains 144 pages, an index, and illustrations. Included in the story is much information about the city of Wilson and about the group of Disciples of Christ in that area of North Carolina. The close tie with Atlantic Christian College is also shown. The permanent Disciple congregation was founded in Wilson on April 27, 1871, meaning that nearly a century of history is included in *The Church Bell.* Copies are available from Dr. Ware, Box 1164, Wilson, N. C.

Colonial Bertie County, North Carolina, Volume II, *1725-1730,* contains abstracts of Deed Books B and C, 1725-1730 and a few from Deed Book E, 1739. Abstracted and indexed by Mary Best Bell, the book was published by Colonial Bertie, Box 343, Windsor, N. C. Copies are available from the publisher for $7.73; Volume I is still available for $5.15, including tax. Each name and place and both grantors and grantees are listed in the index.

Carter Watkins Friend has compiled a 161-page, paper-bound book entitled *The Descendants of Captain Thomas Friend, 1700-1760, Chesterfield County, Virginia.* Illustrations add interest to what is primarily a genealogical study of the Friend family, beginning in England. Copies may be ordered for $8.00 from Carter Watkins Friend, 2416 Cameron Mills Road, Alexandria, Virginia.

The Department recently received the *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Archivist of the Hall of Records.* This report of the work being done in Maryland covers the period July 1, 1961, through June 30, 1962. Information on the agency's publications, accessions, Civil War Centennial exhibits, and other phases of the program is given in the report.

The second edition of *North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm,* a 31-page booklet, has been published by the State Department of Archives and History. Copies of this publication, a checklist of early newspapers from North Carolina which are now available on microfilm from the Department, are available for 50¢ from the Department.

Another departmental publication is *The Old North State Fact Book,* on sale by the Division of Publications of the Department for 25¢. The pamphlet of 82 pages is reprinted from the first section of the 1963 edition of the *North Carolina Manual;* the publication was issued to meet needs of school children who request information on the State government, the list of governors, the Halifax Resolves, the State song, the Constitution, and numerous other topics.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Executive Board

The Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History met on September 19 in the Assembly Room of the Department. Present were Chairman McDaniel Lewis; Board members Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, Dr. Edward W. Phifer, Jr., and Dean D. J. Whitener; Director Christopher Crittenden; Budget Officer Mary B. Cornick; Division Heads Mr. H. G. Jones, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell; General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission; Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the Confederate Centennial Commission; and Mrs. Jane Burts, Secretary to Dr. Crittenden.

Secretary of State Thad Eure administered the oath of office to Dr. Phifer, physician and surgeon of Morganton, who was appointed to the Board on July 16 by Governor Terry Sanford. Mr. Ralph P. Hanes was reappointed on the same date. Below is a roster of present Board members:

	Appointment Date	Expiration Date
Miss Gertrude S. Carraway	June 18, 1959*	March 31, 1965
Fletcher M. Green	June 12, 1961*	March 31, 1967
Ralph P. Hanes	July 16, 1963*	March 31, 1969
Josh L. Horne	June 12, 1961*	March 31, 1967
McDaniel Lewis	June 18, 1959*	March 31, 1965
Edward W. Phifer	July 16, 1963**	March 31, 1969
Daniel J. Whitener	June 18, 1959**	March 31, 1965

Dr. Phifer received the Ramsdell Award at the Asheville meeting of the Southern Historical Association, November 7. This Award, presented on alternate years, is given for excellence in historical writing in *The Journal of Southern History*. Dr. Phifer's article on slavery in Burke County won the $100 prize for 1961-1962.

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

The final major event of the year-long three-hundredth anniversary observance of the Carolina Charter was the stage presentation and subsequent television showing of "The Sojourner and Mollie Sinclair," a seriocomic music drama written on commission for the Tercentenary by Carlisle Floyd.

The premiere on Monday, December 2, was followed by performances on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings and a Wednesday matinee during

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* Reappointed.

** Appointed for first term.

Culture Week. Television programming of the video-tape production, taped by WUNC-TV, is still being scheduled with five North Carolina stations committed to showing the work.

Composer-librettist Floyd, a native of Latta, South Carolina, developed a plot involving a mid-eighteenth century Scottish family whose loyalties are divided between their new home in the southeastern flatlands of North Carolina and the Highlands of Scotland.

Starring in the leading roles were Miss Patricia Neway and Mr. Norman Treigle, nationally prominent artists. Julius Rudel of the New York City Opera Company was the guest conductor. The Opera Theater of East Carolina College produced the drama. Drawing from its faculty and student body, the school provided an orchestra and supporting cast, and built the sets.

The Charter Commission participated actively in the annual meetings of three learned societies which honored the Tercentenary by meeting in North Carolina during 1963. At the joint meeting of the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History in Raleigh during the first week of October, the Commission manned an exhibit, displaying its free literature, leaflets, historical pamphlets, and souvenirs. The Commission's Executive Secretary, General John D. F. Phillips, participated in a symposium on commemorative programs. He outlined the origin, concept, scope, and execution of the Tercentenary program. An award for outstanding contributions to the study of colonial history was presented to the Charter Commission.

At the Southern Historical Association's annual convention in Asheville, November 7-9, the Tercententary of the granting of the Carolina Charter was celebrated at several events. Dr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations mediator and chairman of the federal North Carolina Tercentenary Celebration Commission, was introduced by the State Commission Chairman, the Hon. Francis E. Winslow, at the Tercentenary dinner. Dr. Graham's topic was "The Carolina Charter in Its British and American Context." Before the address, the audience of about 200 persons was entertained by Miss Julia Ribet and Mr. Harvey Moose, of Raleigh, with a selection of folk songs of the colonists.

At one of the 20 sessions held in Asheville, the Carolina Charter was discussed at length. Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was chairman. Mr. William S. Powell, Head, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, presented a paper on "How the Charter was Obtained." Dr. Charles E. Lee, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, covered "The Implementation of the Charter in the Charles Town Colony." Discussants were Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, East Carolina College, and Dr. E. Lawrence Lee, the Citadel.

Winners in the Literary Competition staged by the Commission were Mr. Sam Ragan, Mr. Thad Stem, Jr., and Mr. Manly Wade Wellman. Mr. Ragan, Executive Editor of *The News and Observer-Raleigh Times*, and Mr. Stem of Oxford, author and poet, were scheduled to receive $500 in the poetry division for their work entitled, "In the Beginning." An epic poem in four parts, it is based on the efforts of early settlers in the Carolina colony to win a new and improved way of life in the young coun-

try. Mr. Wellman of Chapel Hill won the $1,000 award in the prose-fiction category for his entry, *Settlement on Shocco, Adventures in Colonial Carolina,* a historical novel for school-age readers. Mrs. John H. Hamilton, Jr., of Cary, received honorable mention in the poetry division for "A Fair and Spacious Province and Other Poems."

During October the Morehead Planetarium's program was "The Charter and the Seven Stars." Written by Mr. Harvey W. Daniel of Chapel Hill, the program opened with the sky as seen from London at the time of the granting of the Carolina Charter. Many interesting discussions were included, such as the Romans designating the region of the Big Dipper as Septentriones, the "Seven Stars," which came to mean North. The closing phase of the program was a transition from the "seven stars" of 1663 to the advanced techniques of modern celestial navigation; and from the crude equipment which guided the ancient mariners to the giant NASA electronic complex under construction at Rosman, in the mountains of North Carolina, which will guide and track modern astronauts into space.

An exhibit of Tercentenary materials was displayed at the State Fair in Raleigh. Thousands of free leaflets were distributed. Also, the Carolina Charter and its three-hundredth anniversary celebration was the subject of a spectacular fireworks display each night showing highlights of North Carolina history.

The East Carolina Marching Pirates, a 115-member band, performed in the District of Columbia Stadium in Washington during the football halftime show on October 13. Several symbols were used in paying tribute to the Indian's part in history of North Carolina. They also formed the figure "300" and played a special arrangement of Don Elliot's "North Carolina."

Colonial Residential Architecture, by Professor John Allcott of Chapel Hill, came off the press in October. This completes publication of the series of historical pamphlets. Other titles are *Upheaval in Albemarle 1675-1689: The Story of Culpeper's Rebellion,* by Hugh F. Rankin; *The Lords Proprietors,* by William S. Powell; *The Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763,* by E. Lawrence Lee; *The Royal Governors of North Carolina,* by Blackwell P. Robinson; *The Highland Scots of North Carolina,* by Duane Meyer; and *The Influence of Geography Upon Early North Carolina,* by Cordelia Camp.

The last scheduled plenary meeting of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission was held in Raleigh on October 11, preceded by an Executive Committee meeting. The Commission directed that a recommendation on behalf of the Charter Commission be submitted to the Governor and Council of State that the new Archives and History-State Library building be designated "The Carolina Charter Building."

Included in the report of the Executive Secretary, General John D. F. Phillips, was the fact that 64 of the 100 counties have staged major Tercentenary observances during 1963. Much of the business was devoted to terminating the Commission's activities and responsibilities by December 31.

North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission

Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, presented a slide program on Civil War sites and the Gettysburg Centennial at the Twenty-sixth Annual Convention of the North Carolina Division, Children of the Confederacy, August 13-15, in Asheville.

On August 24 he served as master of ceremonies at the "Hebe Skirmish Centennial and Fort Fisher Groundbreaking Ceremonies." Sponsored by the New Hanover County Board of Commissioners and Centennial Committee in conjunction with the State Department of Archives and History and the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, the program featured a concert by the U. S. Marine Drum and Bugle Corps, a speech by author Hamilton Cochran, military drills, and a fireworks display.

In late August diving expeditions to the sunken Civil War vessel U.S.S. "Peterhoff," which lies off Fort Fisher, were begun. During the course of the operations, a 32-pound cannon was recovered by U.S. Navy divers.

Mr. Larson participated in the joint convention of the American Association for State and Local History and Society of American Archivists in Raleigh, October 2-5, both as a panelist and as a tour guide. As panelist, he outlined North Carolina's Centennial program at a session of the American Association for State and Local History.

On October 9 the State Convention of the North Carolina Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, was held in Raleigh. A slide program on the Gettysburg Centennial was presented by the Executive Secretary at the group's Historical Evening banquet.

A special program of fireworks illustrating 300 years of North Carolina history was narrated by the Executive Secretary nightly at the State Fair, October 14-19.

Mr. Larson attended the fall meeting of the Confederate States Centennial Conference in San Antonio, Texas, October 24-28. He participated as panelist in a discussion of the role of various States in the Centennial and was appointed to serve on a committee to plan and co-ordinate Centennial activities in the South during 1965.

Miss Carolyn Madden Myers, Administrative Assistant, was married to Mr. Marcus Edward Bizzell, Jr., on October 26 in Raleigh. She is continuing in her position at present.

The Executive Secretary met with members of the Historic Sites Division, State Department of Archives and History, on November 4 to formulate plans for the commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the battles of Fort Fisher and Bentonville and the surrender at the Bennett Place.

A program on the salvage of blockade-runners off Fort Fisher was presented by the Executive Secretary to members of the Greensboro Civitan Club on November 8. On November 14 he addressed the Wilson chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. That evening he was in Ahoskie, where he presented a program on "Our North Carolina Heritage" to the Hertford County 4-H Club.

Representing the North Carolina Commission and the Confederate States Centennial Conference, the Executive Secretary was in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, November 16-19, to participate in ceremonies commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

Director's Office

Mr. Carter Williams, architect of Raleigh, has been selected by the Department of Administration as the architect for the Archives and History-State Library Building for which the General Assembly of 1963 appropriated $3,000,000. He and other members of his firm are working on plans for the building. From November 19 to 22 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan; Mr. H. G. Jones; Mr. Williams; Mrs. Elizabeth Hughey, State Librarian, and others made a tour to Atlanta, Georgia; New Orleans and Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and Birmingham, Alabama, to study recently constructed or under-construction archives, library, and museum buildings to gain knowledge for plans for the North Carolina building. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, went with the group as far as Atlanta.

The joint summer meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association was held at Brevard College, July 26-27. Mr. Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock spoke at the first session on "The Barbary Wars and the Birth of the United States Navy." After the July 26 dinner Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist at Brunswick Town, spoke on "Brunswick Town: Past and Present." Mr. Robert C. Page III of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission then gave a progress report on the work of the Commission.

Judge Johnson J. Hayes of Wilksboro spoke at the morning meeting on July 27 on the problems of writing local history, based on his experience in writing the history of Wilkes County.

On August 28 Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting in Smithfield of the high school social studies teachers of Johnston County where he presented a brief program relating to the work of the Department. He was accompanied by Mrs. Frances Ashford, Education Curator; Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor; and Mr. N. B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist, each of whom also spoke briefly.

The internship course given by the Department in collaboration with the Department of History at Meredith College began in September. This course, offered to juniors and seniors who are history majors, affords the students who participate the opportunity to work in the various Divisions of the Department. College credit is awarded to those who pass the course. Enrollees are Miss Clare Bolton and Miss Marge Hamilton, Division of Museums; Miss Gera-Lu Shervette and Miss Charlotte Burgess, Division of Archives and Manuscripts; and Misses Brenda Smith, Barbara Radford, Nancy Spencer, and Diane Daughtry, Division of Publications.

Dr. Crittenden presided at the Wake Forest College Birthplace Society luncheon meeting on September 27 in Wake Forest. Officers re-elected are Dr. Crittenden, President; Mr. John Wooten, Jr., Vice-President, and Mrs. A. C. Hall, Secretary. Mr. J. L. Warren was elected Treasurer. Wake Forest Mayor S. Wait Brewer was named to the Board of Directors, re-

placing the late Dr. Douglas Branch. Two changes were made in the bylaws to comply with federal government tax regulations. Mrs. R. W. Wilkinson III reported for her husband, finance chairman, on the work of local civic clubs in the restoration of the Wake Forest College Birthplace.

Dr. Crittenden also attended the meeting of the Wake County Historical Society in the Assembly Room of the Department on September 30.

The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists and the twenty-third annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History were held jointly in Raleigh, October 2-5. These societies are among those meeting in North Carolina during 1963 to celebrate the Tercentenary of the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663. One of the most significant events was held on October 3—the ceremonial groundbreaking for the new Archives and History-State Library Building. Governor Terry Sanford; Dr. Crittenden; Mrs. Elizabeth Hughey, State Librarian; Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History; Mr. Thad Stem, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the State Library; Mr. Francis E. Winslow, Chairman of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission; and Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the Confederate Centennial Commission, participated in the event held at the new State Legislative Building.

An Award of Distinction was presented to Dr. Crittenden on October 4 by the American Association for State and Local History for his many contributions in the field of history. He was instrumental in helping develop the Association, after assisting in its organization in 1940 and serving as its first President. It was noted that he had been especially successful in persuading "governors and legislators to support a state program second to none in the country." Dr. Ernst Posner of Washington received an Award of Distinction also. These awards were given for the first time.

Dr. Crittenden spoke briefly at the annual meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Raleigh on October 8. He attended in Chapel Hill on October 10 the meeting of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission Advisory Editorial Board and on October 11 the meeting of the Charter Commission in Raleigh. He spoke at the organizational meeting of the Hillsborough Historical Society in Hillsboro.

On October 23 Mr. Charles W. Traylen, antiquarian bookseller of Guildford, Surrey, England, spoke at the staff meeting of the Department. Mr. Traylen is the person from whom the original Carolina Charter of 1663 was purchased. The Charter is now housed in the Hall of History in a specially-designed case.

The symbolic unveiling of a historical marker for the Wake Forest College Birthplace (Calvin Jones House) was held on September 15. Dr. Crittenden presided at the ceremonies held in the Wake Forest High School Gymnasium. Among the descendants of Calvin Jones attending were two namesakes, one from Memphis and the other from Bolivar, Tennessee. Members of the families of former presidents of Wake Forest College, including Richard Lewis Brewer, a descendant of the first presi-

dent, Reverend Samuel Wait, also were present. Greetings were brought by a number of representatives of historical and patriotic groups and the Wake Forest High School Band presented a concert. Arms were presented by the Fourth 155 Howitzer Battery, United States Marine Corps, Raleigh. On October 29 Dr. Crittenden made a progress report on the restoration of the Wake Forest College Birthplace at a meeting of the Wake County Chapter of the Wake Forest College Alumni Association.

Dr. Crittenden attended on November 1 the Bertie County Tercentenary Celebration held in Windsor from October 31 through November 2. The fall meeting of the Bertie County Historical Association was held simultaneously with the celebration. Mr. John R. Jenkins of Aulander presided at the dinner on October 31. Governor Terry Sanford opened the celebration at the Francis Speight art exhibit on November 1; an antique show was held in the Windsor Community Building; a tour of historic homes of the area was arranged; and a parade of historic floats was presented. Speakers during the three-day event included Congressman Herbert Bonner and General John D. F. Phillips of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

Dr. Crittenden attended the November 8 and 9 sessions of the twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association held in Asheville. The Association was invited to meet in the State as a part of the year-long celebration of the Tercentenary of the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663.

Mayor Jim Reid of Raleigh has appointed the following persons to serve as members of the Raleigh Historic Sites Commission: Mr. Hal W. Trentman, Chairman; Mrs. Sam Beard, Co-Chairman; Mrs. Bruce Carter, Mr. Robert McMillan, Jr., Mr. Herbert O'Keef, Mrs. Dallas Holoman, Jr., Mr. William H. Deitrick, Mr. Henry P. Haywood, Mrs. Raymond L. Murray, Mr. F. Carter Williams, Mrs. Roy Wilder, Mr. Ben F. Williams, Mr. Banks Talley, and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, members; Miss Beth G. Crabtree, Secretary; Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mr. A. C. Hall, Jr., advisers. The Commission met on November 5 with Mr. Trentman presiding. Mayor Reid spoke briefly to those present, reviewing the past work; City Manager W. H. Carper also spoke briefly. Dr. Crittenden made suggestions as to purposes, projects, and short- and long-range programs of the Commission. A general discussion followed concerning the financing of the work of the Commission. Another matter discussed was the preservation of the Richard B. Haywood House, located at the corner of Edenton and Blount Streets. This dwelling was erected in 1854 of bricks made by family slaves of Dr. Richard Benehan Haywood and was commandeered during Federal occupation as headquarters of Major Francis P. Blair, Jr., a classmate of Dr. Haywood at the University of North Carolina, and visited by Generals Sherman and Grant. A committee was appointed by Mr. Trentman to recommend action on the Haywood House. The committee met on November 16 and elected Mr. Deitrick chairman. The Commission met again on November 26 and heard a report from Mr. Deitrick concerning a resolution from the Commission to the City Council of Raleigh, relative to the preservation of the Haywood House. Dr. Crittenden suggested that a brief brochure be prepared describing the historic sites

in Raleigh. Mr. Trentman then appointed Mr. Ben Williams as chairman of a committee to prepare a brochure, with Dr. Crittenden and Mrs. Roy Wilder serving with him. Mr. Williams suggested that Dr. Louise Hall, Professor of Architecture at Duke University, be consulted in preparing a brief description of buildings considered worthy of preservation. Mr. Trentman set the next meeting date of the Commission on December 17.

On December 2 the City Council of Raleigh passed a resolution designating the Richard B. Haywood House as "historically one of the most significant buildings in the city of Raleigh." The resolution further requested that the Governor and Council of State consider the Haywood property in the future planning and development of the Capitol Square area.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

In connection with the joint meeting of the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History in Raleigh in October, the Division of Archives and Manuscripts sponsored two workshops on October 2. In the morning Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, and Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist for Local Records, discussed the Department's local records program. Appearing on the program also were Miss Betty June Hayes of Hillsboro, Register of Deeds of Orange County and an officer of the National Association of County Recorders and Clerks, and Mr. Allan Markham of Chapel Hill, Assistant Director of the Institute of Government. In the afternoon Mr. Jones and Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell, Assistant State Archivist for State Records, discussed the Department's State records management program. The sessions included an open house throughout the Division. More than 50 persons attended the local records session and approximately 85 attended the session at the Records Center.

Admiral Patterson served as Local Arrangements Chairman for the Society of American Archivists, and Mr. Jones presided at a joint luncheon on October 3 at which Governor Terry Sanford was the featured speaker. Mr. Jones was re-elected Treasurer of the Society.

Mr. Jones presided at a session on archives and historical societies at the Third Assembly on the Library Functions of the States in Washington, D. C., November 13-15. On September 21 he spoke to the Caswell County Chapter of Colonial Dames.

Members of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts who attended the meetings of the Southern Historical Association in Asheville, November 7-9, were Mr. Jones, Mr. C. Fred W. Coker, Admiral Patterson, and Mr. Mitchell.

Scholarly publications have carried articles by Division staff members in recent months. Mr. Jones' "State Archival-Records Management Programs in the United States" appeared in Volume XI of *Archivum*, published by the Conseil International des Archives in Paris, and his "Microfilm Applications in a State Archival-Records Management Program" was published in the *Proceedings* of the 1963 Convention of the National

Microfilm Association. His paper on "Elements of a Comprehensive State Archival-Records Management Program" was published in the *Proceedings* of the Southeastern Chapter of the American Records Management Association for May, 1963. The July issue of *The American Archivist* carried articles by Admiral Patterson and Mr. Mitchell, titled respectively, "State Archival Agencies' Services to Other State Agencies," and "Ohio—Disposition of Medical Records in State Mental Hospitals." The October issue of the same journal carried the article, "Ancient Documents as Evidence," by Mr. Cyrus B. King, formerly an Assistant State Archivist.

Additional nineteenth-century newspapers made available on microfilm include the papers not heretofore filmed for the cities of Asheville, Oxford, Plymouth, Warrenton, Williamston, and Windsor. The filming of the *Wilmington Messenger*, daily, 1887-1908, was also completed; this title occupies 61 reels.

The Microfilm Services Center processed 1,225 reels (119,390 linear feet) of microfilm during the quarter ending September 30, including 887 reels (85,990 feet) of negative film and 338 reels (33,400 feet) of positive film. The latter consisted largely of newspapers on microfilm purchased by other institutions.

The Search Room is now open from 8:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. on Saturdays in addition to the 8:30 to 5:30 hours Mondays through Fridays. Because only a skeleton staff will be on duty on Saturdays, it is suggested that scholars notify the State Archivist in advance indicating the subject of their research so that materials they wish to examine may easily be made available.

Progress continued in the Archives Section on the preparation of guides to research materials. One—the *Guide to Research Materials in the North Carolina State Archives*—is being published in near-print form and in installments which may be ready for sale early in 1964. Another, a guide to the private collections (the exact title of which has yet to be decided), will be issued as a regular Departmental volume in 1964. A third, a guide to Civil War materials in the Archives, is in preparation.

In the quarter ending September 30, 867 persons registered in the Search Room and 936 were given information by mail. These figures do not include visitors and letters handled in the Section without referral to the Search Room. Photocopies totaled 1,358 and certified copies 44. In addition, almost 1,200 photocopies were made for use in the Department.

In the Document Restoration Laboratory, 24,983 pages of manuscript materials were laminated of which the greater part were county records. In addition, staff members outside of office hours laminated 3,904 pages for individuals and institutions.

Miss Betsy Fleshman, a graduate of Flora Macdonald College, joined the Archives staff on October 1 as Clerk III. On December 1 she was reclassified as Archivist I.

A major accomplishment of the Local Records Section has been the completion of the repair and arrangement of a collection of colonial court records received from Chowan County. These include a few original court minutes and other dockets, civil and criminal action papers, estates

and land records, lists of taxables, and a variety of other records of the courts, dating from 1677 to 1775.

Original records recently received from counties include:

Granville County: Common schools register (1860-1861).

Jones County: Record of deeds (1822-1828); index to early deed books (undated); miscellaneous County Court dockets (1807-1868); Superior Court minutes (1807-1819); equity minutes (1826-1868); miscellaneous Superior Court dockets (1821-1868); administrators' bonds (1869-1926); guardian bonds (1869-1913); record of administrators, executors, and guardians (1792-1799); inventories and accounts of sales (1803-1854); bastardy bonds (1869-1892); indenture bonds (1870-1902); 19 wills (1811-1900); and civil action and criminal papers (1854-1899).

Martin County: Minute docket, Inferior Court (1877-1885); County Court execution and trial dockets (1844-1860); administrators' bonds (1867-1913); guardian bonds (1866-1913); record of administrators, guardians, and executors (1869-1886); records of elections (1878-1922); land entries (1866-1900); tax scrolls (1885-1915, not consecutive); estates papers (1898-1906); original wills (1866-1918); and civil action papers (1884-1903).

Surry County: County Court minutes (1779-1783, 1788-1847, 1850, 1960-1867); miscellaneous County Court dockets (1772-1868); Superior Court minutes (1807-1849); equity minutes (1855-1867); miscellaneous Superior Court dockets (1807-1867); records of account (1792-1805, 1809-1862); apprentice bonds (1879-1921); administrators' bonds (1876-1903); guardian bonds (1879-1894); land entries (1784-1795); marriage registers (1853-1940); Warden's Court minutes (1852-1877); record of processioners (1801-1887); records of election (1880-1920); appointment of road overseers (1807-1858); small group of civil and criminal action papers (1800-1900); a few deeds, commissioners' papers, etc. (1800-1900); and two merchant's ledgers (T. Crumpler, 1826-1827, and W. D. Rutledge, 1853-1854).

Tyrrell County: 36 marriage bonds (1862-1865).

The following microfilm copies of county records have been processed and placed in the Search Room:

Cumberland County: Deeds, grants, plats, and surveys (1754-1950); marriage bonds and registers (1800-1962); index to vital statistics (1913-1961); County Court minutes (1867-1942); Superior Court minutes (1755-1868); record of estates and of fiduciaries of estates (1808-1962); wills (1796-1962); record of adoptions (1934-1963); record of incorporations (1898-1923); record of elections (1906-1960); inheritance tax record (1921-1962); military discharges (1919-1962); orders and decrees and special proceedings (1869-1962); and minutes of county commissioners (1868-1924).

Halifax County: Deeds (1732-1934); marriage registers (1851-1963); index to vital statistics (1913-1961); County Court minutes (1832-1868); Superior Court minutes (1868-1940); record of estates of fiduciaries of estates (1868-1963); wills (1759-1963); record of incorporations (1887-1947); maiden names of divorced women (1938-1963); record of election (1924-1963); inheritance tax record (1920-1963); military discharges

(1923-1963); orders and decrees and special proceedings (1868-1963); minutes of board of county commissioners (1873-1921), and county board of education (1909-1951).

Hertford County: Deeds (1862-1960); marriage registers (1868-1963); index to vital statistics (1913-1962); County Court minutes (1830-1868); Superior Court minutes (1868-1950); record of estates and of fiduciaries of estates (1823-1963); wills (1830-1963); record of incorporations and partnerships (1878-1962); maiden names of divorced women (1939-1962); inheritance tax record (1920-1963); record of elections (1880-1962); orders and decrees and special proceedings (1868-1963); military discharges (1918-1961); federal tax lien index (1931-1962); record of taxes for mortgagees (1931-1934); record of land sold for taxes (1924-1936); minutes of board of county commissioners (1868-1939); and register of Confederate soldiers (1861-1865).

With the completion of work in Surry and Martin counties, the permanently valuable records of 32 counties have now been repaired as necessary and microfilmed for security. Records of Burke, Caswell, and Nash counties have been inventoried and scheduled and microfilm camera operators are now at work in these counties. With Departmental advice and assistance Guilford County has also begun microfilming the permanently valuable county records.

Mr. J. H. Hawley, Archivist II, resigned effective August 31 to accept employment in industry. On September 1 Mr. J. O. Hall, Archivist I, was promoted to Archivist II and assigned as relief for Mr. Hawley, and on the same date Mr. M. Kramer Jackson, a recent graduate of Atlantic Christian College joined the staff as Archivist I. On October 1 Mrs. Jean R. Miller was promoted to Archivist II, and on the same date Mr. Percy W. Hines, a graduate of Guilford College, joined the staff as a Clerk IV (Microfilm Camera Operator).

The activities of the State Records Section centered about the workshops, completing the records scheduling project, completing the reorganization of the holdings and finding aids of the State Records Center, and continuing the special studies and files installations already started.

The special study of fiscal records and paperwork has been completed and is being reviewed. A standard governing the disposition of fiscal records both in the central and operating agencies has been prepared and will be submitted to various officials for review and approval.

Work continued on the preparation of a standard governing the disposition of college and university records.

The records management workshops continued. The Correspondence Management and Plain Letters Workshop was given five times to 150 persons representing two agencies; the Files and Filing Workshop was given one time to 21 persons representing seven agencies.

Schedules for the State Board of Pharmacy, Real Estate Licensing Board, Tax Review Board, the Law Enforcement Officers' Benefit and Retirement Fund were approved during the quarter ending September 30, 1963. Schedules for the Board of Registration for Professional Engineers and Land Surveyors and the Laboratory of Hygiene were in the hands of

the respective agencies for review. Schedules for the Department of Insurance, Rural Electrification Authority, Division of Community Planning, and Merit System Council were in process. Schedules for the State Board of Health, Teachers' and State Employees' Retirement System, State Department of Archives and History, Board of Paroles, and Board of Education have been amended.

The high school equivalency records of the Department of Public Instruction and a subject file of the head of the Auditing and Accounting Division, Board of Education, have been reorganized. Bound records of the Secretary of State were rearranged. A plan for a central file for the Department of Mental Health has been developed and approved by the Department, and the new filing system will be installed with assistance from the Section. A files reorganization survey in the Merit System Council is being conducted simultaneously with the scheduling project in progress in that agency.

The annual report of records holdings for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, indicated that State agencies in Raleigh had a total of 91,901 cubic feet, an increase of 2,246 cubic feet over the previous year. This increase took place despite the fact that 6,231 cubic feet of records were destroyed in the agencies during the year and 6,173 cubic feet were transferred to the State Records Center. State institutions outside of Raleigh had a total of 11,629 cubic feet on June 30, and the examining and licensing boards reported 2,674 cubic feet. The total volume of State records on June 30, 1963, including the 26,745 cubic feet in the State Records Center, was 132,950 cubic feet. These figures do not include institutions of higher learning.

In the State Records Center during the quarter ending September 30, 2,424 cubic feet were accessioned and 790 cubic feet were disposed of, resulting in a net gain of 1,634 cubic feet. The total holdings of the Center on September 30 were 28,379 cubic feeet. The Records Center staff performed 13,411 reference services during the quarter, and 78 visitors from 19 State agencies and the U.S. Internal Revenue Service visited the Records Center to consult records. The Records Center sold 9.2 tons of records and four tons of punched cards as wastepaper during the quarter.

Rearrangement of records holdings in the Records Center as the result of the installation of new shelving has been completed, and the index to records holdings has been completely revised.

In the Microfilm Project 101 reels of microfilm containing 239,035 images were filmed during the quarter ending September 30. In addition, 75 reels of paid checks were processed for the State Treasurer. Processing of the budget reports and appropriations file of the Budget Division for the regular biennial filming was started.

On November 4 a summary of the annual reports of records holdings submitted by State agencies was sent to Governor Sanford and to the Director of Administration. Copies were also sent to the records officers of all agencies.

Mr. Charles I. Bryan, Records Management Consultant I, resigned September 30, 1963, to accept a position in the Budget Division, Department of Administration. Mr. Claude R. Moore, Jr., was appointed Records

Management Consultant I, effective November 1, 1963. Mrs. Elizabeth C. Levings, Archivist II, resigned effective October 8. Mrs. Rebecca K. Clegg, Archivist I, was promoted to Archivist II, effective November 1, and Mrs. Judith A. Faulk was appointed Archivist I, effective the same date. Mr. John R. Van Hecke, Archivist II, was separated October 15, 1963, and Mr. E. F. Stephenson was appointed Clerk II (Microfilmer, part time), effective October 21, 1963.

Division of Historic Sites

Recently the Division has effected a reorganization of duties which has long-range possibilities for improvement and greater efficiency in the development and administration of historic site projects. As a result of reorganization, three historic site specialists have been transferred from individual projects in the field to the central office at Raleigh, where they will be engaged full time in specialized fields. They are Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., and Mr. Walter Wootten.

In the field, the administration of Fort Fisher has been combined with that of Brunswick Town, located nearby, and both projects are under the supervision of Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist. At Town Creek Indian Mound, Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Archeologist in charge for the past two years, resigned to take a new position at the University of North Carolina as Archeologist on the highway salvage program; his successor is Mr. Roy Dickens of Atlanta, Georgia, who formerly worked with the Georgia Historical Commission. In the far western part of the State, Mr. Robert O. Conway, Historic Site Specialist in charge of the Vance Birthplace State Historic Site, has been designated as an area representative to handle historic site matters in the western part of the State. He will work with local groups on their restoration projects and will handle any new projects in which the State may be interested.

The new position of Historic Site Assistant has been established for on-site supervisors of the individual historic site projects. Recently appointed to such positions are Mrs. John A. Tankard at Historic Bath, Mr. Wayne Smith at Alamance Battleground, Mr. Egbert Ivey at Aycock Birthplace, and Mr. William Reid at Fort Fisher.

The Historic Bath Commission on August 1 turned over to the Department of Archives and History for administration the historic properties at Bath—namely, the Palmer-Marsh House, the Bonner House, Hardings Landing, and certain undeveloped properties on the waterfront and around the Palmer-Marsh House. Funds for the operation of Historic Bath as a State Historic Site were appropriated by the 1963 General Assembly. Since August 1 the necessary personnel and other arrangements have been made and Bath is now in operation as a full-fledged State Historic Site. Since August 1 visitors from 15 of the States and from England have visited Bath.

At the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace two additional log structures—a corn crib and a meat house—have been erected, bringing to a total of seven the number of buildings there. Both of the new buildings have puncheon floors, some of the logs of which are two feet wide.

Mr. Conway has presented programs at North Carolina Education Association district meetings at Boone and Mooresville and at Daughters of the American Revolution "good citizen" district meeting and the West Asheville Community Club. At the recent meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Asheville, Mr. Conway served on the local arrangements committee and arranged for several bus tours to the Vance Birthplace. In October Mr. Conway visited several restored frontier forts in Kentucky and Tennessee in order to do research on log forts in preparation for the proposed reconstruction of Davidson's Fort built in 1776 in what is now the town of Old Fort.

At the fall meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Associaciation at Hendersonville, October 26, Miss Mary M. Greenlee, co-chairman of the Carson House Restoration Committee, Inc., announced that a fund drive would be staged in McDowell County in November to raise funds to furnish the large two-story frame house built about 1800 by Colonel John Carson on the banks of Buck Creek three miles west of Marion. The McDowell County Historical Society has recently acquired the Carson House for preservation. Part of the house will be converted into a museum and space to house a library and archives collection.

On September 8 a program was held at St. Philips Church in Brunswick Town commemorating the Spanish attack and capture of the town in 1748, at which groundbreaking ceremonies for the visitor center-museum were carried out.

The master of ceremonies for the program was Senator Ray Walton of Southport. Also taking part in the groundbreaking were Senator Cicero Yow, Representative Odell Williamson, and Representative Robert Calder, as well as Dr. Christopher Crittenden and others instrumental in supporting the Brunswick Town project. The main speaker for the day was Dr. E. Lawrence Lee, Jr., who spoke on the "Spanish Attack on Brunswick." Introducing Dr. Lee was Mr. J. L. Sprunt, donor of the land on which the site is located. Music for the event was furnished by Miss Julia Ribet, Administrative Assistant for the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

Dr. Crittenden accepted a number of special gifts for the State Department of Archives and History. Mr. R. V. Asbury, Jr., the Brunswick Town guide, prepared a number of interesting displays and a brochure on the Brunswick Town site.

At Brunswick Town the site is being cleared for the visitor center-museum, now being planned by Mr. James Milam of Raleigh, architect, and scheduled for construction next spring. Archeological work on colonial house sites in the Brunswick Town area has been continued throughout the fall.

Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist in charge, made the arrangements for, and attended, the fourth annual Conference on Historic Site Archeology at Macon, Georgia, on November 31. Mr. South read a paper on the analysis of buttons excavated at Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher. His paper classified and dated various types of buttons from early colonial into the mid-nineteenth century.

A conference with the Brunswick Town Nature Trail Committee of the garden clubs of North Carolina, Inc., resulted in the formulation of plans for the nature trail, for a brochure, and for a display on Brunswick Town to be exhibited at the Southeastern Flower and Garden Show to be held in Charlotte in March. Mr. South has recently spoken to the social science teachers at the NCEA district meeting in Fayetteville. He conducted a brief archeological investigation in the backyard of the Attmore-Oliver House in New Bern, finding an old cistern and the foundation of an early building located beneath the present smokehouse.

At Fort Fisher, with the purchase of additional land recently from Mrs. Bessie Sears Orrell of Wilmington, emphasis has been given to additional clearing and landscaping in the newly acquired areas. New entrances have been opened, brush and lines have been cleared from the area in which the visitor center-museum will be constructed, and fences outlining a new parking area have been built. Landscaping around the excavated lightkeeper's house site on Battle Acre has been carried out.

Mr. William Reid of Carolina Beach has been employed as Historic Site Assistant. He has supervised work crews in clearing additional land and in the over-all maintenance program.

Preliminary plans for the visitor center-museum have been drawn by the architectural firm of Ballard, McKim and Sawyer, Wilmington, and consultations have been held with various members of the Division staff concerning these plans.

On August 24 the Department of Archives and History, the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, and New Hanover County were co-sponsors of the Hebe Skirmish Centennial and Fort Fisher Visitor Center-Museum Groundbreaking Ceremony. Music for the occasion was furnished by the Second Marine Division Drum and Bugle Corps. Mr. Henry J. MacMillan and Mr. Norman C. Larson were masters of ceremonies for the four-hour program which featured military demonstrations by the North Carolina Sixth Regiment, the Washington Grays, 10th North Carolina Regiment, the Third South Carolina Volunteers, and the Cape Fear Home Guard.

Special guests for the occasion were members of the Munn family, descendants of Captain Daniel Munn, who operated the Whitworth gun presented as a loan to the Fort Fisher site by Rear-Admiral L. R. Daspit, Commandant of the Sixth Naval District. Mr. Glenn M. Tucker of Carolina Beach accepted the gun, on behalf of Governor Terry Sanford, for the State.

The barbecue supper was followed by a speech by Mr. Hamilton Cochran and the groundbreaking ceremony for the visitor center-museum. The program concluded with a fireworks display simulating the Hebe Skirmish and an engagement between Fort Fisher and the Federal blockading fleet. The program prepared for the ceremonies is on sale for 50¢ and may be ordered from Mr. South.

During the last week in July the Archeologist was in charge of co-ordinating the joint Department of Archives and History and Navy operation to recover cannon from the blockader U.S.S. "Peterhoff," which was sunk March 6, 1864, after being accidentally rammed by a fellow blockader,

the "Monticello." Six cannons were located by Lt. Commander J. L. Bull and his crew of divers, and two of these were brought ashore to the Preservation Laboratory at Fort Fisher. The wreck of the "Peterhoff" was located by Mr. Charles Foard and Mr. Hall Watters of Wilmington. Near the end of August a third cannon was brought ashore by divers from Indian Head, Maryland, through the efforts of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission.

Mr. Roy S. Dickens, Jr., Archeological Assistant in charge of Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site, attended the Southeastern Archeological Conference in Macon, Georgia, on October 31 and read a paper on "Excavations at Eagle Tavern, Watkinsville, Georgia." At Town Creek, Mr. Dickens reports 38,165 visitors from January 1 through October 31, 1963. Approximately 800 school children visited the site in groups and were given tours during the months of September and October.

Alamance Battleground has been the scene of several special events. On August 10 the Alamance Civitan Club held its annual picnic at the site with approximately 75 people attending. On August 22 the Alamance Chapter of the American War Mothers held its annual picnic and business session. Mrs. Fred Harding, State President, and Mrs. Mary Flemming, State Chairman of the Legislative Committee, both of Raleigh, were special guests of the Alamance Chapter. On October 5 a special tour of the project was conducted for about 40 persons attending the joint meeting in Raleigh of the American Association for State and Local History and the Society of American Archivists. The Women's Division of the Alamance County Chamber of Commerce were hostesses for the occasion and served refreshments. The tour of the site was conducted by Mr. Walter Wootten, formerly resident at Alamance and in charge of the project.

At Aycock Birthplace the original Aycock stables have been relocated to the site and are now being restored. The stable, built probably in the 1850's, is typical of the period, having a central hallway with four horse stalls on each side. In the hay loft is a plank bearing the inscription "B. Aycock, Nahunta." Evidently it was the top plank of a load of lumber delivered to Governor Aycock's father, Benjamin, to be used in the construction of the building. Mr. Egbert Ivey of Fremont, Historic Site Assistant in charge of the Aycock Birthplace restoration, is a native of Wayne County and a graduate of Seven Springs High School. Later he had three years additional training in industrial arts. He will be in charge of maintenance and operation of the project.

On October 5 Aycock Birthplace and its staff were hosts on a tour of the site for members attending the annual joint meeting of the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History held in Raleigh. This tour was arranged as a special feature on the return trip for the convention delegates who visited Tryon Palace on the same day as guests of the Tryon Palace Commission.

At Bentonville Battleground the way is cleared with letting of contracts for the construction of a visitor center-museum. Contracts totaled $39,151. The general contract goes to Walter G. Lassiter, Smithfield, for $29,250. Plumbing, heating and ventilating, and electrical contracts for smaller amounts were awarded respectively to Jordan and Holt, Smith-

field; Clinton Hardware, Clinton; and Stephenson Electric Company, Garner. The architect for the new building is Ingram and Johnson, Architect-Engineer, Charlotte. Construction is expected to begin in December.

Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist in charge of Bentonville Battleground, Bennett Place, and the Department's co-ordination of development at Historic Halifax, has resigned to accept a position as Director of Education at Old Salem, Winston-Salem.

Mr. J. H. Craig, Curator of Arts and Crafts, has recently acquired and installed appropriate furnishings in the reconstructed kitchen at the Bonner House, Bath, and is currently seeking and acquiring appropriate northeastern North Carolina and southeastern Virginia furniture for the Dutch Colonial House at Halifax. The Halifax House will feature furnishings of the area from the early-eighteenth century to 1776, the beginning of the Revolution. Assisting Mr. Craig is a furnishings committee of the Historical Halifax Restoration Association, of which Mr. L. A. Cox of Rocky Mount, a dealer in antiques, is chairman.

Mr. Walter Wootten, Division Historian, is conducting comprehensive research on Halifax. His findings will serve as the basis for further restoration and development of historic properties in Halifax.

Mr. Richard Iobst, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina, is conducting research on the James K. Polk Birthplace near Charlotte, preparatory to the planning by the Division staff for the reconstruction of the Polk Birthplace dwelling house and outbuildings and the general development of the site. At the same time, steps are being taken by the Department of Administration to acquire the property for development.

Division of Museums

Mr. Robert B. Mayo, Exhibits Curator, attended a seminar in July at Cooperstown, New York, on "Exhibit Techniques for Small Museums" and "Administering Small Collections." While on this trip the Curator visited new museums for the purpose of meeting with the directors and discussing the use of exhibit areas for the forthcoming new building for the Department and the State Library.

One outstanding collection obtained by the Hall of History during September consisted of several pieces of furniture which once belonged to Governor Jonathan Worth. These items were a gift from the family.

The fourth annual meeting of the Underwater Archeaological Society of America was held in Philadelphia in July, and the Administrative Assistant, Mr. Samuel P. Townsend, delivered a 30-minute talk there on the topic, "The Diver and Underwater Archaeology."

From July 29 until August 2 Mr. Townsend aided in co-ordinating the State-U.S. Navy diving operations on the U.S.S. "Peterhoff." Two 32-pounder cannons were recovered. Diving was done by the crew of the U.S.S. "Petrol." The second diving operation on this vessel took place the week of August 25, and another 32-pounder cannon was recovered.

Mr. Townsend worked with Mr. Norman C. Larson, Dr. Crittenden, and Attorney General Wade C. Bruton in determining what legal restraints can and should be used by the State in inhibiting unauthorized, and especially destructive, diving and salvaging of sunken historically significant wrecks off the North Carolina coast. Mr. George Rountree, attorney of Wilmington, has been appointed by Mr. Bruton to represent the State's interests in these wrecks.

The Museums Administrator, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Mr. Mayo attended the Southeastern Museums Conference in Miami, Florida, October 24-26. On October 8 Mrs. Jordan spoke to the Thomasville Woman's Club.

Mrs. Mary B. Morgan, Assistant Registrar, who works part time during the school months, returned on September 5. The Museums Preparator, Mr. John Amari, resigned effective September 17, to accept a teaching position in Durham. Mr. Charles W. Loftin began work on September 9, replacing Mr. Samuel E. Erwin. Mr. Loftin is now in charge of the Mobile Museum of History. The Education Curator, Mr. Robert W. Jones, prepared the script for the fireworks at the State Fair.

Division of Publications

Despite the summer lull, the sales in the Division of Publications for the third quarter totaled $4,500, with $2,514 being retained by the Division and $1,986 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 79 documentary volumes; 11 letter books of governors; 223 small books; 5,526 pamphlets, charts, and maps; 16,995 leaflets and brochures; and 3,298 copies of the the list of publications available from the State Department of Archives and History. The total of 26,132 does not include 1,957 copies of the Autumn, 1963, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and 1,921 copies of the July and 1,988 copies of the September issue of *Carolina Comments*. The order for copies of *The Review* was increased from 2,000 to 2,200 of the Autumn number and is being increased to 2,400 with this issue. There were 187 new subscriptions and 306 renewals to *The Review*.

The pamphlets on the Mexican War and Tarheel Authors have been reprinted; *Indians in North Carolina* and *Civil War Pictures* are scheduled to be reprinted soon. Several brochures—Bennett Place, Bentonville Alamance Battleground, Vance Birthplace, Town Creek Indian Mound, and Fort Fisher—were reprinted and a brochure on Historic Bath issued for the first time by the Department. The brochure on Andrew Johnson's Birthplace is also being reprinted.

With the permission of the Secretary of State, the publisher of the *North Carolina Manual,* the first section of the 1963 edition was issued by the Department as a separate pamphlet. Entitled *The Old North State Fact Book,* the pamphlet contains information on State government in general, the State Flag, the bird, the song, the Halifax Resolves, and numerous other items about which school children want material. It is being sold for 25 cents, postpaid.

Copy for three new pamphlets has been sent to the printer. *North Carolina's Role in World War II,* by Dr. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon; *North Carolina Signers: Brief Sketches of the Men Who Signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution,* by Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell; and *Higher Education in North Carolina,* by Mr. William S. Powell, should be available by early 1964. Each will be sold for 25 cents; all three will be illustrated.

Copies of Volume I of *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance,* edited by Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, are still available from the Division of Publications for $5.00 each. The Ellis Papers are now in galley proof and will be completed in the spring of 1964. The subject-title-author index to *The North Carolina Historical Review* will be available early in 1964 for $5.00. It will be the same size as *The Review* so that the index can be bound with the regular issues of the journal.

Mr. Noble J. Tolbert, who is editing the Ellis Papers and who has been on the staff of the North Carolina Collection of the Library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for several years, has joined the staff of the Division of Publications as Editorial Assistant I.

A meeting of the Editorial Board was held on September 25 in the offices of the Division of Publications. The entire publications program was reviewed. New members of the Board, Dr. Mattie Russell and Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, replaced Dr. Robert H. Woody and Dr. Frontis W. Johnston whose terms had expired. Other members of the Board are Dr. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, Mr. William S. Powell, and Mr. John R. Jordan, Jr.

Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor, attended a meeting of the Advisory Editorial Board of the Colonial Records Project in Chapel Hill, October 10. She and Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, Editorial Assistant II, attended the Historical Society of North Carolina's fall meeting in Chapel Hill on November 1 and the Southern Historical Association in Asheville, November 7-9.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Loren C. MacKinney, Kenan Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, died on October 27. Dr. MacKinney had been on the faculty of the University since 1930 and was known for his research and writing in the history of medieval medicine.

Effective July 1 Dr. William J. Block was promoted to the position of Professor in the Department of History and Political Science at North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh. Dr. Ralph W. Greenlaw joined the staff as Associate Professor and Mr. Lawrence E. Bennett and Mr. John H. Gilbert became Instructors on the same date. Dr. Burton F. Beers participated in the Asian Studies Program of East Carolina College, lecturing on "Problems in American-Japanese Relations" and "Red China Today" in Greenville on July 19. Dr. Abraham Holtzman recently had a book, *The Townsend Movement: A Political Study,* pub-

lished by Bookman Associates, Inc. Dr. Holtzman was named, in October, to a three-year term as a member of the Executive Council of the Southern Political Science Association. On October 31 he read a paper to that Association, "Executive Lobbying: The Legislative Liaison Agents of the Department of the National Government." Dr. Stuart Noblin was appointed Chairman of the Awards Committee, North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, in July.

Dr. J. C. Yoder, Chairman of the Department of Social Studies, Appalachian State Teachers College, announced the promotion of Mrs. Eloise Melton from Instructor to Assistant Professor, effective July 1. The 1963 edition of *Faculty Publications* was planned to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the establishment of State support of the College and the three hundredth anniversary of the granting of the Carolina Charter to the Lords Proprietors. Included in the publication are "Appalachian State Teachers College: A History," by Dr. D. J. Whitener; "Naturalists in Colonial North Carolina," by Mr. J. Frank Randall; and "They Came to Grow in North Carolina," by Mr. John Corey.

Dr. Albert L. Diket of East Carolina College had an article, "Slidell's Right Hand: Emil la Sere," published in the Summer, 1963, issue of *Louisiana History*. Mr. James Hugh Wease joined the faculty in September as Department Supervisor of Student Teaching (History). Dr. Joseph F. Steelman was elected to the Executive Council of the Historical Society of North Carolina at its November meeting. Members of the faculty have also recently participated in several programs. Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., spoke on the topic, "Lee's Grandest Hour," to the Tau Chapter of Phi Sigma Pi National Honorary and Professional Fraternity on October 19 at East Carolina College; he served as Discussant at the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission's session at the Southern Historical Association in Asheville on November 7. Dr. Richard C. Todd spoke to the Pitt County Historical Society, on November 21 on the topic "Nathanael Greene: Military Strategist."

Dr. Richard Bardolph, Head of the Department of History and Political Science at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, read a paper on medieval warfare to the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association in San Francisco, California, on August 27. He conducted an evening television course on WUNC-TV during the fall semester. Three members of the faculty of the Department were promoted to the rank of Assistant Professor, effective July 1: Mr. Jonathan Spurgeon, Mrs. Betty C. Clutts, and Mr. Converse D. Clowse. Miss Barbara Barksdale and Mr. Michael J. Yavenditti joined the Department on September 1 as Instructors. Beginning with the fall, 1963, semester, the Department offered a Master of Arts program; eight candidates for the M.A. in history enrolled.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Chairman of the Department of History at Duke University, published an article, "The Defeat of Judge Parker: A Study in Pressure Groups and Politics," in the September, 1963, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Members of the Duke History Department who participated in the Southern Historical Association sessions in Asheville, November 7-9, were Dr. I. B. Holley, Jr., who served as Discussant at a session on United States Military History; Dr. Robert F. Durden, who was Commentator at a session on "Aspects of Southern Urbanism"; Dr. Robert H. Woody, who read a paper entitled "Changing Times and Topics in Southern History"; and Dr. William B. Hamilton, who served as Chairman at a session on Historical Research and Law and who also presided at a luncheon of the European History Group. Over 60 persons attended the Duke breakfast for alumni.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College, served on a panel at the State Democratic Women's Convention in Raleigh on October 19 discussing the topic, "What Men Like and Don't Like About Women in Politics." Miss Carolyn Barrington joined the faculty of the Department in September as an Instructor.

Dr. Elmer L. Puryear, Dean of the College and Professor of History at Greensboro College, spoke to the Colonial Dames of North Carolina in Greensboro on September 28, on the Huguenots.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Fessenden Memorial Association was reactivated at a meeting on July 5 in Manteo. Mr. D. Victor Meekins, Secretary, contacted interested people, inviting them to join in the movement to create a memorial commemorating the achievements of the late Professor Reginald A. Fessenden, who was successful with the wireless telephone on Roanoke Island in 1902. Mr. Meekins has been informed by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History, that the papers of Fessenden were sent to the Department in 1944 by Fessenden's son, with the "understanding that if a Fessenden museum was ever established on Roanoke Island, adequately equipped to preserve and care for these papers, they would be transferred" to such a museum. The Association was organized in Washington, D. C., in 1941. A unit of HAM operators has recently expressed interest in the memorial and the scope of the project is yet to be determined.

The July issue of *Historical Foundation News* carried an article, "The Presbyterian Church in Colonial North Carolina," as a feature of the observance of the three hundredth anniversary of the granting of the Carolina Charter and the one hundredth and fiftieth anniversary of the Synod of North Carolina. The documented article covers the period from 1684 to 1774, the eve of the Revolution.

The North Carolina Coastal Historyland Association has completed plans for the promotion of 34 counties in the eastern section of the State. State Senator P. D. Midgett of Engelhard presided at the meeting on July 12 which was held at Fort Raleigh. Bylaws were adopted and the group agreed to work in co-operation with other development associations of the area. Inventories of historic and recreational resources are being prepared for study.

The annual watermelon cutting of the Carteret County Historical Society was held on July 20 at the Swansboro Community Center. The Onslow County Historical Society, Swansboro Historical Association, and the Beaufort Historical Association were guests of the Carteret group. Mr. John R. Gibson presided, assisted by Mr. Tucker Littleton; Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., of Fayetteville, was guest speaker. A display of tools and implements used in the making of turpentine and its by-products was exhibited. The November meeting of the Carteret Society was held on October 19 in the Civic Center, Morehead City. Mrs. Grayden Paul, Beaufort, read a paper on the "Hammock House" reputed to have been erected prior to the establishment of the Town of Beaufort in 1723. Officers elected to serve for 1964 are Mr. John R. Gibson, President; Mr. Grayden Paul, Vice-President; Mr. Thomas Respess, Secretary; and Mrs. E. G. Phillips, Treasurer. Retiring President John S. MacCormack presided.

The Wilkes County Historical Society held its quarterly meeting on July 29 with President T. E. Story presiding. Mr. Conrad Alexander of Purlear was the featured speaker.

The Union County Historical Association met on August 8 at Pleasant Grove Camp Ground.

The Gaston County Historical Society met August 9 at the Education Building of the First Methodist Church in Belmont.

The Catawba County Historical Association met on July 16 at which time a movie on the Civil War was presented. Members of the Barringer Clan presented a copy of the Barringer coat of arms for the Historical Museum. Members of this family were among the pioneer settlers of the Catawba County area. Acting president Thomas Warlick presided at the meeting. Mr. J. Weston Clinard spoke on the early history of Hickory at the August 10 meeting of the Association and on September 8 the group held a special observance for the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Year. Mr. Dolan McCombs of Newton recently contributed a number of items to the Museum, according to Mr. Warlick. At the October 12 meeting the following officers were elected: Mr. Warlick, President; Mr. G. Sam Rowe, First Vice-President; Mrs. Rome E. Jones, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Roy Smyre, Secretary; Mrs. Frances Snyder, Treasurer; Mrs. Marguerite May, Custodian; and Mr. Paul Wagner, Historian. Annual reports were given and the restoration of the Old Smyrna log church (1832) was

discussed. The regular meeting date of the Catawba historical group was changed at the November 9 meeting. The new date will be the first Wednesday night of each month at 7:30 P.M. Memorial gifts for the Museum have been made by Dr. and Mrs. Frank W. Jones and Mr. Warlick. Museum hours are 2:30 to 5:30 P.M. Wednesday and Sunday and 7:00 to 9:00 P.M. on Friday.

The Edenton and Chowan County Historical Commission, in co-operation with the Cupola House Association, will begin the restoration of the Cupola House as its first major project. Efforts to retrieve the original downstairs woodwork and paneling of the House, now in the Brooklyn Museum of Art, have failed, but present plans call for the copying of these items to restore the interior. A legislative appropriation of $22,500 for the House and $1,600 for the Barker House was made by the 1963 General Assembly. Mr. David Warren, President of the Association, gave a progress report and Dr. Robert Lee Humber, Chairman of the Commission, presided at the June 29 meeting.

New officers of the Hillsborough Historical Society elected at the annual meeting on October 11 are Mrs. Alfred G. Engstrom, President; Mrs. H. W. Moore, First Vice-President; Miss Betty June Hayes, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Clarence D. Jones, Third Vice-President; Mrs. Marion B. Roberts, Secretary; and Miss Elizabeth H. Collins, Treasurer. Mr. and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro, members of the Tryon Palace Commission, gave a slide-lecture on the Palace and gardens. On September 13 Dr. Elizabeth R. Daniel of Duke University gave an illustrated lecture on "Early American Furniture: Its Various Periods and Styles." The Society met again on October 12 for an orientation program on Historic Hillsborough. Mrs. Engstrom and Dr. Robert J. Murphy spoke. Mr. James A. Gray of Old Salem, Inc., was a special guest. On December 6 the Society co-sponsored, with the Orange County Tercentenary Commission, a program of chamber music.

Miss Annie Bostian announces the second edition of *Sketches of Old Rowan,* with drawings by Aubrey Atkinson and stories by George Raynor. The oversize book with its 16 pen and ink studies (removable for framing) is priced at $3.35 per copy (including tax and mailing cost) and may be ordered from Miss Bostian, 328 East Bank St., Salisbury.

The directors of the Wachovia Historical Society were re-elected at the sixty-eighth annual meeting held recently at the Old Salem Reception Center. The Society met jointly with Old Salem, Inc. Mr. John Fries Blair, Chairman of the Wachovia Society, presided. Directors are Mr. Blair, Miss Juanita Masten, Dr. Frank Albright, Mr. James S. Brawley, Mr. Archibald Craige, Mr. Archie K. Davis, Mr. Chester S. Davis, Dr. Ralph P. Hanes, Mr. William K. Hoyt, Mr. William S. Koenig, Dr. Donald M. McCorkle, Bishop J. K. Pfohl, Mr. Ralph A. Reed, the Reverend Burton J. Rights, Mr. Charles N. Siewers, Mr. W. A. Starbuck, Mr. Charles B. Wade, Jr., and the Reverend Herbert Weber.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt spoke to the Pitt County Historical Society on October 3. He discussed the writing of county history, especially that of Pitt. Miss Elizabeth Copeland presided and urged members to support the county history project as Pitt County is two hundred and three years old. Dr. Herbert Paschal, Jr., gave a report.

The Yancey County Historical Association was organized early in October with the following officers elected to serve the first term: Mr. Z. B. Byrd, President; Mr. R. W. Wilson, First Vice-President; Mr. Ralph Proffitt, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Brook Wilson, Treasurer; Mrs. Hobart Ray, Recording Secretary; and Mrs. H. G. Bailey, Corresponding Secretary. The immediate project to be undertaken by the Association is to be a history of the county. Persons having information on the history of Yancey County are asked to contact Mr. Byrd, Box 774, Burnsville. Mr. Byrd presided at the November meeting of the Association and asked members to submit research papers for programs. December 2 was the date set for the last meeting of the year.

On October 14 Dr. I. G. Greer of Chapel Hill was re-elected President of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association, producer of "Horn in the West." Other officers are Mr. H. W. Wilcox, Vice-President; Mr. J. U. Caudill, Secretary; Mr. O. K. Richardson, Treasurer. Dr. D. J. Whitener made the financial report; Mr. W. R. Winkler discussed plans to rebuild the Daniel Boone Theater by the 1964 season. Principal speaker was Mr. Wallace Carroll, Editor-Publisher of the *Winston-Salem Journal-Sentinel.*

Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson, Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and President of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, spoke to the Person County Historical Society on October 20. Miss Annie Belle Crowder, President, who presided at the meeting held at Paine's Chapel, announced that the annual membership drive was underway. The Society plans to study the various historic sites in the County during 1964.

The Caswell County Historical Society met at the County Courthouse on October 23. Mr. Ralph Aldridge gave an illustrated lecture on "Colonial Caswell County."

On October 24 the fall meeting of the Wayne County Historical Society was held in the County Education Building. Dr. Donald Becker of Mt. Olive College spoke on "North Carolina—Reluctant Confederate State." It was announced by Mr. Conway Rose, President, that Mrs. E. Charles Powell had resumed work on her history of Wayne County.

The fall meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association was held in Hendersonville on October 26. Following the business session Colonel Paul A. Rockwell spoke on "A Memorial to Mr. Thomas A. Pear-

son," and Mr. Harley E. Jolley talked on "The Struggle for the Routing of the Scenic Parkway."

Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, Kenan Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, spoke to the Chatham County Historical Society on October 30. A large audience attended the meeting held in the County Courthouse in Pittsboro. Mrs. Ed Holmes, President, presided and Mrs. Harry Horton introduced the speaker. Others participating on the program were Mr. Lemuel Johnson and Mrs. C. Herbert Jourdan.

"The John White Drawings" was the topic of a paper read by Mr. William S. Powell, Head of the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, at the November 1 afternoon meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina. Dr. Samuel H. Hobbs, Jr., read his presidential address to members and guests following the dinner at the Carolina Inn in Chapel Hill. Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs, Professor of History and Political Science at Greensboro College, was elected President and Dr. H. H. Cunningham of Elon College was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer. Dr. Edward W. Phifer of Morganton was elected to membership in the Society.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society has voted to purchase the Latimer House at the corner of Third and Orange Streets. Mr. N. Winfield Sapp reports that $3,455 of the $20,000 purchase price has been raised through pledges and donations. No formal fund-raising campaign is planned; persons wishing to contribute may send their donations in care of the Society, Box 1170, Wilmington. Approximately 150 members of the historical group met on November 8 with Mr. Sapp presiding. Mr. Philip Kennedy of the Romance Language Department of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill discussed his experiences in collecting ballads and folklore. Many of the songs he presented originated in the Tidewater and coastal areas. Mr. Stanley A. South presented Mr. Kennedy; Mrs. Virginia Jennewein displayed a number of musical scores and ballads of the nineteenth century. The October issue of the *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., Bulletin* contains the President's message, a list of new members, an article on "Historic Preservation" by Mr. John Voorhees, brief articles by Mr. Henry J. MacMillan and Mr. Douglas R. Hudson, and a reproduction of the John Burgwin portrait housed in the Hall of History, Raleigh.

The Archaeological Society of North Carolina met on November 16 at the Greensboro Historical Museum. Speakers were Mr. Robert L. Rands and Mr. Bennie C. Keel of the University of North Carolina Research Laboratory of Anthropology in Chapel Hill; and Mrs. Mae W. Bell, Director of the Rocky Mount Children's Museum; and Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist with the State Department of Archives and History; and Mrs. James F. McMillan, President of the Society. The Research Laboratory of Anthropology, of which Dr. Joffre Coe is Director, sponsored the meeting.

The first copies of the "Newsletter of Moravian Studies" were issued in September. News items relating to archival and historical work conducted by the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the Moravian Historical Society, Moravian College, and the Theological Seminary will be reported in the news bulletin twice yearly. A number of notices, including that of the forthcoming Volume IX of *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina,* is included in the issue. A bibliography of the "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society" is also given.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association met on November 20 and elected the following officers: Chairman Victor King, Mr. Aaron Boggs, Mrs. Patsy Godwin, Miss Annie Batten, Mr. George Houston, and Mrs. Bonnie Petteway, Trustees; Mr. James B. Vogler, First Vice-President; Mr. Irwin Belk, Second Vice-President; and Mrs. John Staton, President. Mr. James A. Stenhouse, first President of the group, was made President Emeritus. Mr. Staton announced committee appointments and members voted to meet on the third Monday of January, March, May, and October.

The Wake County Historical Society met in the Assembly Room of the State Department of Archives and History on September 30. Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell, Program Chairman, introduced the speaker, Mrs. Mary Givens Bryan, Archivist of the State of Georgia. Mrs. J. Bourke Bilisoly, President, presided at the meeting.

The *Carteret County News-Times,* for November 22, featured a special magazine section with a play, "Blackbeard: Raider of the Carolina Seas." The drama was written by Miss Ruth Peeling, Editor of the *News-Times.* The play was prepared for the observance of the three hundredth anniversary of the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663. Mrs. James H. McLain of Morehead City illustrated the magazine with the exception of the cover. The reproduction on the cover was taken from a painting of Blackbeard by Mr. H. Charles McBarron, which was presented by Mr. W. B. Patterson, District Manager of the American Oil Company, and accepted by Governor Terry Sanford on behalf of the State in 1962.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

(Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

/s/ Memory F. Mitchell, Editor

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW
EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent States. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this State, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for *The Review*, but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, the style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for *The North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook*, which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for *The Review*. Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

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The North Carolina Historical Review



Spring 1964

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is $3.00 per year. Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., for which the annual dues are $5.00, receive this publication without further payment. Back numbers still in print are available for $.75 per number. Out-of-print numbers may be obtained on microfilm from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Persons desiring to quote from this publication may do so without special permission from the editors provided full credit is given to The North Carolina Historical Review. The Review is published quarterly by the State Department of Archives and History, Education Building, Corner of Edenton and Salisbury Streets, Raleigh. Second class postage paid at Raleigh, North Carolina.

COVER—Confederate deserters are shown hiding in the North Carolina mountains. From *Pictorial War Record,* October 27, 1883. For an article on desertion, see pages 163-189.

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INCONSTANT REBELS: DESERTION OF NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS IN THE CIVIL WAR

By Richard Bardolph *

That the Confederate soldier has no superior in the annals of war is an article of the American Creed. His accomplishments against overwhelming odds, through four years of heroic struggle and suffering, are his monument. Magnificent in his forbearance and his valor; generous, beyond belief, in his response to the fearful demands made upon him; he remains an authentic American hero, celebrated alike by the descendants of his comrade-in-arms and of his conqueror.

And yet, desertion from the ranks of the Confederate Army had progressed alarmingly before the end of the first year of the War, and by the latter half of the conflict hundreds of regiments could not muster so much as one-third of their paper strength.[1] General Robert E. Lee's dispatches give impressive support for the judgment of one modern historian, himself a southerner, that this evil was "the most disgraceful chapter in the history of the Southern War for Independence." [2]

The war was little more than a year old when the Secretary of War, George W. Randolph, wrote the several Confederate State governors that "our armies are so much weakened by desertions and by the absence of officers and men without leave, that we are unable to

* Dr. Bardolph is Head of the Department of History and Political Science at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. A portion of this study was made possible by grants from the Social Science Research Council and from the Research Council of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

[1] The standard account of desertion in both the Confederate and Union armies is Ella Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (New York and London: The Century Company, 1928), hereinafter cited as Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War.* Also important on desertion in the Confederate forces are Georgia Lee Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), hereinafter cited as Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy;* Bessie Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops from the Confederate Army; A Study in Sectionalism* (New York: Columbia University Press; London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd., 1932), hereinafter cited as Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops;* Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), hereinafter cited as Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy;* Richard E. Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance.* Number 8 in *Confederate Centennial Studies,* editor-in-chief, William Stanley Hoole (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: Confederate Publishing Company [26 numbers], 1958), hereinafter cited as Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance.*

[2] Francis Butler Simkins, *A History of the South* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1953), 237.

reap the fruits of our victories and to invade the territory of the enemy." [3] His estimate was sadly confirmed two months later by Lee himself. When the first major attempt to invade the North came to frightful repulse on Antietam Creek, at Sharpsburg, Maryland, Lee told President Jefferson Davis that a vast number of his troops never crossed over into Maryland at all. Desertion and straggling deprived him of one-third to one-half of his effective force, he said, and "were the main causes of . . . retiring from Maryland."

In the following summer Lee again wrote that "the number of desertions from the army is so great . . . I fear success in the field will be seriously endangered." In September, 1864, President Davis told a Macon, Georgia, audience that two-thirds of the army was absent without leave, and that if half of these would return, victory would be within the Confederacy's grasp.[4] The warning went unheeded. Two months later Lee mourned that "desertion is increasing in the army notwithstanding all my efforts to stop it." In February, 1865, he declared that "hundreds of men are deserting nightly and I cannot keep the army together unless examples are made of such cases." In March he suspected that the disease was beyond remedy. "I do not know," he wrote Davis, "what can be done to put a stop to it." [5]

The testimony of the men in the ranks tells the same story. Confederate deserters who were received inside Union lines were promptly interviewed, and frequently reported that countless other Confederates were determined to run off at the first opportunity. Confederate troops also repeatedly wrote family and friends that great numbers of their comrades meant to run off when they saw a fair chance of

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[3] R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series IV, II, 7, hereinafter cited as *Official Records.*

[4] *Official Records,* Series I, XIX, Part I, 143; Series I, XIX, Part II, 597, 605-606, 622. Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb, The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis, Indiana, and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943), 143, hereinafter cited as Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb.* For Davis' Macon speech, see Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, His Letters, Papers and Speeches* (Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 10 volumes, 1923), VI, 341-344. *Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), October 8, 1862, hereinafter cited as the *Weekly Standard.* The press gave extensive publicity to the explanation that the failure of the Maryland campaign was to be ascribed to desertion and straggling before and during the fateful engagement on Antietam Creek. It should, however, be pointed out, as Lee indicated in his official report on "Operations in Maryland" in 1862, that "the arduous service in which our troops had been engaged, their great privations of rest and food, and the long marches without shoes over mountain roads, had greatly reduced our ranks before the action began. These causes had compelled thousands of brave men to absent themselves, and many more had done so from unworthy motives. This great battle was fought by less than 40,000 men on our side, all of whom had undergone the greatest labors and hardships in the field and on the march." *Official Records,* Series I, XIX, Part I, 151.

[5] *Official Records,* Series I, XLII, Part III, 1,213; Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,143, 1,250; Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War,* 28.

success. Not a few wrote about their own plans to decamp, sometimes asking about the sort of obstacles they might expect in their home communities. "At least half would desert if they had an opportunity," declared one disheartened soldier.[6]

Statistics on Confederate desertion are even more elusive than are figures on enlistments, but the magnitude of the wastage is suggested by the War Department's estimates as of the end of June, 1863, that there were then 136,000 absent from the three Confederate armies of Lee, Braxton Bragg, and John C. Pemberton.[7] The figure takes on added meaning when it is recalled that the entire effective Confederate force at the decisive Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1863, was approximately 75,000.

A table constructed from field returns demonstrates that the aggregate, both present and absent, on the muster rolls from December, 1861, to the spring of 1865, was as low as 316,000 in mid-1864, and at no time exceeded 500,000, a peak attained in April, 1863. The percentage absent, with and without leave—more of them in the latter than in the former group—was at best 27 per cent (again, in early spring, 1863), and at worst 51 per cent, at the end of 1864. A rough estimate suggests that the average number of absentees without leave comprised one-fifth of the enlisted force before May, 1863, one-third in the latter part of 1863 and early 1864, and two-fifths in late 1864 and early 1865.[8] General D. H. Hill was already saying in 1862 that willful absenteeism "was and still is the curse of our army." General P. G. T. Beauregard admitted before the close of the struggle that the disease was genuinely epidemic, and General J. G. Martin, commanding the District of North Carolina, reported in the month before Appomattox that he had "nothing to report but disobedience of orders, neglect of duty, demoralization of the people, and desertion of both officers and men."[9]

Thirty years after the surrender, North Carolina's future chief justice, Walter Clark, himself a veteran of the Thirty-fifth North Carolina Regiment, became Editor of the massive five-volume *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments.* The authors of that work's regimental histories made little or no reference to the deserter problem, but Clark candidly set down that "this evil became so great that . . . finally it

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[6] *Official Records,* Series I, XLVI, Part II, 387; Series I, XXIV, Part III, 407.
[7] Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy,* 202. See also, Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War,* 21-37.
[8] Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops,* 26-33.
[9] *Official Records,* Series I, XI, Part I, 606; Series I, XLIX, Part I, 1,042; Series I, XLVII, Part III, 730.

overcame all bounds and together with the break down in the finances of the Confederacy was the cause of its overthrow." [10]

It may be instructive to note here the transformation in the attitude of soldiers and civilians toward desertion. In the spring of 1863, General James J. Pettigrew wrote that "the great majority of my brigade would shoot a deserter as quick as they would a snake." But by midsummer the Richmond government heard from a conscription official in South Carolina that "it is no longer a reproach to be known as a deserter"; and in March, 1865, General John S. Preston declared that there were then over 100,000 deserters scattered over the Confederacy, and that "so common is the crime, it has in popular estimation lost the stigma which justly pertains to it, and [deserters] are everywhere shielded by their families and by the sympathies of many communities." [11]

Perhaps the most candid explanation ever offered for the collapse of the will to fight was that of Governor Zebulon B. Vance. His opinion is doubly interesting when it is recalled that Vance's remarkable forty-year political career is uniformly ascribed to his uncanny rapport with the mass of North Carolina's people.[12] Idolized by his fellow citizens as no other public figure in North Carolina has ever been, the great War Governor, overwhelmingly re-elected as head of his State in the gloomy summer of 1864, consistently spoke his vigorous mind without fear or favor. A month after the proud vote of confidence his State had given him, he wrote his dearest friend that the Confederacy's army was thoroughly demoralized, and that William T. Sherman's forces encountered no considerable resistance anywhere from the people as they made their riotous way through Georgia and the Carolinas. The troops "are now deserting by the hundreds," he mourned:

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[10] Walter Clark (ed.), *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-'65* (Raleigh and Goldsboro: State of North Carolina, 5 volumes, 1901), IV, 408, hereinafter cited as Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments.*

[11] *Official Records*, Series I, LI, Part II, 713, 1,065; Series IV, II, 769.

[12] On Vance, as the beloved tribune of his people, see Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928—), XIX, 158-160; Clement Dowd, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance* (Charlotte: Observer Printing and Publishing House, 1897); Frontis W. Johnson, "Zebulon Baird Vance: A Personality Sketch," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXX (April, 1953), 178-190; A. Sellew Roberts, "The Peace Movement in North Carolina," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XI (September, 1924), 190-199, hereinafter cited as Roberts, "Peace Movement in North Carolina"; Phillips Russell, "Hooraw for Vance!" *American Mercury*, XXII (February, 1931), 232-240; Richard E. Yates, "Zebulon B. Vance as War Governor of North Carolina, 1862-1865," *The Journal of Southern History*, III (February, 1937), 1-33; Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance, passim.*

What does this show, my dear sir? It shows what I have always believed, that the great *popular heart* is not now & never has been in this war. It was a revolution of the politicians not the people; it was fought at first by the natural enthusiasm assisted by that bitterness of feeling produced by the cruelties & brutalities of the enemy.

. . . . . .

Duty called me to resist to the uttermost the disruption of the Union; duty calls me to stand by the new Union "to the last gasp of truth & loyalty." This is my consolation—The beginning was bad & I had no hand in it; should the end be bad I shall with Gods help be equally blameless. They shall never shake their gory locks at me & say that I did it! [13]

A first acquaintance with these truths is so shocking to most Americans, North and South, that popular historians have preferred to step around them with averted gaze, in favor of more romantic themes. Not only do such disclosures offend third-generation Confederates who are "more steeped in the Lost Cause than their ancestors were energetic in defending it";[14] grandsons of Union soldiers are no less apt to deplore the tarnishing of the Confederate hero.

The misgivings are, of course, absurd; for the hero is, after all, indestructible. To know him better is to increase, not to diminish, his stature. And a frank inquiry into the many and varied factors that produced despair and inconstancy in the beleaguered South renders all the more remarkable the fact that despair did not overtake many more soldiers and civilians, and far sooner. The heaped-up testimony on desertion from Confederate ranks may outrage the sensibilities of the summer chauvinist and the sunshine fire-eater, but a view of it from a proper perspective softens immeasurably the indictment against those who succumbed to the temptation, and reveals more clearly the heroic stature of those who continued steadfast.

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[13] Zebulon B. Vance to David L. Swain, September 22, 1864, Zebulon B. Vance Papers, National Archives, Washington, D. C. The letter is cited by Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 112-113, and reproduced at greater length, but somewhat inaccurately, in Cornelia Phillips Spencer, *The Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina* (New York: Watchman Publishing Company, 1866), 27-28.

[14] James W. Silver, *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda.* Number 3 in *Confederate Centennial Studies*, editor-in-chief William Stanley Hoole (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: Confederate Publishing Company [26 numbers], 1957), 7. "The legend of a united people who went down fighting as one man against overwhelming odds," says Silver, "simply could not stand serious investigation. In reality the Confederacy had collapsed from within. Its people had been divided from the start and as the 'short' summer war lengthened into weary years of fighting, Southerners lost their will to fight. Real unity in the South came only after Appomattox and Reconstruction, too, when those who were waging a desperate struggle against poverty and disease and hopelessness paused long enough to glance back at the 'good old days.'"

Silver's candor, which parallels the judgment of professional historians at large, affords an instructive contrast to the exuberance of latter-day swashbucklers who, in crisp new uniforms which their tattered grandfathers would not have recognized, board air-conditioned excursion trains and ride forth to televised sham battles that prove more expensive, if less sanguinary, than the originals.

Most accounts agree that North Carolina produced more runaways than did any of her sister States. One leading historian of the Confederacy, himself a North Carolinian, writes that "almost twice as many soldiers from North Carolina deserted as those from any other state." [15] Another reports that when desertions thinned the ranks in the late spring of 1863, it was "striking as usual with greatest force in the North Carolina regiments." [16] Even commissioned officers, up to the rank of colonel, were among the fugitives. More than 1,000 officers deserted from the Confederate forces, and, if one excepts from the computation the single State of Tennessee, which stood second with 15 per cent, North Carolina's share, accounting for 42 per cent of the total, almost equaled the number of officer-deserters from all of the other Confederate States combined.[17]

Confederate military and civilian authorities repeatedly declared that the North Carolina regiments were the chief offenders. General Hill, one of the two highest-ranking Confederate commanders that North Carolina produced, wrote the Richmond government in May, 1863, that desertion was particularly excessive in his State. A month earlier Lee wrote James A. Seddon, the Secretary of War, of the "frequent desertions from the North Carolina regiments," and again on May 21, he wrote him that "desertion of the North Carolina troops from this army is becoming so serious an evil that . . . I fear the troops from that State will become greatly reduced." A month after Gettysburg "Rebel War Clerk" Jones noted in his diary that huge numbers of deserters were abandoning Lee's army, "and they are mainly North Carolinians." [18]

Lee himself, as he mournfully witnessed the defection of the troops who idolized him, wrote General John D. Imboden in August, 1863, that "there is much desertion, I regret to say, from this army, principally from the North Carolina troops. . . . I begin to fear nothing but the death penalty, uniformly, inexorably administered, will stop it." Early in February, 1865, he wrote Governor Vance that "the divisions

[15] E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865.* Volume VII of *A History of the South,* edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press [projected 10 volumes, 1948—], 1950), 464.

[16] Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance,* 48.

[17] Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War,* 36. Officers who decamped sometimes entered the Union Army to serve at similar or higher rank. Captain Wallace Rollins of the Twenty-ninth North Carolina Regiment, for example, went over to the enemy and served as a major in Kirk's Regiment, operating in Western North Carolina and Eastern Tennessee. Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments,* II, 493.

[18] John B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 2 volumes, 1866), I, 325; II, 4, hereinafter cited as Jones, *Rebel War Clerk's Diary; Official Records,* Series I, XVIII, 998; Series I, XXV, Part II, 814-815.

from which the greatest number of desertions have taken place are composed chiefly of troops from North Carolina"; and to the Secretary of War, J. C. Breckinridge, he wrote on the same day of the "alarming number of desertions that are now occurring in the army . . . chiefly from the North Carolina regiments," a circumstance that he attributed to the despondency and the peace sentiment on the North Carolina home front. Four days later he sent Breckinridge a summary of recent defections, saying, "I regret to say that the greatest number of desertions have occurred among the North Carolina troops, who have fought as gallantly as any soldiers in the army. . . . This defection in troops who have acted so nobly and borne so much is so distressing to me that I have thought proper to give you the particulars." [19]

It is impossible to measure the volume of North Carolina desertions,[20] but the record documents an irregularly increasing flow, with spasmodic acceleration in the wake of military defeats or of hard campaigning. A protracted stint of short rations was sure to touch off an avalanche of escapes, and depressing news from the home front—ranging from crop failures or "peace meetings" to the depredations of skulkers and the exactions of Confederate taxgatherers—had much the same effect. The temptation to run was particularly strong in the summer when combat was most severe, heat was most oppressive, and prospects of making one's way home while subsisting on the country were most favorable. Sometimes there were barely perceptible increases and decreases traceable both to Confederate government policy in combating desertion and to the federal government's efforts to entice "Johnny Reb" into Union lines.

For the present study, the principal evidence attesting the ebb and flow of deserters consisted of newspaper advertisements; the correspondence of army headquarters, commanders in the field, the War Department, and Confederate and State executive offices; and personal correspondence from troops in the field. Analysis of the deserter-advertisements in the newspapers as a method of effecting the return of renegades is reserved for another page in this study. For the present

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[19] *Official Records*, Series I, XXIX, Part II, 651; Series I, XLVII, Part II, 1,270-1,271; Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,254, 1,265.

[20] The following item is of more than passing interest: ". . . there were ten large bound volumes containing the names and records of deserters from this State . . . since the war all these volumes had mysteriously disappeared. One volume only has been recovered. . . . In like manner just after the Revolution, a list was adopted by the Legislature of North Carolina of those tories whose names should be preserved as enemies of their country and copies were sent to the other States, but this list has not only been removed from our archives, but the copies have disappeared from the archives of all our sister States." Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 408.

a brief observation on their volume and general purport will suffice. Relatively few of the advertisements appeared in the State press in 1861.[21] The notices, inserted by the captain of a company or the colonel of a regiment, in a newspaper circulating in the region in which the deserter lived, usually offered a reward of $30 for the detention of the miscreant. His name, company, regiment, and often the date and place of his enlistment, were set forth, and sometimes his physical appearance was described. The public was asked to effect the deserter's return to his regiment or to have him lodged in a local jail.

In 1862 the quantity of these notices showed a marked increase. The form was much the same as those in the previous year except that a goodly number, instead of identifying one or two now were addressed generally to "all absentees" of a particular outfit. Individual issues of a newspaper carried as many as three or four separate advertisements, some of them naming as many as 42 from a single company. Fairly typical examples list 66, 80, 125, and even as many as 188 from regiments whose full muster was considerably short of 1,000. In one case a regimental commander couched his advertisement, in a Wilmington paper, in the form of a General Order, directing the "more than 200 enlisted men . . . absent without proper leave" to report back immediately.[22] Such notices continued to crowd the advertising columns through June, 1863, and then fell off sharply,[23] disappearing entirely in 1864, when the magnitude of desertion was so great and the results of earlier advertisements were so disappointing that the practice was abandoned.

Testimony of the multiplication of runaways from the Tarheel regiments is especially voluminous in correspondence appearing in the *Official Records* dealing with Confederate and State efforts to arrest

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[21] Examples are in the *Fayetteville Observer* (Semi-Weekly), June 24, August 1, 1861; *The Daily Journal* (Wilmington), June 25, July 16, August 2, 1861, hereinafter cited as *The Daily Journal; Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), August 21, November 13, 20, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Weekly Standard; Semi-Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), September 7, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Semi-Weekly Standard; Weekly State Journal* (Raleigh), October 9, 1861, hereinafter cited as *State Journal.*

[22] For these and other examples in 1862, see *Fayetteville Observer* (Semi-Weekly), January 9, May 26, November 8, December 12, 1862: *Weekly Standard,* March 19, May 7, June 11, July 9, August 6, 27, September 17, October 22, 1862; *Semi-Weekly Standard,* May 3, 14, June 14, 25, July 16, 30, September 3, 24, October 1, 31, November 4, 11, 1862; *The Daily Bulletin* (Charlotte), March 22, 1862, hereinafter cited as *The Daily Bulletin; The Daily Journal,* April 17, June 16, July 2, 9, 25, August 8, 9, 11, 12, 18, September 24, 25, 1862; *Fayetteville Observer,* June 9, September 15, 22, 1862; *The Greensborough Patriot,* June 26, September 4, 18, 1862; *Carolina Watchman,* August 11, 1862.

[23] For advertisements published in 1863, see *Semi-Weekly Standard,* January 1, 20, 23, February 24, March 3, June 30, July 3, 28, October 27, 1863; *The Daily Journal,* January 5, 21, February 23, 1863; *The Daily Bulletin,* January 5, 22, August 20, 1863; *State Journal,* March 13, 16, 1863; *Fayetteville Observer* (Semi-Weekly), April 2, December 28, 1863.

and punish deserters, to induce them to return, to cheer the wavering, to neutralize despondency, and to protect the civilian population from the plundering recusants who were lying out in the hills and forest.[24] Far more numerous were dispatches by commanders of corps, brigades, regiments, and companies, reporting such losses,[25] and communiques of Union commanders to their headquarters to report the countless arrivals of Confederate deserters into their lines.[26] In 1862, such communications were fairly numerous, but after the spring of 1863, they reached flood stage.

The causes of desertion were more numerous and diverse than may at first appear. The historian has at his disposal thousands of letters written by troops in the ranks, many of which all too clearly explain actual and potential flights from duty.[27] The *Official Records* contain many hundreds of dispatches by Federal commanders in which data drawn from interviews with rebel defectors were transmitted to Union headquarters. The same collection supplies many letters of Confederate military commanders and of Confederate and State civilian officials in which they discuss the causes of willful absenteeism, and evasion. The contemporary press hazarded similar diagnoses. Finally, the historian has, from these and similar sources, an abundantly detailed picture of conditions in camp and field as well as behind the

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[24] Examples may be found in the *Official Records*, Series I, XVIII, 821-822, 855, 860-861, 928, 998: Series I, XXVII, Part III, 1,052; Series I, XXIX, Part II, 676, 729, 740; Series I, XLII, Part II, 1,235; Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,143; Series I, XLVII, Part II, 1,270-1,271, 1,296, 1,353-1,354; Series I, XLI, Part II, 689, 706-708, 709, 712-713, 714-716, 1,038, 1,065.

[25] For a sampling of such items, relating particularly to North Carolina deserters, see *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 293; Series I, XI, Part II, 892; Series I, XVIII, 165-166, 1,052, 1,066, 1089; Series I, XXIII, Part II, 914-915, 950; Series I, XXV, Part II, 746-747, 812, 814-815; Series I, XXVII, Part III, 870, 1,052; Series I, XXVIII, Part II, 449; Series I, XXIX, Part II, 651; Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,265; Series I, XLVII, Part II, 1,406; Series I, XLVII, Part III, 707; Series I, XLIX, Part I, 1,034-1,035.

[26] Full data concerning this kind of desertion by North Carolina soldiers may be drawn from the following: *Official Records*, Series I, XVIII, Part I, 587, 669; Series I, XIX, Part II, 516; Series I, XXV, Part II, 518; Series I, XXVII, Part III, 39; Series I, XXIX, Part II, 114, 249, 454, 593; Series I, XXX, Part I, 748; Series I, XXXIII, Part I, 53, 56; Series I, XXXVI, Part II, 842; Series I, XXXVI, Part III, 677, 725-726; Series I, XL, Part II, 336, 563, 570; Series I, XL, Part III, 37, 97, 293, 301, 362, 375; Series I, XLII, Part II, 50, 318, 327, 420, 658, 718, 789, 796, 806, 855-856, 867, 881, 922, 965, 971, 984, 998, 1,042, 1,048, 1,055, 1,065, 1,116, 1,123; Series I, XLII, Part III, 37, 86, 91, 96, 103, 106, 120, 134, 144, 158, 177, 198, 230, 255, 258, 305, 318-319, 350, 375, 440, 479, 487, 508, 510, 511, 530, 536, 543, 548, 576, 597, 613, 618, 632-633, 659, 663, 666, 673, 691, 700, 749, 755, 767, 773, 785, 797, 845, 908, 933; Series I, XLVI, Part II, 202, 264, 272, 463, 531, 568, 614, 639, 659, 720, 732, 810, 858, 927, 937, 938, 1,238; Series I, XLVI, Part III, 19, 20, 53, 76, 90, 184, 204, 263, 289, 373, 374.

[27] The Civil War scholar who is interested in these prime sources has access to one of the richest accumulations of Civil War letters and diaries to be found anywhere, in the combined repositories of the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; the Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham; and the manuscript collection of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. These depositories will hereinafter be cited as the Southern Historical Collection, Duke Manuscript Collection, and State Department of Archives and History.

lines, which afford a dependable insight into the attrition under which the troops suffered.

This ample record shows that while some causes operated almost uniformly in regiments from all the Confederate States, some struck with unequal force at troops from particular sections, others bore with unusual intensity upon North Carolinians, and some were virtually peculiar to soldiers from that State. Letters and diaries of the troops and their families reveal yet another dimension in the problem of weighing the causes of flight from the ranks. There was, the historian senses, an immensely complicated interplay of forces that went into the lonely calculation as the individual soldier was pulled and hauled by competing impulses. As always, fate dealt unequal cards to equal men, and, what is no less inequitable, dealt equal cards to unequal men. It is one thing to catalog the hardships that burdened the army as a whole; but it is quite another thing to pass judgment upon a particular soldier whose resolution broke under the strain.

It may well be doubted that even the most careful and resourceful historian will ever fully explain the goads that finally prodded any single soldier over the line—to say nothing of the thousands who abandoned the Confederacy's colors. One wonders whether, in after years, he was ever able to explain it to himself. What finally induced him, just before dawn, to cross over from the lonely picket line to the enemy's outposts? Or to detach himself, at some convenient ford or mountain pass, from a marching column, as it was being hurried to combat on a blazing afternoon? Or to permit himself in the boisterous confusion of battle to slip to the rear and into the woods, or to fall willingly into a captors' hands?

Some soldiers, either by individual temperament, inheritance, experience, or biological predisposition, could bear up better than their fellows under the strain of hunger, nakedness, cold, and rain. So unevenly are men constituted that forbearance by some men under lesser trials may be greater heroism than the enduring of more grievous burdens would be in other men. Some could sleep better than others, and some who slept ill were far less affected by the deprivation than were others who suffered from the same infirmity. Of those who entered the ranks in robust health, some retained their strength throughout the War; others, worn down by disease, wounds, undernourishment, anxiety and exhaustion, felt their vitality ebb until they could scarcely drag themselves to the line of march when the long roll sounded. Still others were far gone in physical decay when they entered the service.

Another significant variable was the individual soldier's understanding and evaluation of the War's issues. A heart-whole dedication to the "Cause" could steel a weary trooper against his hardship, while his comrade who did not, or could not, in full sincerity, share such faith in the worth of his sacrifices, was seriously handicapped without this crucial advantage. Not only did morale rise and fall with a soldier's physical and mental health and well-being; there were the further factors of time and coincidence. Of two soldiers of equal mettle, one might suffer exposure to a series of shocks and deprivations in sequence, and withstand them, each in its turn; while upon the other the whole series descended at once with more disastrous consequences. The mood of despair might capture one soldier when no avenue of escape was offered; in another, who stumbled upon a wide-open door and yielded to an unpremeditated impulse to use it, defection was far less a function of calculated disloyalty than of propinquity. Some soldiers attached more importance than did others to the good opinion of kinsmen, neighbors, and fellow soldiers and were thus held in ranks. Some whose families begged them to come home were subjected to a fearful pressure from which their messmates were wholly exempt. Even the economic, social, and regional backgrounds of a soldier could strongly predispose and prejudice his loyalties. Compulsory military service, moreover, drew into the net persons of foreign or of northern birth and others whose zeal for southern independence was weak; and still others came from politically underrepresented and socially and economically disadvantaged communities, whose hostility to more fortunate sections dampened their enthusiasm for any cause identified with the better-favored classes in the counties near the seaboard.

Some homesick privates, it may be presumed, were more deeply attached to wives and children, or to parents, or sweethearts than were others, or had relatives more dependent upon them for their livelihood than had their fellows. To a soldier with a wife and a houseful of little children on a precariously marginal farm, a full year's arrearage in the pitiful army pay was a far sharper prod to return to his home than it was for a less encumbered young private. Some pious soldiers missed religious services more sorely, and suffered more painfully than did others from the soul-blasting wickedness that offended their eyes and ears at every turn.

Yet another burden that fell unequally upon harassed men in the ranks was alarming news from home. For some soldiers it was an advantage that their families were too illiterate to write of their

own distresses. Others were fortunate in the relative safety of their kinsmen. But still others were in an agony of fear for wives, children, and parents exposed to possible molestation, and left in direst poverty in areas suffering from invasion, from enemy occupation, from armed bands of looting deserters and recusant conscripts, and even the plundering of Confederate cavalry, all of which took a fearful toll in crops, household goods, livestock, firewood, and fences. The dilemma indeed forced upon the distracted soldier the cruel choice of one kind of desertion or another—desertion from his imperiled flag or from his no less imperiled family. A desperate break for home by such soldiers is hardly to be weighed in the same balance as the absconsion of a soldier untroubled by such anxieties. Some, no less steadfast at heart than their comrades, sensed more accurately the danger they faced or foresaw more clearly that the cause was lost, precisely because of their keener intelligence, or more accurate sensibilities, or their greater information. And even within that group, there were those less disposed than others to co-operate with the inevitable, for reasons that cannot be guessed.

The individualized slings and arrows that could pierce the armor of a wearied will were endless and infinitely various, but enough has been said to caution the unwary against oversimplified explanation. Among objective causes of desertion, apart from precise individual reactions to them, the most obvious was the determination to flee the physical and spiritual hardships that bedeviled the man in the ranks.[28] To begin with, there was an appalling shortage of such items as shoes,[29] shirts, trousers, coats, and blankets. In some cases this equipment was never issued, or it wore out, was lost or discarded on the march in mid-campaign, and only tardily, if ever, replaced. Army

[28] Much the best treatment of this theme is in Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb.*

[29] "A great many of the soldiers in Our regt have been bare foot and half in our company until yesterdy . . . it is very cool to be steping about in the Ice these mornings my shoes has nearly give out and no time to mend them." James C. Zimmerman to his wife, October 27, 1863, James C. Zimmerman Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, hereinafter cited as Zimmerman Papers. Another soldier said of his regiment that there were "a great many barefooted their feet bleedin from the rocks . . . the ground covered with snow." John A. McDowell to Thomas McDowell, November 13, 1862, Thomas D. McDowell Papers, Southern Historical Collection. Lieutenant Colonel Samuel H. Walkup, of the Forty-eighth North Carolina Regiment, recorded in his diary that there was "much falling out, particularly by the barefooted men, about one fifth of the Regt one whole company G Capt & all fell out except one man & he shoeless." Diary of Samuel H. Walkup, February 21, 1862, Southern Historical Collection. General Bryan Grimes wrote his wife that there were at least 200 barefooted men in his command, and that "the poor fellows are in rags and tatters, but few having tents." Bryan Grimes to his wife, September 10, 1864, Bryan Grimes Papers, State Department of Archives and History. Like so many other regiments at Sharpsburg, the Twenty-third had a large number of men who were "barefoot and absolutely unable to keep up in the forced marches over rough and stony roads." Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments,* II, 222-223.

pay—small enough in all conscience, especially for men whose families looked to it for a bare subsistence—was as much as a year or more in arrears.[30] Shelter, in most instances, was totally wanting, so that men lived and slept during most of the year like animals under the open sky. The men lay on the bare ground even during a pelting all-night rain, with nothing for cover except, if one were lucky, a sodden blanket or an oilcloth.

It was the shortage of food that was most often mentioned in the soldiers' letters. Rations hovered for long periods at starvation levels. "There is some leaving nearly every day," wrote one Tarheel private from Camp Gregg, Virginia, in the spring of 1864. "I don't know why it is that so many is leaving," he added "unless it is Short Rations." Another in the trenches before Petersburg, wrote in December, 1864, to his brother in another regiment, "Sum of the boys is going to the Yanks ocasionaly and I think oald Jef had beter giv his boys moar to eat or their will be moar of thim going plase from tha way tha talk We get a pound of loaf bread and a half a pound of beef and to day their was nun com." [31]

More gloomy were the frequent letters of Private Virgil Cavin to his parents in Alexander City, North Carolina, also written from Petersburg. In late 1864 and early 1865 the dominant theme of his letters, when near-starvation had sapped his will, was his indecision about deserting. On January 13, 1865, he wrote " I dont think I can stay here and Starve wee dont get a half a nuff to eat. . . . I ant agoing to stay here more than tow or three more weekes I will go some way or other I cant Stay here this away." Two weeks later he repeated "I cant Stay here and starve the way I have to do I get a pint of meal a day I cant stay here the is a croud of us a going to come home." On March 19 he was still in the trenches, but not from choice. "I dont no what to do," he said. "I hate to Stay here and Starve and I hate to go to the yanks I hant got much chance the wach [they watch] us So close that wee hant no chance . . . [but] the average from 8 to 10 men every night the cross the lines." [32]

Some troops who had served and suffered steadfastly for three or

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[30] At one time some North Carolina regiments had not been paid for 15 months. *Official Records*, Series I, XLIX, Part I, 1,034-1,035.

[31] Daniel McMillan to Mr. Holder, April 23, 1863, Alexander McMillan Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection; G. W. Love to S. E. Love, December 20, 1864, Matthew N. Love Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection. General Lee, in explaining a rush of desertions in January, 1865, thought that "insufficiency of food and non-payment of the troops have more to do with [it] than anything else. All commanding officers concur in this opinion." *Official Records*, Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,143.

[32] These and several other letters by this despondent infantryman are in the Virgil S. Cavin Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, hereinafter cited as Virgil S. Cavin Papers.

four years felt that they had earned retirement, and quietly took to the hills. Some finally left because they were galled by their failure to rise from the ranks while others less deserving, but more fortunate in their connections or more ingratiating in manner, moved up the commissioned grades. In the early months impatient young volunteers who had been hurried to Virginia indignantly decamped when they found that instead of being rushed into dashing sallies against the enemy, they were only assigned to holding him at bay by digging trenches and throwing up earthworks. Two or three years later, especially in the winter when the regiments lay idly in quarters, a mere day or two from home, jaded veterans who had fought bravely enough in the spring and summer campaigns could see no reason to be denied furloughs, so long as there was nothing to do, so they took leave on their own account, and in all too many instances never came back.

Still more productive of discontent was the persistent suspicion that this was a rich man's war and a poor man's fight. "Rebel War Clerk" Jones summed up the mood of a vast segment of the army in his conclusion that "the people of wealth who had most at stake were more and more allowing the burden of war to be carried by the very people who were least able to carry it and who would benefit least from success." [33]

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[33] Cited in Frank L. Owsley, "Defeatism in the Confederacy," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (July, 1926), 446-456. See also, Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 13-20; Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops*, Chapter IV, *passim;* Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 14-15. General D. H. Hill writing Governor Zebulon B. Vance early in 1863, in his usual salty manner, blamed the mounting desertion on "the wicked teaching of our newspapers and the still more wicked exemption bill" by which persons of means enjoyed immunity from military service while the enrolling officer reached out for nearly every poor man in North Carolina. "Ignorant men cannot but be dissatisfied when they are taught that their Government has wronged them & their state & when they see the capitalist, the extortioner & the foreigner kept out of service by this bill of abominations." Hill insisted that the exempt was more despicable than the deserter, "especially that exempt who was breathing nothing threatening & [*sic*] slaughter before the war & now contents himself with military criticism in his parlor at home, or still worse in making a fortune upon the miseries of the country." D. H. Hill to Zebulon B. Vance, April 26, 1863, Zebulon B. Vance Papers, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Zebulon B. Vance Papers.

In July, Private Zimmerman wrote from near "Matison Courthouse," Virginia, to his wife in Forsyth County, North Carolina, painting a pitiful picture of his broken health, hard marches, dwindling rations, and the mounting desertions from his brigade. "it is no wonder you see and here tell of so many comeing home the way they are treeted here a man can eat all he gets for a days rashions at one meal they wont send one off to the hopittle until there is no chance for them to get well. . . . they would not send off four or five in our company until it was two late they died at the hospittle directly they got there." Three days later he wrote again, from near Orange Court House. "I have become verry poor and weak. I dont look like I did when I as at home last. . . . I always had good hops of whiping the Yankees until now but I have become disharten and now say we are whiped no country can gain her indipendance when there is so many speculaters grasping and grabing at what little the poor women have to spair to get cotton and other things they are helping more to whip us than the Yankes." In October he frankly discussed the prospects for deserting. "I cannot think any of my neighbors would molest me if I was to come and stay a short time and return again to the army I make no calculation of ever seeing peace any more if I should

One surprising cause of disaffection was a fear that the Confederacy was dedicated to "Negro equality." When, as one means of filling up the depleted regiments, Negro conscription was proposed, one outraged soldier from the Twenty-seventh North Carolina Regiment wrote his parents in Jones County that he and his comrades would not "submit to such wrongs, & there is but one way they can escape such wrongs & that is to *desert* wich they are doing every night. . . . Mother I did not volunteer my services to fight for a free negroes country but to fight for A free white mans free country & I do not think I love my country well enough to fight with black soldiers." [34]

Officers ascribed the inconstancy of their men to the fact that many were illiterate rustics, too ignorant and unintelligent to understand their military obligations. Totally mystified by rules of discipline and the Articles of War, they had little understanding of the gravity of their offense,[35] and were easily misled by rumor, peace-propagandists, and the pleas of their families, who had no more conception of the issues than they. All they knew was that they had fallen upon very hard times since the fighting began.

That a large proportion of conscripts took early leave is in part explained by the low opinion of them expressed by volunteers. The judgment was often unjust. The volunteer was himself, often enough, in ranks only because the draft gave him no real alternative, whereas many draftees had waited until the enrolling officer claimed them only because circumstances at home were so exigent that they too took Hobson's choice in tarrying as long as possible. Some early volunteers in fact proved less steadfast than did many a conscript. Young hotspurs rushed to the colors in April and May, 1861, in the expectation that they were to take a brief and glorious part in a triumphant little war, and when that illusion proved false, lost their zeal. Some indeed quit after First Manassas, believing that it was all over, or that they, at least, had done their share.

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live to be as old again as I am and nowhow as long as a part can stay at home and hunt up and compel the other part to remain in survice If you will show me a man that is trying to compel soldiers to stay in the army he is a speculator or a slaveholder or has a interest in slaves and Jef Davis and Old Aabe cannot make peace on no turmes to soot them. If this ware ends and we all get home there will be more blood spilt than Co D has lost yet every man must beare his part eather here or at home." James C. Zimmerman to his wife, July 30, August 2, October 21, 1863, Zimmerman Papers.

[34] J. Francis Maides to his mother, February 18, 1865, James F. Maides Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection.

[35] Peter Mallett, the State's Commandant of Conscripts and of the Camp of Instruction at Raleigh, wrote that the large number of deserters and draft dodgers abroad in North Carolina in the summer of 1862 were avoiding duty not for "the purpose of evading the law or in opposition to the Government, but from ignorance chiefly." Peter Mallett to George W. Randolph, August 6, 1862, Mallett Letterbook, Peter Mallett Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

A fearful strain upon the loyalty of the troops was caused by despairing letters from home. One distracted wife wrote her husband in December, 1864, of the suffering of their children and concluded by saying, "I don't want you to stop fighting them Yankees . . . but try and get off and come home and fix us all up some and then you can go back . . . my dear, if you put off a-coming, 'twont be no use to come, for we'll all hands of us be out there in the garden in the old grave yard with your ma and mine." [36] A North Carolina farm wife wrote her husband, "I would not have you do anything wrong for the world, but before God, Edward, unless you come home, we must die. Last night I was aroused by little Eddie's crying . . . 'O, mama, I am so hungry!' . . . your darling Lucy is growing thinner every day." [37]

In May, 1863, General James Johnston Pettigrew and Colonel Thomas C. Singletary sent Governor Vance two batches of such letters addressed to North Carolina troops in their command, adding that "men from our State are deserting every day." Blaming the desertions on homefront despondency, communicated to the troops in letters like the ones he enclosed, he explained:

> A certain class of soldiers is influenced by this condition of public opinion. They are told as you see by the letters, that they can desert with impunity; that the militia officers will not do their duty; that they can band together and defy the officers of the law. . . . If the rascals went to work at home, one could understand the sympathy they meet with, but it is a notorious fact that they give themselves up to idleness and thieving, thus inflicting double injury upon their country.[38]

In January, 1865, a Fayetteville paper received from a soldier in the Fifth North Carolina Cavalry a letter written by a distracted farm wife to her husband. She pleaded with him to come home and "lie in the bushes," repeating the entreaty 18 times in six semiliterate pages full of references to the soldier's children and to the advice and

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[36] Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops*, 148.

[37] John W. Moore, *History of North Carolina* (Raleigh: A. Williams and Company, 2 volumes, 1880), II, 237-238. Also quoted in Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops*, 148; Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 43-44; Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 13.

Family letters urging soldiers to run off usually begged them to come home, but one North Carolinian wrote his brother in the ranks "there is a great many men leaveing the Arma at this time and I am very glad to see them comeing home but if you have any notion of leaveing the arma I would like very mutch to see you comeing home you could get home very easy if you would only start but still I would advise you if you want to leave the war to go to the other side whear you can get plenty and not stay in this one horse barefooted naked and famine stricken Southern Confederacy for we have come to very near naught . . . evry person or very near say the Southern Confederecy is bound to die and if it would I would not cry." Jere Smith to Isaac Smith, January 6, 1863, cited in Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 43.

[38] *Official Records*, Series I, LI, Part II, 712-713.

pleas of his father, and promising to provide him with a "den" and arrangements for his visiting her at night. His brother had deserted and was now at home, she went on, and she and his father pledged to feed him as long as provisions were to be had, assuring him that while he was hiding out he would "not be hunted for there is no one to hunt." [39]

The hardships of campaigning and combat also took a heavy toll. Exposure to heat and cold, rain and mud, filth and vermin, incredibly hard marches, hunger and thirst, at just the time when the ordeal of battle strained their utmost reserves of strength and resolution, at last broke down even some of the stoutest fighters. The perfectly normal fear of combat was especially unnerving for those who were thrown into heavy fighting mere days after their induction, and for those who were hurried from one battle to another before they had recovered their balance. The frightful casualty rate—and not infrequently it was their own brothers and dearest companions who were killed or wounded before their eyes—eroded the will of not a few, as did battle defeats, and the fear of fear itself. Many a soldier was distracted by worry that he might "turn coward" in the next engagement. Their letters also speak of dreams haunted by an indecision about desertion which the day-time conscious mind would not permit to come to the surface.[40] It is difficult to determine at what point honest battle fatigue shaded off into disloyal defeatism, but nothing is easier to document than the prevalence of war weariness and the strain it placed upon the soldier's resolve to keep in ranks. Hundreds of letters from North Carolina soldiers now reposing in libraries of the State bear pitiful witness to its incidence. Ella Lonn reports that

> . . . mail bags captured by the United States officers "showed already in 1863 that letters of Southern soldiers breathed but one sentiment—weari-

[39] *Fayetteville Observer* (Semi-Weekly), February 16, 1865. General Lee was deeply concerned about the despondency of the homefront and its effect upon the army. Writing of desertions from North Carolina units, he said "It seems that the men are very much influenced by the representations of their friends at home, who appear to have become very despondent as to our success. They think the cause desperate and write to the soldiers, advising them to take care of themselves, assuring them that if they will return home the bands of deserters so far ounumber the home guards that they will be in no danger of arrest." *Official Records*, Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,254. See also, *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 1,270-1,271.

[40] David Thompson, a private in Company G, Twenty-seventh North Carolina Regiment, wrote his sister from Winder Hospital in Richmond where he was convalescing, "I must tell you a dream I had last night. I thought I was at home & you & I wanted to go some whare in a buggy & Pappy to prevent us from going cut every horses throat on the plantation I thought he told me he was going to have me arrested for a deserter." David Thompson to his sister Mary, November 20, 1863, Frank Nash Papers, Southern Historical Collection. Thompson, a Cedar Grove, Orange County, farm boy, was nineteen years old when he enlisted in June, 1861, and served faithfully throughout the War.

ness of the war. Soldiers saw, despite desperate and heroic efforts, defeat everywhere, saw their toils and sufferings unproductive against apparently inexhaustible numbers." [41]

High on the list of complaints by defectors was their failure to get furloughs. Confederate authorities were reluctant to reduce the wasted ranks still further, especially since bitter experience proved that the furloughed soldier too often yielded to the temptation to extend his leave until it dragged on into downright desertion. Governor Vance wrote that many left because, contrary to promise, they had not been assigned to the regiment of their choice, and some offered the surprising excuse that they had entered the forces to defend their communities only. Also heard was the argument that a man who volunteered never lost his right to leave the ranks voluntarily, much as (some slyly hinted) a State that had voluntarily entered the Union could voluntarily withdraw.[42]

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[41] Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 18. See also, *Official Records*, Series I, LXI, Part III, 145. For samples of expressions of war weariness and its toll on morale among North Carolina regiments, see: letters of James C. Zimmerman, Zimmerman Papers; letters of Virgil Cavin, Virgil S. Cavin Papers; Nat Raymer to E. B. Drake, March 30, 1863, Zebulon B. Vance Papers; James H. Baker to his Mother and Father, February 1, 1865, James H. Baker Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection; Charles W. Fulk to B. W. Pulliam, August 13, 1863, and S. M. Goff to B. W. Pulliam, February 9, 1863, Solomon Hilary Helsabeck Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Diary of J. E. Green, August 11, 1863, State Department of Archives and History; Wade Hubbard to his wife, October 16, 1864, Wade Hubbard Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection; A. M. Johnson to Governor Vance, January 30, 1865, Zebulon B. Vance Papers; Frank Mills to his brother, January 6, 1865, Amanda E. Mills Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, hereinafter cited as Amanda E. Mills Papers; J. K. Wilkerson to his mother, December 29, 1864, J. K. Wilkerson Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection; John Fair to his mother, January 16, 1862, A. E. Henderson Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection; William Newant (Stewart?) to his father, June 11, 1862, Bryan Tyson Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection.

[42] Governor Vance wrote the President in the spring of 1863 that in addition to arresting and returning deserters it was important to attack the causes of defection. He insisted, with characteristic overstatement, "I do not believe that one case in a hundred is caused by disloyalty. . . . Homesickness, fatigue, hard fare, &c., have, of course, much to do with it." A "principal cause," he said, was the unredeemed promise of furloughs. "They invariably offer this excuse when arrested." He was convinced that another "great cause" among conscripts was "that they were refused permission to enter the regiments of their choice with their neighbors and relations. Large numbers actually threaten to desert before they leave camp, and generally make good their threats." *Official Records*, Series I, LI, Part II, 709-710.

Legislation by the Confederate Congress had, in fact, promised liberal furloughs and the pledge was not fulfilled. An act of December, 1861, intended to encourage the re-enlistment of 12-month volunteers, promised such men 60-day furloughs, bounties, and the privilege of re-organizing themselves into companies, with officers of their own election. James M. Matthews (ed.), *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America* (Richmond, Virginia: R. M. Smith, [printer to Congress], 1864), 223. Four months later the first conscription act stipulated that men already in the service, who were now retained by the new principle of compulsory service for men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five, were to be awarded 60-day furloughs unless they had already had them under the previous law. James Matthews (ed.), *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the First Session of the First Congress; 1862.* (Richmond, Virginia: R. M. Smith, [printer to Congress], 1862), 30.

The *Standard*, itself accused of fomenting desertion by preaching disloyalty and a

Occasionally desertion could be traced to friction between private and officer. The native "techiness" that characterized the uncomplicated southern yeoman bred insubordination,[43] a tendency which the lax discipline that marked the Confederate forces, or exactions of an occasional petty tyrant in shoulder straps, did little to inhibit. Once begun, the evil was cumulative; every deserter who went unpunished —and all but a tiny minority of them did—was an argument against putting up any longer with suffering and deprivations.[44]

Hardship and despair on the homefront had a disastrous impact on the allegiance of the troops. It was a call to return home and look to the immediate relief of their beleaguered loved ones; it sowed doubts of the wisdom of secession and war; especially when the hardships were traceable to profiteers, it was further proof that it was a rich man's war; it was the ground for a smoldering resentment against the Confederate government that sometimes exceeded the soldier's hatred for the Lincoln regime. Especially productive of hostility to Richmond were the taxes in kind and the impressment laws that seemed to bear with unequal weight upon the rural poor; the conscript system—especially the exemption and substitute provisions—and other evidences of centralized authority and "military despotism"; the deterioration of Confederate currency and the demoralization of prices under the twin pressures of shortages and profiteering; and the belief that a soldier's home State was more discriminated against by the Richmond government than were any others.

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negotiated peace, retorted in August, 1863, that desertions long antedated the so-called "peace movement"; that the real cause of mass desertion was to be sought in the Gettysburg disaster and in the failure of the Confederate government to live up to its promises in the matter of furloughs, plus the notion that the army must fight on until exterminated rather than consider any plan to negotiate an honorable peace. *Semi-Weekly Standard,* August 18, 1863.

[43] See, on this point, Wilbur J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1941), 4-58, and David Donald, "The Confederate as a Fighting Man," *The Journal of Southern History,* XXV (May, 1959), 180.

[44] Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War,* 17. General Lee was keenly alert to this consideration. "Great dissatisfaction is reported among the good men of this army at the apparent impunity of deserters," he wrote Davis in August, 1863. *Official Records,* Series I, XXIX, Part II, 650. In February, 1865, he expressed to the Secretary of War his deep anxiety over the huge defections of North Carolina troops who were hiding out with scant danger of arrest. He concluded that "these desertions have a very bad effect upon the troops who remain and give rise to painful apprehensions." *Official Records,* Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,254.

A soldier in the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment made the same point in a letter to his local newspaper in 1862. A private had deserted from Company H seven months ago, he said, and had been advertised in the local press. But far from being arrested by the county's sheriff, militia, or private citizens, he was permitted to run at large while the advertisement was appearing. The result was that the men in the deserter's outfit began to think lightly of the offense, and four more ran off. Meanwhile, troops sent home on deserter-hunting service reported that "they could get no assistance, or information from any one about them," and all the while the men who remained in the ranks had to endure the knowledge that their communities were being plundered and terrorized by such recusants. *Fayetteville Observer,* September 22, 1862.

Some grievances were more keenly felt in North Carolina than elsewhere, and there were some causes of desertion that were almost unique to that State. One North Carolinian, who as a boy had lived in the deserter territory and had mingled freely with disloyal soldiers and civilians, pointed out in a remarkable piece in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1891 that the same circumstances that had made North Carolina "at once the most loyal and disloyal state on both sides" during the American Revolution placed her again in the same "anomalous" position in 1861-1865, "sending more men into the Southern ranks, and [giving] more lives for the Southern cause than any others at the same time that she contained by far the largest and most determined disaffected elements of any state where disaffection was as little backed by Northern arms." The explanation, he argued, lay in the survival in North Carolina of the old English yeoman type, "a sturdy, independent middle class." Even those in this class who were small slaveholders, said he, were in the ranks of the disaffected and "entirely out of sympathy with the slaveholding class in general." [45]

The astonishing independence of North Carolina owed much also to the vigorous leadership of public men committed to the conservative cause at the outset of the war; to the personal and political strength of the impetuous popular idol, Governor Vance; and in no small degree to the "Peace Movement" and the energetically anti-Davis (and after January 1, 1864, the virulently anti-Vance) stand of the State's most influential newspaper and its volatile editor, William W. Holden.[46] Similarly involved were the State's unusually high proportion of small owner-farmers; its relatively small stake in slavery and secession; its reputation for provincialism and reactionary ruralism that had won it the nickname of the "Rip Van Winkle State" (in fact no longer deserved after 1840, but still lingering in the southern mind), engendering in touchy Tarheels an injured sense of alienation from the South as a whole.[47] Many North Carolinians also believed that the

[45] David Dodge, "Cave Dwellers of the Confederacy," *Atlantic Monthly,* LXVIII (October, 1891), 514-521.

[46] The writer is treating the theme of the peace movement in another essay. For convenient summaries of the story, see Horace W. Raper, "William W. Holden and the Peace Movement in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXI (October, 1954), 493-526, hereinafter cited as Raper, "William W. Holden and the Peace Movement"; Roberts, "Peace Movement in North Carolina," 190-199; Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance,* 85-107. See also, Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy,* Chapter VI; Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy,* Chapter XII; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University, 1914).

[47] For some history of North Carolina's reputation for reactionary rusticity and provincialism, see R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding An Ancient Commonwealth, 1585-1925* (Chicago, Illinois: The American Historical Society, Inc., 4 volumes, 1929), II, 152ff; Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 21, 25, 764, 827; Hugh Talmage Lefler and

draft operated more disastrously in their State where a disproportionately large number of farms were wholly dependent upon their owners (and their sons) for labor. Entire counties were stripped of adult males (except for the aged) when forced military service had sent them either into the ranks or into hiding.

After mid-1863 many Confederate and State authorities, as well as civilians and troops in the ranks, were convinced that the greatest single cause of desertion by North Carolinians was the peace sentiment and despondency at home, which they blamed on "Traitor Holden." The growing sentiment for trying negotiation rather than protracting a hopeless war made a plural thrust upon the man in the ranks. It not only won adherents in the army. Many soldiers who were not themselves captivated by its melancholy logic were demoralized by it because they felt that it was foolish for the troops to sacrifice themselves for a cause the country seemed ready to abandon. The triumph of defeatism at home mocked all the suffering that the army had endured from the beginning; it blasphemed the memory of every soldier who had fallen; it sneered at every privation, every pain that every soldier had borne.

Holden himself resented imputations of treason. His editorials thundered against desertion and against betrayal of southern principles, but he scolded the Confederate government, for, said he, it "had lost its original character and had been perverted to despotic purposes against her own rights and the rights and liberties of her citizens."[48] The troops would fight better, he insisted, if they knew that friends at home were preparing the way for negotiating an honorable peace, for it would give real point to fighting hard for bargaining leverage."[49] Even Vance came close to saying the same thing long before Appomattox.[50]

Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 298-311, 336, 355. There is an interesting observation by a perceptive northern traveler in North Carolina in 1853, in Arthur M. Schlesinger (ed.), *The Cotton Kingdom* by Frederick Law Olmsted (New York: Knopf, 1953), 148, where North Carolina is described as having "a proverbial reputation for the ignorance and torpidity of her people; being, in this respect, at the head of the Slave States."

[48] Raper, "William W. Holden and the Peace Movement," 507.

[49] See, for example, *Semi-Weekly Standard*, August 18, 1863; *Weekly Standard*, May 25, July 27, 1864.

[50] Said the forthright Governor, "After a careful consideration of all the sources of discontent in North Carolina, I have concluded that it will be perhaps impossible to remove it except by making some efforts at negotiation with the enemy. . . . If fair terms are rejected [by the North] it will . . . rally [our people]." It would, he added, also place the blame for this "slaughter" squarely on the North. "I have not suggested the method of these negotiations or their terms; the effort to obtain peace is the principal matter." *Official Records*, Series I, LI, Part II, 807.

Critics of Holden, however, saw him as a peace-at-any-price man, if not an unqualified traitor, driven by political ambition. In the peace movement and its principal voice, Holden's *Standard,* they saw the real cause of the growing defection. General D. H. Hill repeatedly wrote the Richmond government that it was the newspapers and factions favoring reconstruction who induced North Carolina troops to decamp.[51] From the western counties came word that peace meetings were touching off a rush of desertion among the North Carolina regiments stationed there.[52] General Lee was convinced that peace-minded newspapers were a major spur to defection when he wrote James A. Seddon, the Secretary of War, enclosing a letter from one of his colonels who reported enormous withdrawals from the Twenty-second North Carolina Regiment and blamed them on "that disgraceful 'peace' sentiment spoken of by the *Standard.*" [53] General Stephen D. Ramseur wrote his wife from Orange Court House two weeks later, "W. W. Holden is responsible in great measure for the desertions among North Carolina troops." [54]

Similar views were shared by men in the State's regiments at the front and by civilians at home. A young Granite Falls (Iredell County) soldier of the Seventh North Carolina Regiment wrote in the summer of 1863:

> I beleaf the talk at this [time] among the boys is that thay are all coming home before long . . . there is a good deel of disatisfaction among the N C troops at this time but I think all things will be wright before long if old Holden's press was stopt, that has don more harm in the army among the Soldiers of N. Carolina than every thing else.[55]

Another North Carolina private wrote his brother in the spring of 1864 of a military execution he had just witnessed:

> There has been a good many N. Carolinians shot in this army for Desertion old traitor Holden is Responsible for the most of it. . . . I think the N C Soldiers passing through Raleigh on Furlough ought to stop and hang the old son of a bitch. I think about ¾ of the N Carolinians at home are tories through the enfluence of W. H. Holden and nearly half the Soldiers. I cant see how he keeps of the gallows. . . . N.C. has and is disgracing herself and Soldiers.[56]

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[51] *Official Records,* Series I, XVIII, 1,052-1,053.
[52] *Official Records,* Series I, XLIX, Part I, 1,034-1,035.
[53] *Official Records,* Series I, XXVII, Part III, 1,052.
[54] Stephen Ramseur to his wife, August 15, 1863, Stephen D. Ramseur Papers, Southern Historical Collection.
[55] C. F. Mills to Harrison Mills, September 6, 1863, Amanda E. Mills Papers.
[56] J. W. Bell to Ike Bell, March 14, 1864, A. W. Bell Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection.

A condemned private in Company B, of the Fourth North Carolina Regiment, seconds before the executioners' volley cut him down, declared that "though others persuaded me to do what I did, the reading of Holden's paper has brought me to this." [57] Colonel D. M. Carter of the Fourth North Carolina Regiment learned that "A number of Deserters of Nethercut's battallion [*sic*], caught at New Berne in arms, were hanged last week—all of them attributed their base conduct to the traitorous teachings of the Standard and [Raleigh] Progress." [58]

It was also widely believed that the State's courts, and especially Chief Justice Richmond Pearson, accounted for as many desertions as did spokesmen of the Peace Movement and the traitorous "Order of the Heroes of America." Intervening at first in behalf of principals whose substitutes were forced into service after the repeal of the substitution law, but later issuing writs of habeas corpus freely to deserters and recusant conscripts who had been arrested in contravention of what the Justice conceived to be their constitutional rights, Pearson seemed to deny the constitutionality of the conscription laws themselves, as well as the means used to enforce them.

In the spring of 1863 General William D. Pender, one of North Carolina's most brilliant officers in the Army of Northern Virginia, wrote Lee his opinion of the causes of recent desertions of North Carolinians in Lee's force:

> The whole trouble lies in the fact that they believe when they get into North Carolina they will not be molested, and their belief is based upon the dictum of Pearson, Chief Justice of the State. . . . Our men are of the opinion that he held that the conscript law was unconstitutional, and hence they draw the conclusion that enrolled conscripts will not only be justified in resisting the law, but that those who have been held in service by the law will not be arrested when they desert. . . . Letters are received by the men urging them to leave; that they will not be troubled when they get home. . . . To be just to my state . . . I must say that . . . too many of the troops of other states of the Confederacy would act as ours are doing if they thought they could with safety.[59]

Governor Vance was drawn into acrimonious correspondence with the Davis government over the issue of his State's courts. Secretary Seddon wrote him that deserters

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[57] Lt. J. M. Goff, Provost Marshall in Rodes' Division, to Col. Bryan Grimes, commanding the Fourth North Carolina Regiment, February 9, 1864, published in the *Wilmington Journal*, March 10, 1864.

[58] Clara B. Hoyt to D. M. Carter, February 23, 1864, David Miller Carter Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[59] *Official Records*, Series I, XXV, Part II, 746-747.

think they have only to come within the jurisdiction of your courts to be permanently exonerated from the perils and hardships of military life . . . [or] that if they can reach certain western counties of the State they will find no reprobation in public sentiment, but be secure of harbor and protection. . . . It might be well [for you] to restrain the too ready interposition of the judicial authority in these questions of military obligation.[60]

Vance leaped to the rebuttal. Recounting his recent and continuing energetic exertions to combat desertion and to inspirit the people of his State, he took sharp exception to imputations of "a too ready interposition of the judicial authority. . . ." Insisting that the State's unhappy reputation was to be explained by the fact that her neighbors were too willing to think evil of her, he reminded Secretary of War Seddon, that she had done more to arrest conscripts and deserters, "she has better executed the conscript law; has fuller regiments in the field than any other; and . . . in the two last great battles on the Rappahannock [Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville] in December and May she furnished over half of the killed and wounded."

The decisions of North Carolina's courts have been widely misconstrued, he went on, and "I must decline to 'restrain the judiciary.'" He further said,

> While I will do everything for the common cause, I will also sustain the judicial authorities of the land, the rights and privileges of the citizens to the utmost of my power. . . . The decisions of the Supreme Court of North Carolina will be binding on all parties.[61]

Vance's loyalty to the southern cause was in fact beyond question, but his hostility to Davis and his government (notably on the score of its neglect of North Carolina and her fair claims to defense, and to a proportionate share of appointments of high civil and military officers; its centralized authority and "military tyranny"; his solicitude for his State's rights; his avowed unfriendliness to conscription;[62] and his vigorously expressed refusal to subject the courts to executive usurpa-

[60] *Official Records*, Series I, XXV, Part II, 814; Series I, LI, Part II, 714.
[61] *Official Records*, Series I, LI, Part II, 715.
[62] The full story of the opposition to conscription in North Carolina, both in the courts and elsewhere, merges with the problem of desertion, and is too complex to be recounted here. It forms a separate chapter of the study upon which the writer is engaged, and has, moreover, been recorded by others. See J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "The State Courts and the Confederate Constitution," *The Journal of Southern History*, IV (November, 1938), 348-444; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "The North Carolina Courts and the Confederacy," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, IV (October, 1927), 366-403; Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 44-48; Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy*, Chapter XII; Frank L. Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), Chapter IV; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 114-118, 127.

tion) made him, especially beyond his State's borders, appear the ally of Pearson, if not of Holden, in sabotaging the Confederacy's desperate efforts to recruit up the nation's vanishing armies.

One other source of disaffection which fed the North Carolina troops' inclination to desert the Confederacy's flag was the belief that their State was deliberately discriminated against, and would, in the end, have little more to hope for in the Confederacy than in the old Union. The suspicion was strengthened by Vance himself, who repeatedly and intemperately accused the Davis government of such partiality. The State smarted under doubts of her loyalty that the Davis regime and the Confederacy at large and the Confederate Army entertained, based, she presumed, upon her prudent conservatism in the secession crisis, her preference for moderate office-holders rather than fire-eaters, her manful resistance to Confederate centralization and usurpations, and her consistent defense of the prerogatives of States at war against the principle of consolidated federalism.

Soldiers and civilians were moved to wrath against Richmond by Vance's charge that the Confederacy sacrificed the defense of the State's coast in favor of the prior claims of Virginia. They shared the Governor's fierce indignation over the assignment to North Carolina of Virginians and other "foreigners" to enforce the Confederate tax, impressment, and conscription laws, and over the systematic exclusion of North Carolinians from high posts in the Davis administration.

Especially bitter were the recriminations over the slighting of North Carolina's claims to military commands. The State by Davis' own admission was supplying the Confederacy with more men than was any other, and she insisted on a proportionate share of high-ranking commissions. Of a total of eight full generals in the Confederate armies, none was a North Carolinian; of the 21 lieutenant generals, the State had only two; of 99 major generals, she had only six instead of the 20 that she felt was her due. And of the 480 Confederate brigadier generals, the State's twenty comprised only one-fourth of her fair share.[63]

[63] Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments*, V, 3-4. There is frequent mention of these discriminations, in the letters of troops from the front. One soldier in the Fourteenth North Carolina Regiment, speculating on the cause of his State's troops' low repute, wrote his observations to his hometown newspaper. "North Carolina Troops are looked upon . . . by other State Troops with contempt, caused by the reconstruction rumors and sentiments from North Carolina that have been put afloat. . . . Such rumors are one great cause of so much desertion. . . . I can hear every day, more or less that North Carolina is for reconstruction and that all her troops are deserting and going home." To rebut the charge the writer pointed out that any soldier who wished to escape from the army had simply to step out of ranks during the retreat from Pennsylvania with little fear of reprisal. "We could now be in Yankeedom if it had been our desire, or in North Carolina either." *North Carolina Argus* (Wadesboro), September 24, 1863.

Finally, the troops, with no little coaching from their Governor, repeatedly expressed bitterness over the favoritism shown Virginia and other States, at North Carolina's cost, in official reports and newspaper accounts of battles. North Carolina's contribution in killed and wounded exceeded that of all other States, but she was, she believed, consistently robbed of her share of glory not only because officers from other States (particularly Virginia) held most of the commands and because the war office and the Richmond government generally were staffed largely with Virginians, but also because the Confederacy's press was largely dependent upon Virginia newspapers and Virginia correspondents for battle news of the Army of Northern Virginia, to which most of North Carolina's regiments were attached.[64]

A considerable number of runaways went directly over to Union lines by abandoning their trenches or rifle pits and delivering themselves to Federal pickets. Others left their own posts as pickets and crossed over while still others contrived to be taken prisoner. Still larger numbers struck out for the Confederacy's interior, preferably for their own communities, going boldly to their homes or "lying out" and maintaining precarious contact with their families. The break was often made by dropping out of moving columns at fords, ferries, gaps, and passes, especially in rough country, or by falling back at swamps near camp. Some slipped from railway stations and troop trains, even jumping from moving cars. Many simply failed to return from hospitals or furloughs, sometimes using stolen or forged passes and other papers. Some sprang to freedom under cover of darkness or in the confusions of battle or in the course of disorderly retreats. Some managed with help from sympathizers to escape in civilian clothes, or were relayed by stages into the interior, by a kind of semi-organized underground. The record even mentions a Richmond embalmer who passed off the renegade as his assistant or even as a corpse.[65]

The problem of controlling desertion was complicated by the fact that the offense was not clearly defined by law. Indeed, the laws of States, North Carolina among them, did not recognize the offense, and the fact that it was therefore a Confederate crime greatly impeded the efforts to arrest and forward the runaways. Desertion as the military

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[64] *Official Records*, Series I, XXIX, Part II, 723-724; Jones, *Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, I, 391. There is a summary of heart-burnings in North Carolina over the several discriminations mentioned in this and the foregoing two paragraphs, in Walter A. Montgomery, "Relations Between the Confederate States Government and the Government of North Carolina," *Proceedings and Addresses of the Fourteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, Bulletin* 15 (1913), 35-55.

[65] This paragraph relies heavily upon Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 38*ff*, and Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops*, 1-25, 246.

and Confederate law contemplated it, was the abandonment of the military service without permission and with the intention not to return. The latter intent was, of course, extremely difficult to prove. A surprising number took self-awarded furloughs to make a crop, to cut firewood, to look to repairs about the house and farm, to assuage the pangs of homesickness, or to beget a child. Nothing is more astonishing about the life of "Johnny Reb" than his casual departures and returns in the face of laws that defined his conduct as punishable by death.

Sometimes deserters quit one regiment to join another. Far more common was absence without leave, involving, it was presumed, intention to return. Another widespread practice was that of "straggling"—falling out of line of the march, or immediately before or during battle, with intent to return when peril was past—or when a particular blackberry patch had been stripped of its fruit. Still another form of shirking was "skulking," avoiding military service by fraud or other law-breaking: self-mutiliation, malingering at the expiration of a furlough or at the commencement of a battle, securing forged papers of paroles or furloughs or exemptions; collusion with medical boards for exemption or with subordinate military officers for assignment to easy duties and pleading ignorance of the machinery of enrollment under the conscription laws. As the War progressed, the distinctions between these and other dodges became increasingly blurred, and the various artifices were eventually subsumed under the general term "desertion."

Means for coping with slackers, shirkers, runaways, and turncoats were as numerous and varied as the modes of escape, and they comprise an absorbing, if saddened, chapter of Civil War history. That story is, however, too long to be recounted here, and must be reserved for separate exposition.

THE SHAPING OF A POLITICAL LEADER: JOSIAH W. BAILEY AND THE GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1924

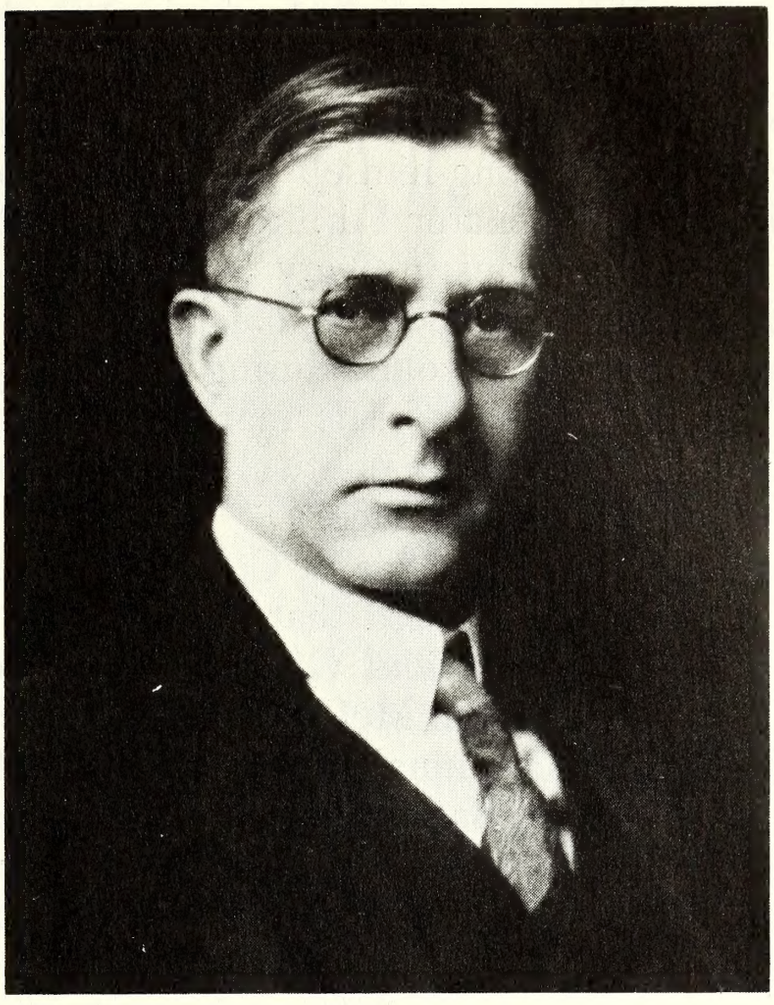
By John Robert Moore *

In North Carolina the primaries for nomination of Democratic candidates for the governorship have usually been the occasions for hotly fought battles. From time to time the nature of the factions competing within the Democratic Party for control of State affairs has changed, but over several decades the chief divisions have fallen between organization and antiorganization groups. The 1924 gubernatorial campaign proved no exception as Josiah William Bailey, an insurgent candidate, vied with Angus Wilton McLean, the candidate of the political organization led by Senator Furnifold M. Simmons, for the Democratic nomination. Although Bailey was soundly defeated in his first State-wide race, he did succeed in building a workable, personally loyal organization and in bringing recognition to himself as a powerful figure in State politics. Upon this foundation he sprang to national prominence in 1930, when he wrested the Democratic nomination for senator from North Carolina from Simmons, who had held that office for 30 years. The 1924 campaign not only illustrated the techniques and ideas which Bailey used with good effect in subsequent races, but also revealed much of the character and determination that later made him an influential leader of southern conservatives in the United States Senate during the turbulent years of the Depression and World War II.

Josiah William Bailey, fifty-one years old in 1924, was a veteran politician with a self-acknowledged "propensity for battle" that thrust him into one struggle after another.[1] A man of inherent dignity, he was medium in build, his expression grave, and his face angular with a prominent nose, a lantern jaw, and greying temples. His dress was

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[1] Josiah W. Bailey to Locke Craig, November 28, 1923, Josiah W. Bailey Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as Bailey Papers. For a detailed account of Josiah W. Bailey's 1924 campaign see John Robert Moore, "Josiah W. Bailey: Candidate for Governor of North Carolina, 1922-1924" (unpublished master's thesis, Duke University, 1960).



Josiah William Bailey. From files of the State Department of Archives and History.

austere, almost Edwardian with dark, carefully buttoned suits, somber ties, and high starched collars at which he often tugged when speaking.[2] In manner and appearance there was a hint of the Baptist minister, and his speeches were nearly always tinged with Biblical phrases that expressed a deep sense of moral indignation.[3] Recognized as one of North Carolina's finest orators, he had a sharp, incisive intellect, which his enemies suspected concealed the makings of a demagogue. During a political campaign he would drive quietly to the courthouse, ascend the platform, and begin sorting the documents from which he planned to quote. Hardly ever did he seek out people, although when approached by friends and admirers he demonstrated the typical politician's facility in exchanging pleasantries and in shaking hands. He seemed to have an abounding confidence in his power to reach the people from the speaker's platform.[4]

[2] *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), June 7, 1924, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*.

[3] Both his father and grandfather had been Baptist ministers, and Bailey himself had edited the *Biblical Recorder*, the weekly organ of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, from 1893 to 1907. For a brief account of Bailey's family history, see the *Biblical Recorder*, January 2, 1935.

[4] See, for example, *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1924.

On the stump for 15 years Bailey had vigorously upheld the policies and principles of the Democratic party. He had given head and heart in 1908 to William Jennings Bryan, "the Knight Errant of mankind," while at the same time aligning himself with the political organization in North Carolina led by Senator Furnifold M. Simmons.[5] From 1912 Bailey fought beside Simmons in every campaign, received and distributed patronage, and compiled an official record as Collector of Internal Revenue for North Carolina during his eight-year tenure that was distinguished by efficiency.[6] His marked ability, knowledge of public affairs, and deep interest in political questions placed him in the front line of aspirants for State office.

Shortly after Bailey left the office of Collector of Internal Revenue in October, 1921, rumors circulated that he might be a candidate for Governor in 1924. *The News and Observer* reported, however, on January 2, 1922, that "A. Wilton McLean, W. B. Cooper, and John H. Kerr are apparently in the running in earnest with still a doubt as the intention of J. W. Bailey."[7] Bailey himself neither confirmed nor denied the rumors publicly at this time, but remained an acute observer of the shifting political sands in the State. By April, 1922, however, he admitted privately:

> I suspect I shall have a fight to the finish with the machine, but I am ready for it. I have stood with the machine for the sake of Senator Simmons many years, but there are certain elements of it that will never harmonize with me. I shall make no final decision to run in the near future.[8]

Although his activities gave little indication of his political aspirations, the 1924 primary was never far from his mind.

Apparently Bailey waited only until the time seemed ripe to introduce himself. His opportunity arrived during the Wake County primary election of county officers in June, 1922, which presented the scene of a bitter contest between John Hinsdale, W. F. Evans, and John Mills for the Democratic nomination for Solicitor in the Seventh Judicial District. With the first ballot split three ways, no one received a majority of the votes, and a second primary was held to decide

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[5] Furnifold M. Simmons (1854-1940), member of the United States Senate from North Carolina, 1901-1931. He was defeated for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate in 1930 by Josiah W. Bailey, his former supporter and friend. J. Fred Rippy (ed), *F. M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South, Memoirs and Addresses* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1936), *passim.*

[6] N. Y. Gulley, *Josiah W. Bailey: A Brief Sketch of his Career and Activities* ([Raleigh: Allied Printing Trades, 1924]), 1-4.

[7] *The News and Observer*, January 2, 1922.

[8] Josiah W. Bailey to J. H. Weathers, April 28, 1922, Bailey Papers.

between Hinsdale and Evans. John Mills, the third contender, cast his lot with Hinsdale. With the battle thus intensified, Bailey chose to step into the fray, as a private citizen, in support of Evans.[9]

Speaking at the Wake County Courthouse in Raleigh on June 12, 1922, Bailey informed several hundred of Evans' supporters that a coalition of lawyers, bankers, and others was trying to railroad Hinsdale into office. On a more personal note he acknowledged, "I do not know whether or not I shall lose votes for Governor tonight or not. I do not care. I know I am going to do my duty and let the future take care of itself." [10] As the second primary approached, he further charged that certain lawless elements had distributed large sums of money in an effort to corrupt the voters in Wake and Franklin counties.[11] The outcome of the second primary was an outstanding victory for Bailey's candidate for solicitor, W. F. Evans. Raleigh's leading newspaper aptly summarized the situation:

> The Bailey forces accept victory with what modesty it has at its command. . . . In the latter days of the campaign less was heard of Bailey, but he had already centered the attention of the entire State on himself through the medium of a local fight. Many of his friends see in the overwhelming victory of the Bailey candidate, a measure of the strength that will come to Bailey two years hence when he goes out to battle with A. Wilton McLean for Governor.[12]

Bailey's speech in behalf of Evans was his first public pronouncement of his intention to campaign for the Democratic nomination for governor in 1924. That he had chosen both the time and the method of his revelation with rare political acumen was attested to by the bountiful harvest of publicity that followed. His charges that certain members of Governor Cameron Morrison's administration, principally A. D. Watts as Commissioner of Revenue, were using money to elect their favorites and to subvert the primary election system seemed sufficient to win for him both the guise of a reformer and the appearance of an antimachine candidate.[13] The latter move held peculiar significance since not only had Bailey himself been a beneficiary of the political organization headed by Senator Simmons, but he had vigor-

[9] *The News and Observer*, June 13, 1922.
[10] *The News and Observer*, June 13, 1922.
[11] *The News and Observer*, June 26, 1922. Two years later, Bailey recalled: "Mr. A. D. Watts, Commissioner of Revenue, used his office in 1922 for political purposes; and when he did I went to the Court House in the month of June, in the City of Raleigh, and denounced him and his doings." Josiah W. Bailey to W. L. Spencer, April 3, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[12] *The News and Observer*, July 3, 1922.
[13] *The News and Observer*, June 26, 1922.

ously defended it against the attacks of W. W. Kitchin in the senatorial campaign of 1912.[14]

During the summer of 1922 Bailey let the subject of irregular election practices fade from the headlines and tended to some political fence-mending. His willingness to abandon his supposed discoveries of bribery in State politics was unusual in view of the tenacity with which he held to any reform that he believed was needed. Bailey explained his silence in this manner: "Loyalty to the Party required that I should hold my peace until after the November election."[15] As for his political fence-mending, he took his most important step concerning the attitude of his friend and patron, Senator Furnifold M. Simmons. In August, 1922, Bailey visited briefly with the Senator in Washington, D. C., and discussed both the election irregularities and his possible candidacy for Governor.[16] Recalling this visit some 20 years later, he observed:

> In 1918 I became aware of the cheating in our Primaries and Elections. I discovered that Watts had arranged to have thousands of absentee soldiers votes cast in the election. I took the matter up with Simmons and told him I would not stand for it, and in 1921 I demanded the Australian Ballot and a fair election system. He did not like my attitude as he said it would make trouble between him and Watts. I told him I was going ahead and would undertake to whip Watts and expected Simmons to lay off. He gave me a lecture on politics then and said he thought I wished to be Governor, and he would assure me I would be Governor and might be Senator, but he wished me to be quiet and go along with him and the others. I told him I was unwilling to be quiet and I did not care to run for any office, but I was concerned about an election reform and would go ahead. I asked him if he would fight me if I ran for Governor and he said no he would take a neutral position.[17]

Writing to Simmons in March, 1924, Bailey reminded him of the August conference: "I mentioned to you that there was a possibility of my running for Governor; and you immediately said that as between me and any of your other friends, you would not take sides; and I said that I would expect no more of you than this."[18]

Following the general elections of November, 1922, Bailey detonated a political bombshell that more than compensated for his relative silence during the last four months. In a lengthy public letter delivered to the Associated Press and published throughout North Carolina on

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[14] See, for example, J. W. Bailey, *Simmons—Organizer of Victory* (n.p., [1912]), 1-16.
[15] Josiah W. Bailey to W. O. Saunders, March 18, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[16] Josiah W. Bailey to J. Crawford Biggs, March 1, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[17] Josiah W. Bailey to Walter Montgomery, June 12, 1943, Bailey Papers.
[18] Josiah W. Bailey to Furnifold M. Simmons, March 20, 1924, Bailey Papers.

November 22, 1922, he called on the Democratic Party and the recently elected General Assembly for an extensive program of reform. He specifically set forth four services for the State and Party to perform: (1) safeguarding and checking the issuing of long term bonds, (2) reducing the volume of taxes for State, county, city and town, (3) rescuing primary and election systems from corrupting use of money, and (4) rehabilitating the office and curbing the power of the State Tax Commissioner.[19]

On the issuance of long-term bonds, Bailey argued simply that North Carolina must curb the current tendency to tap the credit of the State at the expense of future generations. In urging a reduction of taxes, he was not merely echoing the politician's habitual cry for economy in government. His case was built solidly upon the almost threefold increase in the volume of taxes in North Carolina over the 1912 to 1922 period. Proper efforts in the direction of business-like economy and the elimination of sinecures, graft, and supernumeraries would, he estimated, save hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of dollars. His chief complaint about taxes, however, was that the burden fell heaviest upon farmers and owners of small homes.[20]

Although the first two issues of Bailey's program of reform took precedence in his own view, neither carried the impact of his third and fourth points. Bailey harshly denounced those persons who had sought to corrupt the primary and election system by the use of money in the purchase of votes and in tampering with the election officials and returns. In his denouncement he mentioned no names, but insisted he knew "the man who boasts that he is 'the greatest fat-fryer since Aaron,' and will name him when necessary."[21] As a correction, Bailey bluntly asserted that "for the man who solicits . . . the man who pays . . . the man who takes the money the doors of the penitentiary should open."[22]

Bailey's demand for the rehabilitation of the office of State Tax Commissioner, which was held by A. D. Watts, created the greatest furor. The heat generated by this demand was not surprising, since Bailey's wording was strong to the point of intemperance:

I have said that the State Tax Commissioner has more power than Julius Caesar. . . . It ought to be made a penitentiary offense for him to solicit,

[19] *The News and Observer*, November 22, 1922.
[20] *The News and Observer*, November 22, 1922. In Bailey's opinion, "big bond issues tend to develop pork-barrel politics, and evidences of that are now at hand in this state."
[21] *The News and Observer*, November 22, 1922. In view of Bailey's running battle against A. D. Watts, the most probable inference here was that this was another oblique attack upon Watts.
[22] *The News and Observer*, November 22, 1922.

receive, or distribute campaign contributions in primaries or elections. He ought to be utterly divorced from politics. . . . Otherwise, we stand guilty of having given to a taxgatherer the power to raise unlimited funds for political purposes and return them with interest in favors at the public expense.[23]

He also pointed out that had he suggested these reforms prior to the November elections, he would with reason have been charged with giving aid and comfort to the Republicans. After the election and before the meeting of the General Assembly, however, he could put forward these reforms with the hope that the legislature might apply the necessary remedies before the next election.[24]

Whatever Bailey's real intentions may have been or the effect he hoped to create with his sensational exposé, he quickly found himself embroiled in a conflict of personalities. The controversy stemmed chiefly from the immediate opposition of Governor Cameron Morrison, who with some justification considered Bailey's statements a direct attack upon his administration. In the following bitter exchange of accusations and recriminations, Bailey was hard put to explain his support of Morrison in the 1920 primary and his dramatic break with Morrison's administration in 1922.[25] Despite the blunting of the initial impact of his program of legislative reforms, he determined to impress the need for reform deeply upon the people of North Carolina. To facilitate this end, he published his program in a pamphlet entitled *Four Services of Progress* and distributed it throughout the State. In the Preface, dated December 5, 1922, he noted that his program had created widespread interest, but that much of the discussion had not revolved around the soundness of the views expressed. He further observed:

I have seen but little discussion as to whether the policies proposed would serve or disserve our Commonwealth. But much has been said upon the subject of how the expression of my views at this time might affect the contest for the Governorship in 1924! As if that were the question![26]

"The turning point in my political career was the discovery of what

[23] *The News and Observer,* November 22, 1922. Earlier Bailey had declared: "I have said that the next General Assembly ought to pull every political tooth out of his head. He is Tax Commissioner. The head of our taxation system has no business in politics." *The News and Observer,* July 10, 1922.

[24] *The News and Observer,* July 10, 1922.

[25] Bailey later remarked: "With regard to the machine, I did not consider the Simmons following in this state as a political machine; but when Governor Morrison came in, he converted his Administration into a machine." Josiah W. Bailey to N. Y. Gulley, March 30, 1924, Bailey Papers.

[26] Josiah W. Bailey, *Four Services of Progress* (Raleigh: Privately printed, 1922), 1-8.

was going on in the 1922 primary," wrote Bailey on March 18, 1924.[27] His reasons for severing his association with the controlling elements of the Democratic Party in North Carolina were probably not so simple or so idealistic as his public statements and letters indicated. Having been active in State politics for more than 15 years, he doubtlessly knew of the compromises involved in selecting candidates and in maintaining power on both State and local levels. Although his name may have been connected in the public mind with the so-called Democratic machine, this association was probably more the consequence of his support of the leaders of the Democratic organization than the result of any control which he exerted upon that machine. Bailey himself protested: "I think the machine capitalized my support. I call your attention to the fact that from the day of my entrance into politics until now, I was fighting the political machine in Raleigh and Wake County." [28] Yet alongside the Bailey who was repulsed by the excessive lengths to which he thought machine politics had been carried in the State, there was the Bailey whose political career, although moderately successful, had never included a major elective office.

Throughout 1922 Bailey tested the measure of public support his candidacy for governor in 1924 might call forth. As an experienced politician he appreciated that his chances of attaining the Democratic nomination depended upon either the influential backing of the party leaders or a mighty ground swell of popular support. In relation to these hard political facts, his tactics in the 1922 primary and in his subsequent demand for legislative reforms had a greater significance than superficial appearances might warrant. Wade Harris, Editor of *The Charlotte Observer* and by no means a Bailey sympathizer, made the following analysis: "Mr. Bailey wants to be Governor and finding that about all the elements of the party were minded for another man—these elements constituting 'the machine' he is endeavoring to discredit the leaders of it and to make capital for himself among the people." [29]

The problem of channeling public sentiment to the support of Bailey's candidacy was manifold. In the first place, since his political activities had been limited largely to city and county levels, and since his participation in State campaigns had always been as a supporter rather than as a candidate, he had to bring about recognition of himself as a candidate, and, if possible, as a strong contender for the governorship. In the second place, since there was no indication that

[27] Josiah W. Bailey to W. O. Saunders, March 18, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[28] Josiah W. Bailey to Stacy Brewer, February 8, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[29] *The Charlotte Observer*, November 26, 1922.

he would receive the backing of the party leaders with whom he had formerly allied, his identification with the so-called Democratic machine could be only a liability in any attempt to arouse popular support. Finally, since his chances of success rested upon an informed and sympathetic public, his candidacy needed a firm basis upon certain issues which would exploit public dissatisfaction with the existing order and stimulate the pulse of reform throughout the State. In publishing his *Four Services of Progress*, Bailey reconciled, perhaps unconsciously, his candidacy to these difficulties. By this one step, he not only signaled his political availability, while bringing about Statewide notice, but also showed his independence from the political machine, challenged the practices of Morrison's administration, and pointed the way to progressive reform.

Throughout the winter of 1923 Josiah W. Bailey maintained an attitude of inquiry in respect to his prospective candidacy and the popular support he might expect. To the urging of his supporters that he organize for the coming campaign, he remained quietly but firmly aloof. His impression of political conditions was: "While there is an extensive and increasing interest, the people as a whole are not disposed to become intensely interested in a campaign that cannot really begin until 1924."[30] The public may have been indifferent, but such was not the case for the supporters of Angus Wilton McLean.[31] *The Charlotte Observer* in a thinly disguised "news article" on July 2, 1923, editorialized:

> If reports that come into Raleigh from every district from the first to the tenth portray the actual political situation, and it is believed they do, McLean has the forces of influence active for him in four-fifths of the counties of the state . . . see the recognized party leaders who have cast their lot with the McLean forces . . . Governor Morrison, O. Max Gardner, Robert N. Page, Senator F. M. Simmons, Senator Lee S. Overman, the entire North Carolina delegation to Congress. . . .[32]

This loose coalition of party leaders lending their influence and support to Angus W. McLean was only slightly exaggerated. Bailey had long since recognized that his candidacy would not be endorsed by the

[30] *The News and Observer*, July 8, 1923.

[31] The political career of Angus Wilton McLean was marked by an impressive record of service to the Democratic Party and the nation. From 1916 to 1924 he served as the North Carolina member of the National Executive Committee to the Democratic Party. During the First World War, he rendered conspicuous service as a director of the War Finance Corporation and as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. William H. Richardson, "Angus Wilton McLean," David Leroy Corbitt (ed.) *Public Papers and Letters of Angus Wilton McLean, Governor of North Carolina, 1925-1929* (Raleigh: Council of State, 1931), vii-xvi.

[32] *The Charlotte Observer*, July 2, 1923.

leaders of his party, but he had hoped that his personal friendship with Senator Simmons would at least prevent this accepted "boss" of the Democratic party organization in North Carolina from taking sides.

Bailey's hopes that Simmons would remain nonpartisan went unrealized, for on April 25, 1923, Simmons announced in conversation with Bailey: "Now Mr. Bailey, you have been very candid with me; and I must tell you that I am going to support Mr. McLean for Governor." [33] On July 4, 1923, Simmons publicly stated that he would champion the candidacy of McLean.[34] In reaction to Simmons' endorsement of his opponent, Bailey issued a formal declaration through the Associated Press in which his disappointment was evident:

> Let the statement by Senator Simmons . . . go for whatever it may be worth. It is not for me to appraise the force of it one way or the other. My position is unchanged. I would not be fit to run for Governor, if my running depended upon the support of any man or set of men. . . . With all due respect, therefore, to any and all the powers, so far as I am concerned, the people must determine my course. "The Machine" did not put me up; it can not pull me down.[35]

If Bailey's statement showed his disappointment, it also affirmed his determination to carry his candidacy to the people of North Carolina. In a very real sense Simmons' support of McLean broke the last tie holding Bailey to the controlling elements of the party organization. Although Bailey precipitated the estrangement by his independent attitude and his denunciation of election irregularities, Simmons made the final break. Looking back 20 years later, Bailey recalled:

> But in 1923 before I had announced he sent for me and told me he must frankly tell me he would fight if I ran. This made a break between Simmons and myself. I told him I would fight back. Had he gone along with me in the matter of the election law I would have been his faithful supporter as long as he lived.[36]

At this time, however, he remarked simply: "He has tried to keep me from running; and, unfortunately for him, he tried in the wrong way—he really challenged me to run—and as I see it, made it almost necessary that I should run." [37] Almost at once he abandoned his former attitude of cautious inquiry toward the prospects of his candidacy and his posture of quiet aloofness in regard to campaign organization. His

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[33] Josiah W. Bailey to Furnifold M. Simmons, March 30, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[34] *The News and Observer*, July 5, 1923.
[35] *The News and Observer*, July 8, 1923.
[36] Josiah W. Bailey to Walter Montgomery, June 12, 1943, Bailey Papers.
[37] Josiah W. Bailey to Archibald Johnson, October 2, 1923, Bailey Papers.

private letters and public speeches expressed a purposefulness of intent unknown before Simmons' announcement.

On July 16, 1923, Bailey wrote of his campaign plans: "It will be no trouble to me to make a speech every night and, if necessary, I think I can make one every morning and every night. . . . My plan will be to travel and speak constantly for six months."[38] He apparently considered his campaign experience and his oratorical ability among his chief advantages in arousing support, but he was too astute to depend upon speeches alone. Above all he understood that his chances rested upon psychological factors:

> No man can look abroad over the country at present, without being convinced that the people are tired of machines and bosses. A candidate must always depend upon psychological effect, rather than anything he may say or do. He must get the benefit of the mass movement, or lose out.[39]

At the same time he realized the necessity of cultivating a friendly press if his candidacy was to reach the greatest number of voters throughout the State. Although he expected many of the city newspapers to be nonpartisan, if not sympathetic, he believed his major source of strength was in the small county newspapers which could influence the farm vote.[40]

Friends and supporters continually urged Bailey to initiate county campaign organizations, but he proposed to hold out until the most auspicious moment. He perceived that his campaign would need the appearance, if not the reality, of ever-growing momentum as the June primary of 1924 approached. By the first of August, 1923, he had received sufficient assurances of support to organize in at least 50 counties, but he was not prepared to risk the danger of organizing precipitately. Intent on preventing his candidacy from bogging-down before the climax of the race, his plan of action called first upon an unrelenting speaking campaign and second on a thorough-going distribution of printed material. These two courses would, he hoped, establish the issues involved in the election and arouse the people from their lethargy.[41]

Writing to Judge Walter Clark, Bailey confided, "If I may judge from what I hear, there is a tremendous revolt on against the machine,

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[38] Josiah W. Bailey to Archibald Johnson, July 16, 1923, Bailey Papers.
[39] Josiah W. Bailey to Archibald Johnson, July 16, 1923, Bailey Papers.
[40] Josiah W. Bailey to E. F. Watson, July 25, 1923, Bailey Papers.
[41] Josiah W. Bailey to Walter Clark, August 2, 1923, A. L. Brooks and Hugh T. Lefler (eds.), *The Papers of Walter Clark* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2 volumes, 1948-1950), II, 469-470, hereinafter cited as Brooks and Lefler, *The Papers of Walter Clark.*

and its administration. Heaven knows, we have enough to arouse the last drop of red blood in the State."[42] There was certainly sufficient encouragement at this point to prompt him to remark, "I believe they will demand, on the part of the people, a new deal inside the Democratic Party and I suspect that the machine captains will realize this, if they do not already realize it."[43] His optimism was not completely unfounded, but his hopes had become dangerously high. By the first of October, he even toyed with the idea that Senator Simmons could be persuaded to abandon McLean and to join the Bailey camp. He suggested to his friend, Archibald Johnson:

> I believe a letter from you to Senator Simmons will have great effect; he comes up for election next time; the Party will be on the defensive. . . . I have reason to believe that Simmons is very much concerned about the present situation and that he is fearful of the consequences. . . . You may be surprised that I entertain the thought that Simmons may yet pull McLean down, but I do think (from what I have heard) that he is very much concerned.[44]

All was not well in the Bailey encampment despite the glowing reports of his supporters and the wishful thinking of Bailey himself. His optimism sprang from the overzealous views of his supporters, whose letters tended to indicate a swing of popular feeling to Bailey. Even this correspondence was not completely favorable, for a few of his friends advised him against seeking the nomination. Locke Craig, Governor of North Carolina from 1913 to 1917 and a political friend of both Bailey and Simmons, wrote on November 24, 1923:

> I would regret exceedingly for you to run for Governor. I feel sure that you cannot be nominated. You may carry this county, but if my subjective symptoms are any indication of the sentiment of North Carolina, they will not nominate you this time. A great many people severely criticise our present governor and his policies, but there are influences that you can not overcome now.[45]

Former Governor Craig did not explain the "influences" that Bailey could not overcome, but his advice against running was explicit. These warnings from a veteran politician for whom Bailey held high regard may well have had a sobering effect.

If Craig's counsel did not persuade Bailey to forsake his campaign, it at least evoked a response that revealed much of his character. His

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[42] Brooks and Lefler, *The Papers of Walter Clark*, II, 469-470.
[43] Brooks and Lefler, *The Papers of Walter Clark*, II, 469-470.
[44] Josiah W. Bailey to Archibald Johnson, October 2, 1923, Bailey Papers.
[45] Locke Craig to Josiah W. Bailey, November 24, 1923, Bailey Papers.

reply to Craig disclosed a depth of feeling and a measure of idealism that his speeches, despite their eloquence, had seldom expressed. "I got into politics by accident," Bailey wrote, "and my first venture in general politics was founded in my regard for you. I was very much of an amateur in 1908." [46] Nevertheless, because so much in politics disgusted him, Bailey alleged that he had always verged on renouncing his political activities. The only real satisfaction he could claim was "in my successful wars against a crowd of rascals in Wake County and Raleigh," and in his hopes that "whipping the same sort of rascals in the State" might prove equally gratifying.[47] As for the gubernatorial race, he contended, "Suppose I refuse to undertake it; who will take my place? Suppose no one undertakes to do it; what will become of the Democratic Party and the State? This is the matter that is giving me concern." [48] He perceived that his campaign would be arduous, and he admitted a great desire to quit politics altogether and to enjoy his home and legal practice. "On the other hand," he maintained, "I have a natural propensity for battle—a propensity that puzzles me, it seems so strange to my real nature. Nevertheless, it seizes me, and thrusts me into one political struggle after another." [49]

On January 17, 1924, Josiah W. Bailey formally announced his candidacy for the nomination of the Democratic Party for Governor of North Carolina in the primary on June 7, 1924. In a three-page declaration he outlined his reasons for seeking office and presented the policies and principles he intended his candidacy to represent. "I am now a candidate," he attested, "because I believe there is a service to be rendered, a cause to represent. . . . I have not been thrust forward as the candidate of any group or faction." [50] He advanced 11 principles as the essence of his candidacy:

1. To relieve land from the unjust burden of taxation;
2. To foster all that makes for progress with emphasis upon moral and spiritual factors;
3. To get a dollar's worth of public service for every dollar of taxes paid;
4. To end a policy of special favors and privileges in the State's administration;
5. To call the people to a renewed devotion to law and order;
6. To encourage farm ownership and make farm life attractive;
7. To establish election and primary laws that will end the power of money in politics;

[46] Josiah W. Bailey to Locke Craig, November 28, 1923, Bailey Papers.
[47] Josiah W. Bailey to Locke Craig, November 28, 1923, Bailey Papers.
[48] Josiah W. Bailey to Locke Craig, November 28, 1923, Bailey Papers.
[49] Josiah W. Bailey to Locke Craig, November 28, 1923, Bailey Papers.
[50] *The News and Observer*, January 17, 1924.

8. To set the trend of progress strongly in the direction of local self-government;
9. To renew the Democratic Party's spirit by direct contact with its constituents and by full and free discussion;
10. To break down within the Democratic Party a political machine that seeks power only to serve itself;
11. To evoke the unrelenting assertion of the public will as the way to economy, just freight rates, justice in taxation and agricultural relief.[51]

With his campaign promisingly begun, Bailey gave every sign of embarking upon a fast-moving and hard-hitting contest. His recognized opponent for the nomination, Angus W. McLean, had made no public statement of the date upon which he would formally announce. McLean continued to follow a policy of noncommitment regarding the gubernatorial race, while permitting his followers to push his candidacy.[52] Between January 17 and March 10, 1924, however, Bailey presented fewer than three speeches per week of which only six were avowedly political addresses.[53] If the press of North Carolina accurately reflected the political situation, he was chiefly engaged in a letter-writing rather than a speaking campaign. He had hardly announced his candidacy before he was embroiled in several editorial controversies with various newspapers, which were as prolonged as they were indecisive.[54]

Opening his speaking campaign at Raleigh on March 10, 1924, with an aggressive program of governmental action, Bailey discussed for more than an hour and a half "The Way of Progress in North Carolina." Commenting on the direct relations of politics to human welfare, he explained that there were "500,000 homes in North Carolina of which 450,000 were cottages wherein resided families on incomes less than $2,000 per year and that at least 350,000 of these families were living on less than $900 per year." [55] He averred that the State faced three great tasks in the next ten years, which could be classified in terms of securing just freight rates, equal taxation, and a political

[51] *The News and Observer*, January 17, 1924.
[52] *The News and Observer*, January 1, 1924.
[53] See, for example, *The News and Observer*, the *Durham Morning Herald*, and *The Charlotte Observer*, January 17, 1924, to March 10, 1924.
[54] See, for example, *The Charlotte Observer*, January 19, 1924, to February 20, 1924. A total of 13 letters and editorials were exchanged between Bailey and Wade H. Harris, the Editor of *The Charlotte Observer*, and its Raleigh correspondent, Brock Barkley. The controversy was on a personal level and was consequently very bitter. Bailey's participation did little to enhance his image before the voters, but he did force Harris and Barkley to reveal the offices they held under the Morrison administration and the salaries they received. Harris as President of the North Carolina Railroad Company received $95 a month, while Barkley as Secretary to the North Carolina Water Transportation Commission received $150 a month. *The Charlotte Observer*, January 23, 1924.
[55] *The News and Observer*, March 11, 1924.

awakening and restoration of representative government. Emphasizing that relief for the farmer and small homeowner composed the immediate task, Bailey said: "The official records show that the average farmer pays 13 per cent of his income in taxes. The average for the rest of us is only 11 per cent. . . . Our tax problem is primarily one of readjusting the burden." [56]

Adjustment of taxation was the most urgent problem, but in Bailey's opinion the adverse and unfair freight rates under which the people suffered presented the greatest obstacle in the way of progress. The railroads, he contended, had conspired to exploit North Carolina's failure to secure a through line from the middle west. So-called independent short lines had been set up by the large railroads and were permitted by law to charge higher freight rates because of their independence. "Our history is a history of the dismemberment of our east and west roads. . . . Let us not be content with filing petitions and begin making demands. The railroads are not more powerful than this commonwealth," Bailey insisted.[57]

The Raleigh address set out the main issues which Bailey planned to develop in his campaign. During the following months he hammered at these points with little deviation. He professed, "I may not be elected Governor; but one thing is certain; I am going to inform the people." [58] His presentation of the problems confronting North Carolina constituted an almost singlehanded endeavor, since his organization was woefully inadequate. Bailey had not yet selected a State-wide manager for his campaign, much less marshaled the aid of possible county managers. His organizational difficulties were peculiar to almost any insurgent candidate in his first State race. Although he was known throughout North Carolina and had made valuable political contacts in his campaigns on behalf of Senator Simmons, he had not worked formerly to create ties of personal loyalty to himself. This lack of personal political "friends" worked to his disadvantage now, since most of the regular party organizers hesitated to work for him after Simmons had strongly endorsed McLean.[59]

As an insurgent candidate, Bailey could not personally command the regular party machinery for distributing publicity, advising on local issues, arranging rallies, and marshaling campaign workers. As a consequence, he counted heavily on the ideas he had broadcast

[56] *Greensboro Daily News*, March 11, 1924.
[57] *Greensboro Daily News*, March 11, 1924.
[58] Josiah W. Bailey to Walter Clark, March 22, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[59] Personal interview with A. J. Fletcher, August 20, 1959. Fletcher assisted Bailey in the early campaign management and later spoke on Bailey's behalf in many of the counties.

through speeches, letters, and newspapers, to arouse a significant following. He believed:

> Very few votes are made by personal solicitation or political maneuvers. Some votes are made by spending money, and a few by telling lies, but the great body of our people vote in response to instinctive impulses—and these impulses are always derived from ideas spread abroad. It is a difficult thing to comprehend; but this is the theory of all my politics. I think in the next 30 or 40 days, you will see a great manifestation of public sentiment; and it will be accounted for in this theory.[60]

Although Bailey's theories may have been sound, his lack of an organization seriously hampered his efforts to arouse the voters, establish the issues of his campaign, and reveal the tactics used against him. Just two months before the primary, Judge Walter Clark advised, "Of course it has not escaped you that the campaign of the Opposition was to postpone and prevent any discussion as long as possible and after that to 'chill' any debate so that the news that there is opposition, and the ground of it, shall not reach the masses and from information I get, they are succeeding in this far more than you are doubtless aware."[61]

Bailey's position regarding campaign expenses was noteworthy, for he not only intended to abide by the North Carolina law limiting political expenditures to $6,500, but also provided that amount from his own pocket. When a supporter sent him a check, Bailey returned it with the following note:

> I very greatly appreciate your letter and also your kindness in sending the check. I made up my mind, however, when I announced my candidacy, that I would accept no contributions whatever. I think you see why; I provided the sum alloted by law ($6,500), and also made provision for the support of my family these 5 months.[62]

His reluctance to accept contributions coincided with his whole attitude concerning campaign expenses. In conscientiously keeping the law, he was often hard pressed to explain his course to supporters who pointed out that a little money discreetly placed in the counties might sway the primary.[63] Not only did he refuse such suggestions, but he also turned his back on requests that he pay potential campaign workers.[64] His soft replies may have turned his supporters' wrath, but

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[60] Josiah W. Bailey to J. M. Parrott, March 22, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[61] Walter Clark to Josiah W. Bailey, April 5, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[62] Josiah W. Bailey to D. L. Gore, February 15, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[63] Joseph W. Bailey to D. C. Weeks, February 29, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[64] Josiah W. Bailey to J. J. Thomas, April 2, 1924, Bailey Papers.

Bailey himself deeply resented the promptings. Writing to a close personal friend, he protested:

> I think that one of the most deplorable facts that I know of is that our candidates are disposed to spend more than the law allows . . . and that in the many counties there are so-called "workers" who expect from $25 to $500 for their influence. . . . I would rather be beat, than pay one cent for influence in a political fight. . . . My news continues to be good, and the only discouraging feature is the constant demand for money from grafters; I am turning all of them down—flatly.[65]

On April 17, 1924, Bailey announced that C. L. Shuping, a Greensboro attorney and the Guilford County manager for R. N. Page in the 1920 gubernatorial primary, had been chosen to manage his State-wide campaign.[66] Shuping immediately assumed charge of the Bailey headquarters in Raleigh and began the delicate task of recruiting county leaders. During the next month he worked with considerable success to perfect the county organizations. Some difficulty still existed, of course, in recruiting able and determined workers, but in many communities the Bailey organizations developed with surprising success. In Greensboro 41 supporters met on the night of April 23, 1924, at the Guilford County Courthouse to form a "Bailey for Governor Club." They brought with them a roster containing the names of 381 persons pledging their support, and formulated detailed plans for boosting Bailey's candidacy.[67] Although Shuping searched unsuccessfully in some counties for managers, nevertheless, by mid-May he had set up some form of organization in almost every county.

Leaving the problems of organization in the capable hands of Shuping, Bailey struck out on a speaking tour of North Carolina which he confidently announced would continue until the primary on June 7, 1924.[68] Carrying his appeal directly to the voters, he drew large crowds at his speeches in Wake, Nash, Durham, Johnson, Cleveland, Northampton, Edgecombe, and Franklin counties in the first two weeks. The subject of his speeches remained always the same—taxation, freight rates, and machine politics, but his single-mindedness caught the attention of the voters. The *Greensboro Daily News* reported:

> In the Greensboro News six weeks ago it was recorded that the Bailey tax speeches were getting next to the voters, so much so that easterners

[65] Josiah W. Bailey to Tom P. Jimison, March 22, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[66] *The News and Observer*, April 18, 1924.
[67] *Greensboro Daily News*, April 24, 1924.
[68] *The News and Observer*, April 17, 1924.

declared a party statement would be necessary. Since then the state convention has met. Its platform was admirably adapted to Bailey's speeches but not purposely so. It was broad as a Cincinnati block. . . . It promises millennial peace to every discontented tax-payer and Bailey is discontenting a pile of them.[69]

On May 1, 1924, when the State Bar Association met at Pinehurst, the lawyers favoring McLean seriously admitted that "Mr. Bailey must be watched because he is making a strong appeal to the rural people." [70]

Moving into the western section of North Carolina in the first week of May, Bailey told a cheering throng at Thomasville that the State faced four important questions. On the question of taxes, he held that the State must give back to the counties more of the burdens of government. Until that had been done, he argued, land taxes would continue to increase. The problem of machine control of the Democratic Party and the State could be corrected, he advised, only by adoption of the Australian ballot and court review of election results, which together would provide secrecy in voting and make the purchase of votes difficult. Bailey promised not only to resist the freight rate discrimination against the State, but also to fight the proposed increase of rates, pointing out that the Atlantic Coast Line and the Southern Railway paid large dividends to stockholders on watered common stock. He further pledged to institute a program of economy in the expenditure of public money, and noted that the Morrison administration was notoriously and boastfully supporting his opponent. "It looks to me," he observed, "at any rate that they think I mean business when I said I would get a dollar's worth of service for a dollar's taxes." [71]

Bailey's speeches were clearly designed to inculcate in the minds of the voters a suspicion that certain vested interests used the State government to their own profit. He had also presented the implication that these interests greatly feared the election of a reform governor. On May 12, 1924, N. Y. Gulley, an ardent Bailey supporter, carried these implications to their logical conclusion in a political advertisement entitled: "What the Atlantic Coast Line has at Stake in the Gubernatorial Race." [72] Gulley revealed that McLean had been President of the Virginia-Carolina Railroad Company, running to Lumberton, and connecting the Atlantic Coast Line near Hope Mills, until January 2, 1924, when he had resigned to run for the governorship. According

[69] *Greensboro Daily News*, April 28, 1924.
[70] *Greensboro Daily News*, April 28, 1924.
[71] Speech of Josiah W. Bailey at Thomasville on May 2, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[72] *The News and Observer*, May 12, 1924.

to Gulley, the Virginia-Carolina Railroad claimed the right to charge higher rates because of its independence.

> Yet all this time, every dollar of the stock (while it stood on the books of the company, in the name of Mr. A. W. McLean), was really owned by the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad company, and was held by that company endorsed in blank by Mr. McLean.[73]

This accusation certainly implied that McLean himself had collaborated with the large railroads in the exploitation of North Carolina, and supported similar charges made by Bailey himself. Gulley observed further that there was considerable evidence to indicate that the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company was financing McLean's campaign in order to maintain a hold on the next State administration. In concluding, he impugned, "Mr. McLean is an honorable man. . . . But the men or interests that want Mr. McLean to be governor, are under no $6,500 limit, and they are spending lavishly on his behalf." [74]

By mid-May Bailey had scored heavily against McLean, and his campaign had aroused support throughout the State. According to the *Greensboro Daily News,* McLean's candidacy had been hurt by "the popular resentment toward the Simmons partisanship in this fight, and the growing suspicion about election laws." [75] Nevertheless, Bailey still faced formidable opposition from several fronts. In the first place the old Simmons machine, although enfeebled by the loss of Bailey's services, possessed sufficient strength to be a major factor. Secondly, the newly-formed organization of "O. Max Gardner, John Dawson, D. F. Giles, Lindsay Warren and the other young Turks" had allied temporarily with the Simmons' forces against Bailey.[76] Finally, there was the personal opposition to Bailey which, although a growing party, "isn't likely to become attached to either of the old factions." [77] Although this analysis of the factions resisting Bailey may have been slightly exaggerated, it did indicate the extensive opposition confronting him.

In the final swing of his campaign before audiences in Lenoir, Greene, and Wayne counties on June 5, 1924, Bailey confessed, "The fight is yours, I have finished my part and I leave the rest to you. . . . But if I am not nominated I shall go right on, joining in the common battle against the Republicans in November, but not quitting my fight

[73] *The News and Observer,* May 12, 1924.
[74] *The News and Observer,* May 12, 1924.
[75] *Greensboro Daily News,* May 12, 1924.
[76] *Greensboro Daily News,* May 12, 1924.
[77] *Greensboro Daily News,* May 12, 1924.

to reform the Democratic party."[78] The correspondent assigned to Bailey's campaign by *The News and Observer* aptly summarized the situation:

> His speeches today reflected the strange admixture of confidence and indifference which has made the Bailey campaign a marvel to everyone in the State except the candidate. All the way through . . . he has had his own idea about the way things were going and has not appeared surprised at developments. When the Bailey showing at the State convention was so small as to be pitiful, the candidate did not seem perturbed. . . . About two weeks ago when his dormant strength suddenly crystalized, Bailey took it just as calmly. Now on the eve of the primary, when his opponents and his friends alike seem confident of the result, he takes the situation in the same spirit.[79]

This insight hit upon the strangest aspect of Bailey's candidacy and campaign, for outside his public statements and occasional flashes of personal optimism, he had never believed that he would win the nomination. Both his attitude and method of campaigning indicated that he aimed first to inform the people and only second to win the nomination. Beginning with the full understanding that he would be a personal candidate, he had appealed directly to the people, and there he rested his cause. Instead of hiring workers, he had asked for and received hundreds of volunteers. The response to his candidacy had greatly encouraged him, but he faced tremendous opposition.

As the polls opened on Saturday, June 7, 1924, the people of North Carolina streamed 235,000 strong to make known their choice for governor. Slowly mounting returns from the 100 counties, representing 1,719 precincts, moved McLean's majority steadily toward the 50,000 mark. The final majority of A. W. McLean over J. W. Bailey was officially declared by the Election Board to be 67,624, with McLean carrying 83 of the 100 counties by majorities ranging from ten votes to 4,000. The total vote was 151,197 for McLean to 83,574 for Bailey.[80]

In the face of defeat, Bailey issued a formal statement on Monday, June 9, 1924, pledging his continued support to the Democratic Party. In this serious expression of the aims of his candidacy, he affirmed:

> Five months ago I set out upon an undertaking—being nothing less than to interpret the spirit of Progressive Democracy in our Commonwealth. . . . I stated as the principle of this undertaking that politics ought not to be regarded as the means of power or honors or office or privilege, but

[78] *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1924.
[79] *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1924.
[80] *The News and Observer*, June 19, 1924.



Governor Angus Wilton McLean in his office, probably taken in 1928. From Albert Barden Collection in the State Department of Archives and History.

as the means of maintaining human rights and welfare and progress. . . . I undertook to apply these principles throughout the campaign in terms of a sound and just taxation system; just freight rates, election and primary laws providing every facility for the expression of the will of the voters and preventing the power of money in politics; and economic administration of public affairs.[81]

Bailey also noted that the number of persons supporting his cause afforded substantial encouragement and that no good cause was ever defeated. In concluding his statement, Bailey urged, "Let us press on with patience born of courage and confidence founded upon faith in the right. We are at the beginning, not the end of our struggle."[82]

Throughout Bailey's campaign there had been a subtle sense of perspective extending far beyond the June primary. His comments on his defeat reinforced the supposition that his campaign had been more than a battle to win the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Two days before the primary, John E. White, an old schoolmate and a close personal friend of Bailey, remarked to a newspaper correspondent:

[81] *The News and Observer*, June 10, 1924.
[82] *The News and Observer*, June 10, 1924.

"He has told me all along in letters and personally that he cannot carry the State . . . but Bailey has the long view. He has something else in his mind. He isn't done. He has just begun." [83] Although White let slip only a few hints to the correspondent, he declared himself fully to Bailey on June 10, 1924:

Well, what I think you anticipated in your race for Governor came to pass. . . . My own judgment of the situation is this: You have vastly increased your political and moral prestige in North Carolina. You had to overcome —and you did it—two tides—the tides of inertia about change . . . and the tide of personal criticism. When you come as you probably will before the public again these tides will be through running. Max Gardner will fall into your footsteps, and when he runs for Governor it will be in the animus of his unforgotten defeat by Morrison and his resentment of the machine. If Simmons lives four years more and the field is open for a new deal in the U.S. Senatorship, no man in the field could defeat you.[84]

The validity of White's insight was indicated by Bailey's reply:

Your estimate of the campaign is pleasing. Gardner and I are not likely to become political brothers. I think he wants to be Governor at any cost. He will probably offer an alliance with me. . . . Our cause has been pretty well advanced; and I have no question about our opportunity arriving in due season.[85]

If there could have been any doubt that Bailey looked to future triumphs, the tone of his letters following the primary dispelled the illusion. Bailey wrote, "I think we made a very fine start. . . . The present situation will break down rapidly—there will be developments which none of us now anticipate." [86] On his campaign, he reaffirmed, "What we needed was a stronger organization; this we will obtain in due season. . . . We did probably as well as we could have hoped in the first campaign." [87] In his most definitive statement, however, he assured:

Events will develop quite rapidly. I do not hesitate to say to you that I am going to hold the trust committed to me. . . . I believe there are at least

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[83] *Greensboro Daily News*, June 9, 1924.
[84] John E. White to Josiah W. Bailey, June 10, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[85] Josiah W. Bailey to John E. White, July 9, 1924, Bailey Papers. "I supported Gardner in 1928 on a specific promise to stand for an Australian Ballot law. He gave me the promise in writing and he performed it." Josiah W. Bailey to Walter Montgomery, June 12, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[86] Josiah W. Bailey to R. G. Grady, and to E. F. Upchurch, June 30, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[87] Josiah W. Bailey to S. A. Adams, July 9, 1924, Bailey Papers.

83,600 people who will stand with me; and I think there will be many more. . . . This is quite an army. It will not go to pieces.[88]

Although he did not specifically reveal his future plans, he had apparently evaluated the political situation with some goal in mind Bailey concluded:

I am satisfied that the present line-up cannot be maintained. The Simmons and Gardner coalition will not last. Whenever it breaks, I will be in a position to move—and I shall move.[89]

Bailey's campaign, although generally constructive, was gauged to draw support from regions of North Carolina most rife with discontent. The conflict between the rural-agrarian east and the urban-industrial west over taxation admirably suited his purposes. His repeated calls for a readjustment of taxation probably appealed to the rampant sectional feelings of the west, while his pleas for agricultural redemption and just freight rates found favor chiefly in the east. The coupling of the two issues, however, had a canceling effect in centers of urban industry, for Bailey used both taxation and freight rate issues in his appeal to the farm vote and offered little, if any, concession to industrial and big business interests.

The nature of Bailey's campaign may have influenced the outcome of the Democratic Primary of 1924, for he received the most intense support from eastern counties and suffered his worst defeats in the west. On the other hand, the patch of northeastern counties in which he won his easiest victories were traditionally antiorganization. The Simmons' machine was avowedly aligned with big business and industrial interests in the west, although Simmons himself had strong personal strength in the southeast around his home. Angus W. McLean, a native of Robeson County in southern North Carolina, drew large majorities as expected from neighboring counties. In the northwest and in the southwest Bailey met two centers of resistance: the one in Iredell County, which was the preserve of Bailey's arch-enemy, A. D. Watts, and the other in Cleveland County, from which O. Max Gardner had extended his influence throughout the State. In view of the loose coalition of high State officials and of the two factional organizations within the Democratic Party supporting McLean, Bailey undoubtedly anticipated defeat. Yet if he did not believe he could win the contest, why had he entered so boldly?

Bailey's experience in State and local politics had been considerable,

[88] Josiah W. Bailey to Santford Martin, July 5, 1924, Bailey Papers.
[89] Josiah W. Bailey to Santford Martin, July 5, 1924, Bailey Papers.

but never before had he sought a high elective office. If he was ever to rise above his position as a local bureaucrat, he needed to signal vividly his political availability, while at the same time to draw about him a nucleus of loyal supporters and dependable organizers. As an individual and as an insurgent candidate he had no established party hierarchy of State and county chairmen and precinct committeemen to carry his message to the voters. Although he did have personal friends of varying political usefulness around the State, his major task was to secure competent county managers and allied helpers. His refusal to hire campaign workers may be seen as a deliberate strategem calculated to build a personal organization dependent entirely on volunteers. Such a following attracted without inducements, money, or hope of reward might be too weak to achieve more than a nominal showing in the first State-wide race. This kind of organization would, however, be more likely to survive campaign after campaign no matter how overwhelming the victory or how crushing the defeat. Bailey, entering a contest he knew he could not win, created for himself an image of party regularity and of political and social reform, while simultaneously developing an organization based upon personal allegiance. Although many elements were to be involved in Bailey's victory over Senator Furnifold M. Simmons in 1930, the keystone of his rise to political power was the gubernatorial campaign of 1924.[90]

[90] The Simmons and Gardner coalition was a loose alignment at best and disintegrated completely in the 1928 presidential primary. In 1930 Gardner supported Bailey in his contest with Simmons for the Democratic nomination for Senator from North Carolina.

ARCHAEOLOGY: HANDMAIDEN TO HISTORY

By I. Noel Hume*

The rather glib title which I coined for this speech a year ago—long before I started to give it any serious thought was "Archaeology: Handmaiden to History." I planned merely to provide a series of examples which would show how historians and archaeologists should and can work together to the advantage of both. I still intend to do this. But during the last few months I have been becoming increasingly alarmed about the unwitting and uncaring destruction of archaeological remains not only in my own State of Virginia, but up and down the eastern seaboard. I hasten to add that I have not had the privilege of working in the State of North Carolina. It may be that you are not beset with the problems of apathy and ignorance in archaeological matters which I have met so often in the course of my travels in neighboring States, in which case you are very fortunate—and I have chosen the wrong subject for this audience.

But because I *am* stuck with this theme and because I actually feel very strongly about it, I am going to assume that your interests and problems are much the same as mine.

The role and usefulness of the historian to federal, State, and local history is well known, understood, and generally respected. But the place of the archaeologist in the historic period is not nearly so well known, is generally *not* fully understood, and he can rarely claim to be respected. There are plenty of good reasons why this state of affairs exists. In the first place, the historic site archaeologist is generally tarred (and probably feathered) with the same brush as the small but ubiquitous groups of pot-hunters and collectors of Indian relics. Let me hasten to say that I am not underestimating the importance of prehistoric archaeology or the scholars, both professional and amateur, who have devoted their lives and labors to that field, nor am I confusing them with the pot-hunters. But, just like any activity that acquires popular appeal, prehistoric archaeology has at the same time been blessed with more than its fair share of cranks and oppor-

* Mr. Noël Hume, Chief Archaeologist at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, presented this article as an after-luncheon speech at the twenty-third annual meeting of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities in Raleigh on December 5.

tunists. As a result, the popular image of the archaeologist seems to be an extraordinary cross between a cobwebbed Methuselah and a rather sharp-looking youth with a shovel who is unable to read "No Trespassing" signs.

Until recently, historic site archaeology has been largely ignored by both professionals and amateurs—and also, thankfully, by the pothunters. But this is now rapidly changing. Only a few weeks ago I visited an important Colonial site along with members of a local archaeological group who had hitherto concerned themselves only with Indian relics. After picking up considerable quantities of eighteenth-century pottery, glass, and metal items, the wife of the leader of the group came up to me and said, "Fancy our having spent all these years hunting for Indian relics, walking miles for one arrow head, when we can have such fun collecting these Colonial relics so easily." The temporary nature of many Indian habitation sites, coupled with the disturbing agencies of wind, rain, vegetation and plowing, together ensure that surface collecting can be extremely informative—largely because there is often very little else that one can do. But in historic archaeology there is *so much* that can, and must be done. Surface collecting does no more than indicate the approximate location and date range of the site. Such collecting is merely a very small means to what is generally a large, time-consuming and back-breaking end. In short, the amateur collector who frequently does valuable work in the field of Indian archaeology cannot expect to turn chameleon-like into a historic archaeologist, just by setting himself down on a Colonial site.

I have been a professional archaeologist for 16 years, during most of which time I have specialized in the period from about 1485 to 1820. My background is entirely European and, consequently, I would not dare—I would not presume—to attempt to excavate an Indian site. I do not have the right kind of knowledge to do so. Similarly, unless the Indian specialist has a deep and catholic knowledge of the history, arts, technology, manners, customs, and possessions of the people who lived on the Colonial or Federal sites on which he plans to dig—he might be advised to leave them alone. The historic site archaeologist is a new breed—he is actually a historian with a pen in one hand and a trowel in the other. Unfortunately, he is still quite a rare bird, but I am happy to be able to note that he seems to thrive extremely well in North Carolina.

The archaeologist is, of course, merely a means to an end. But what is that end? What is the purpose of archaeology in the historic period? Assuming that its excavated artifacts are still not generally sought by

collectors, the answer is simply that the only reason for archaeological interest in the historic period is to obtain, not relics, but information.

In the case of a restoration project such as Old Salem or Colonial Williamsburg, the archaeological evidence can be employed in three different ways. First, it provides architectural and topographical data which will be used in restoring or reconstructing houses, shops, gardens, dairies, smokehouses, privies, and the like. Secondly, excavation yields information as to the furnishing of the houses and, in the case of crafts or industrial sites, it often reveals both tools and products. The third, and to my mind the most interesting dividend, stems from a combination of the other two, the provision of information which helps to reconstruct and interpret the social history of the period.

All three of these archaeological contributions serve a practical and physical purpose when a house or a glass factory, or a town, or whatever it is, is being restored. If that information adds to available written historical data, it acquires a historical value of its own.

Take, for example, the National Park Service excavation of the seventeenth-century glass factory at Jamestown. None of the documentary evidence gave any description of the furnace or of its ancillary ovens, but those details *were* provided through excavation. Now the documents did tell us what one of the glassmaking ventures was *intended* to manufacture and consequently many people have assumed that those objects were actually produced. Everyone who has read anything about the beginnings of American glassmaking has heard of "Jamestown beads." But the excavations yielded not the slightest indication that beads were made there and so we must modify our interpretation of the written history, and refrain from confusing intent with achievement. Through this admittedly negative evidence, archaeology made a very real contribution to the early history of American glassmaking. It has done as much, and more, for other trades in other places—ironworking, brickmaking, potting, silversmithing, pewtering, cabinetmaking.

The history of early eighteenth-century industry in Virginia and the Carolinas is somewhat obscured by the fact that the British Board of Trade frowned on the setting up of any manufacturing enterprises which might damage the export trade of the Mother Country. Consequently, the factory operators, and even the Colonial governors went to considerable lengths to play down the importance of manufacturing projects and even to keep them out of the records altogether. Thus a man who is well known to us as having been a merchant in Yorktown, Virginia, in the 1720's is only revealed through his

will, as having been the prosperous operator of a pottery factory, the single clue being a passing reference in that will to his desire that no "green" (that is, unfired) pottery should be appraised after his death. Who but a potter would be in possession of unfired pottery? Thus, merchant William Rogers of Yorktown, Virginia, was belatedly found to have been the owner of a pottery—undoubtedly the same pottery whose waste products had been frequently discovered in archaeological work in the town. Fragments of spoiled pots and kiln furniture were found to have been used in making good the roads of Yorktown, a discovery which assumed much greater significance after Rogers was known to have been the potter—for in 1734 he had been appointed "Surveyor of the Landings, Streets, and Cosways in York Town." Clearly he had used fragments of his pottery in repairing the roads under his jurisdiction.

The story of William Rogers is just one example of the way in which written history can deliberately distort and obscure, and how archaeology can sometimes set the record straight. I have no doubt that there were a great many small industrial enterprises dotted through the woods of which there is not the slightest documentary knowledge, and—if we are ever to know anything of them at all—we must rely entirely on the sharp eye and good luck of the archaeologist. And luck does play a very large part in the life of an archaeologist.

A couple of years ago, while fishing on the James River, about three miles above Jamestown, my wife decided to go ashore and sit on the beach. As we grounded the boat she saw a fragment of eighteenth-century pottery lying at the water's edge. I then walked along the shore and picked up many more pieces, some of them waste products from a pottery kiln. The beach lay below a rapidly eroding cliff and it did not take long to find where the fragments were coming from. We climbed up on top of the cliff and discovered that although the kiln had been eroded away, the potter's waste dumps survived. The excavation of the remaining areas yielded thousands of fragments which not only identified a wide range of products, but through the wasters, provided much information about the type of kiln used and problems of manufacture. About 75 yards to the east was found another kiln site whose potter was far less skilled than the first. Close by, in a shallow drainage ditch, lay a magnificent collection of iron tools, also a sword blade, a seventeenth-century brass candlestick, locks, stirrups, bridle bits, pewter spoons, and other metal objects. A rubbish pit was already exposed in the side of the cliff as also was a brick-lined well—and both were eventually excavated.

Eighteen months ago this site was at least a mile from the nearest road, under heavy woodland and protected on two sides by swamp. It was only approachable from the water. Today it is part of a housing development, one house is already up, within 15 yards of our 1962 excavations—all of which have been graded out in the course of landscaping the cliff down to the river. Had my wife not wanted to beach our boat that summer day back in 1961, the site and all it contained would have been swept away unnoticed. And thus one of Virginia's earliest industrial efforts would have been lost without trace, for no references to it occur in the known documentary records.

In 1960 bulldozers clearing for a reforestation project near Williamsburg cut through the remains of a Colonial plantation site which was not marked on any of the existing maps and plats. Again luck was on our side; one of our landscaping people happened to be walking over the site and picked up a few scraps of pottery which he brought in to me. Working on week ends we were able to uncover what was left of the foundations of both the residence and a kitchen building. Under the chimney of the kitchen, and so predating it, we found a large rubbish pit which contained more than 100 broken wine bottles of the period 1690-1710. One of the bottles bore the seal of Richard Burbydge and was dated 1701. This was the earliest dated bottle yet found in Virginia. The records told us only that Burbydge was living in James City County in 1710, at which time his name appeared on a list of residents who inspected a ship lying in the James River. Not another word did we know of him. We do not know much more now. But we can say that he was a person of some substance, for the number of Virginia Colonists who had such elaborate seals to be engraved for marking their bottles, was very small.

But more important to the site was the discovery in the pit of five other bottles bearing seals stamped with the initials "F.J." Another similar seal was found in a different pit on another part of the site. So six "F.J.'s" to one Burbydge made it probable that "F.J." was the owner of the plantation and that Burbydge was merely a friend who gave "F.J." a bottle of his wine. The County Records had been destroyed in Richmond during the War Between the States, and so I did not expect that we would have much luck in identifying "F.J." But I was wrong. He turned out to be Frederick Jones, quite a prominent person in the Colony—or at least his father had been. Capt. Roger Jones had come over with Lord Culpeper in 1680 and had been given the job of stamping out piracy in the Chesapeake Bay. But Jones soon found that collusion was less effort and infinitely more profitable,

and as a result he amassed a large estate. The Council of Virginia, although all for private enterprise, thought that this was going a bit far, and Captain Jones was eventually run out of the Colony. When he died in London in 1701, his two sons, Frederick and Thomas Jones, inherited the Jones lands in Virginia and came over in 1702. We found a reference to Frederick Jones owning property at Tutter's or Tutties Neck, and our site was on Tutter's Neck Creek.

The Jones brothers may have had interests in North Carolina before they came over, for as early as 1702 they were joint owners of a ten-ton sloop the "Otto of Carolina." In 1703 Frederick was indulging in litigation here, and in 1707 he received a grant of more than 4,500 acres in parts of what are now Jones and Craven counties. Shortly afterwards he moved here from Virginia, and eventually rose to be Chief Justice of the Colony, succeeding Secretary Tobias Knight, who had resigned after being too closely associated with Blackbeard, the pirate. It would seem that Jones plunged into his new job with an enthusiasm that would have gladdened the heart of his late father. In 1721 Frederick was accused of appropriating court money given into his hands for safekeeping. But five days after the charge was tabled, Jones made his will, and then conveniently died before he could be called to account.

You may wonder what all this had to do with archaeology. My point is that *thanks* to archaeology we now know where Frederick Jones lived before he moved to Carolina, and we know something of his standard of living—as revealed by the size of the house and the artifacts that were found around it. If you want to bring it down to the level of simple museum exhibits, the initialed Frederick Jones bottles are of considerable historical interest both to Virginia and to North Carolina. More important, however, was the lead which those bottles gave us toward tracing the history of the property. Once they had established Jones' ownership, it was possible to trace the subsequent story of the land through the eighteenth century. Without them we would not have had the first idea of where to start. As a by-product I might add that the discovery of the Jones home site launched us on a purely historical research project into the lives of both brothers, an undertaking which we would not have started without first being prompted by the archaeology.

The results of this work will eventually be published by the Smithsonian and I hope that they will serve not only as a useful contribution to historic site archaeology, but that they will also demonstrate how archaeology and history complement each other, to show how the two disciplines combine to give the past a new dimension.

I would like, if I may, to say a word or two about this new dimension. The fruits of historic site archaeology can do much to make the work of historians more palatable to the public, particularly at the school level. The dedicated and painstaking work of the historian is hard to project in a visual form, in museum exhibits, slide-lectures, in movies or on television. You must admit, I think, that there is nothing very exciting from a filmic point of view, about a historian making a discovery in say, an old diary—unless he is prepared to leap up and throw himself out of the window in his exuberance. Similarly, a museum exhibit of old land plats is not particularly provocative unless the visitor already has a definite interest in that particular property. It is equally hard to give a slide-lecture about, say, Frederick Jones, and expect the average audience to be interested when your only illustrations are of sections of his will or pages from the Colonial Records. But the fact that we can show people the foundations of his house and drawings or model reconstructions of how it may have looked; the fact that we can show them his wine bottles, the plates, cutlery and glasses which he used at his table—these things give Frederick Jones some substance—substance which can be brought across to the public through those visual media which are so essential today—in a world which is no longer willing to obtain its knowledge or pleasure from mere reading.

Those of us who are concerned with studying, preserving, and presenting the past, must make use of every possible means at our disposal to achieve our goals. I do not believe that it is necessary for us to hide behind a mask of erudite solemnity to prove that we treat our work seriously. I contend that the happily vanishing breed of historians, archaeologists, and curators who shut themselves away from the public in psychologically constructed ivory towers and sit there watching them turn yellow—do neither themselves nor the past any service. Furthermore, I do not believe that by popularizing our work we are automatically guilty of lowering our standards. On the contrary, it can be argued that the only good reason for studying the people of the past is to introduce them to the public of today. If we make that introduction so dry and so forbidding that nobody enjoys the experience, we have surely been wasting our time.

In short, therefore, it is my contention that by accepting and using the techniques and products of archaeology the historian is not only able to broaden his own knowledge, but he can also make his studies more readily acceptable to the general public.

Frankly, I do not believe that the much denigrated "man in the

street" is nearly as disinterested as some of us suppose. One of the best archaeological excavators I have ever met is a colored laborer who works for me now. In London my team of volunteers, who gave their week ends to salvaging the archaeological remains of the city after the war, ran the gamut from a noble lord to a meat-packer, and there was nothing to choose between them. If you think I am wandering from the point, let me get right back to my thesis that the public is actually fascinated by the past—providing we spark its interest by presenting our history in an exciting manner. The same is true of legislators, philanthropists, landowners, building contractors—more or less anyone with whom we are likely to come in contact in the course of our efforts to preserve the past, be it above ground or beneath it. An appreciation of the past is not a prerogative enjoyed only by the erudite, or well endowed; it can be understood, enjoyed, revered, and protected by any level of society—providing we, the custodians of the past, blow the dust of pedantry out of our museums and out of our own heads.

In the early 1950's the British Broadcasting Corporation borrowed an American television show called "What In The World?" and renamed it "Animal, Vegetable, or Mineral." Perhaps you have seen the original. In it, museum curators, archaeologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, and such—like strange birds, were shown an object and asked to identify and discuss it. The British public suddenly found that those people were not nearly as dull and dry as they had supposed. The public also reveled in finding that the experts were fallible. That show became one of the most popular in the nation, and as a result millions of people discovered that archaeology was as exciting as a detective story. Archaeological and antiquarian societies flourished as never before, thousands of volunteers offered their services to dig during week ends and on their vacations—without getting paid for it. When builders and vested interests threatened archaeological sites, the roar of popular indignation rattled the windows of Parliament. We need something of that fervor here.

You can argue, of course, that we English let our Roman remains sit moldering in the ground for nearly 2,000 years before we started to care about them, so why not let America's Colonial relics lie there for a few centuries more until they acquire the venerable patina of antiquity. But as I have tried to show you, the mechanical monsters of twentieth-century progress are swallowing up the past at such a rate that unless we do something now, there will be nothing left in 100 years—let alone four or five. The relics of Roman Britain and those of Colonial America are vanishing at the same rate and so both deserve—demand, precisely the same treatment.

There are, I admit, a great many people—too many—who say, why bother about the past at all. They may agree that an existing old building should be saved because it is architecturally pleasing or a possible tourist attraction, but they can see no reason for digging up the foundations of lost structures which have no obvious visual or commercial appeal. The same people tell us that history is bunk. It is the present and the future that matter. If we are to maintain our place in the world's sun, we must devote all our efforts to pressing forward—not looking back over our shoulders. As a result of this drive we are rolling up the carpet behind us as we advance. The buildings that were built in the 1890's or the 1920's, regardless of their architectural merit are torn down to make way for those of the 'fifties and 'sixties, which in turn will be scrapped—regardless of merit—to make way for those of the 1990's. We are living in the age of the garbage grinder and the disposable everything. Nothing lasts long enough these days to become venerable with age, because first it becomes obsolete—and that's the dirtiest word you can utter in the twentieth century. Obsolescence cannot be tolerated, not in buildings, not in art, not in thinking, not in people. Throw them all on the scrap heap. They all have to be young to be good, and if they are young, they *are* good—which is why there's no such thing as juvenile delinquency these days, only delinquent parents, delinquent homes, delinquent schools. Those homes and schools will be torn down and replaced by fine new antiseptic boxes, and because these boxes must be stacked so high on top of one another, their foundations must go ever deeper into the ground. So all trace of what was there before will be, must be, swept away. This process is ensuring that there will be nothing left of our culture for the archaeologists of A.D. 3000 to dig up.

Not only must we care, therefore, about the Colonial centuries, we as historians and archaeologists must concern ourselves with the nineteenth century too. The techniques of archaeology can be usefully applied to any period—no matter how recent, if, by digging something up we can hope to learn more than is to be discovered from written records. I think that you in North Carolina have splendidly demonstrated this in your work at Fort Fisher. Fort Fisher, of course, is a Civil War site, but I think the excavations there have shown that this sort of research can be eminently rewarding with or without military connotations.

There comes a time, of course, in the life of every nation when it can no longer put all its pride and enthusiasm into being young. It must then switch its approach to its own people, and to the world at large,

saying it still merits its place at the head of the table because of its wisdom born of long experience. It is not too big a step from there to a reliance on the deference due to advanced age. Much is then made of tradition, pageantry, times remembered—in a word, history. This may not cut much ice among the world's new giants, the young, cocky, virile nations intent on taking our place, but it may be all that we have left. What we here, and those like us, do in the next 50 years in the field of preservation and archaeology may have a very real influence on how this nation thinks of itself in the centuries ahead.

In making a plea for an increased acceptance of archaeology I am not suggesting that digging must be automatically followed by reconstruction. To reconstruct a house, or a factory, or a fort, unless one has all the necessary information, and the unlimited means to do it completely and do it right, is—in my view—a great mistake. There can be no substitute for authenticity, and you are not going to get all you need from archaeology alone. But I do believe that archaeology, properly directed, can yield both information and pleasure for the future.

Archaeology is, itself, destructive, and we are not yet sufficiently skilled to be sure that we are extracting every last ounce of information that the soil has to offer. Therefore, we should only dig when we have to. When a site is threatened by development we must, of course, go in and do the best we can—salvage what we can—and at the same time improve our own techniques so that we can do a better job next time. But when a site is *not* threatened, and the information it contains is not immediately needed, it is a great mistake to start digging just for the fun of it.

The most important contribution that we can make right now is to locate the sites so that we know where they are and who owns them. We dare not wait until the contractor's bulldozer churns them up to discover that something should have been done first. It is therefore essential that the State and local government offices which issue building licenses should be aware of the location of archaeological sites. It's up to us to give them that information. Once they have it, it is surely reasonable to expect that it will be made available to the prospective developers and that the archaeologists will be informed of any impending destruction of historic sites so that they can get down there and do their salvage work before it is too late.

There is another aspect which may not have occurred to you, and it's one which I find particularly frightening. Statisticians have figured out that in precisely 100 years from now, there will be about 800,000,000 more people living in this country than there are today, and

the cities will have grown proportionally. The same statisticians claim that on the eastern seaboard alone there will be one vast city stretching all the way from mid-Virginia to northern Maine. It will not be too long afterwards that North Carolina hooks on to that city. The only open spaces will be those areas like the Dismal Swamp where nobody wants to build, and the few select areas protected by the National Park Service, the States themselves, and by philanthropic foundations. What has this to do with archaeology? It has a great deal.

As I have said, many of the sites are not yet threatened. They lie in open farmland, and in now safe wooded tracts. I believe that it might be financially possible, and eminently worthwhile for local civic societies to raise funds to purchase some of the most important of these archaeological sites, particularly those which are scenically attractive, so that they can be preserved both for excavation at some future date and as open spaces for all time. I am not talking in terms of 100-acre tracts, but only of an acre here, a couple there. I feel that public spirited landowners might well be prepared to sell at a reasonable price on the understanding that they would still retain the full use of the land to do anything that would not result in its mutilation.

I would envisage that after the foundations of what had been there had been archaeologically excavated, they would be back-filled and the area marked out with new brickwork or stone (rather as has been done at Jamestown) and the ground around could be landscaped into public gardens or picnic areas. Thus, the generations who follow us would be able to enjoy the occasional breathing space amid the ever-growing cities, and at the same time they would be made physically aware of their heritage.

First, of course, the sites have to be found and their relative importance accessed. And that brings us back to the problem of who's going to do it. I spoke earlier of the need for a new breed of archaeologist born, not in schools of anthropology, but in college history departments. If eastern universities will include a grounding of field archaeology as part of their American history courses, then we can produce a new generation of historians, schoolteachers and trained amateur antiquaries with enough sound knowledge to direct excavations, using local volunteers from the high schools, scout troops, even the garden clubs. But make no mistake about it, until we create the leaders, it will be highly dangerous to encourage the volunteers to dig. In the meantime we can use these people and groups to make projects of finding the sites by studying the documentary histories of their area and seeking out the locations on the ground. This, in any case, is an essential first step.

It is up to the few professional archaeologists who are now working in this field to make teaching just as much part of our work as is basic archaeological research. It is more important in the long run that we train 20 good amateur archaeologists, than it is to dig two archaeological sites instead of one. We must sacrifice a little speed now for a much greater dividend in the future.

In conclusion, let me say that I believe that North Carolina is giving us all a very real boost by its examples which have already been made at the State level. You have an enlightened and vigorous State Department of Archives and History with a highly competent staff, including an archaeologist with considerable experience in work on historic sites. I am thinking specifically of the work of the Department of Archives and History at Brunswick Town. I recall with particular pleasure your Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission's sponsorship of the conference on preservation earlier this year at Winston-Salem. That was vastly encouraging to all of us.

The bicentenary of 1776 is, as far as planning is concerned, almost upon us. I would like to think that the lead which North Carolinians traditionally gave in Mecklenburg County in May, 1775, will be forthcoming again—to show other States what *they* should be doing in the field of archaeology and preservation.

REVIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA FICTION, 1962-1963

By Arlin Turner *

The biographers of Edgar Allan Poe have been tempted to speculate as to what his achievement might have been if he had not been haunted by poverty all of his mature years. Poe himself lamented that literature received only meager support in his time and place. Nathaniel Hawthorne called his home town of Salem, Massachusetts, "a region of sleepyheads," and joined Poe and others in protesting that readers seemed to value books in proportion to the remoteness of their origin, especially valuing all foreign books above American books. William Gilmore Simms once wrote that his books were read less in his native South Carolina than in any other State, and least of all in his native Charleston. His friend, Henry Timrod, wrote with equal bitterness of the poor support a southern author could expect, bolstering his remark by stating that Nathaniel Hawthorne received in his native region, New England, the support he deserved—a statement Hawthorne was himself hardly ready to accept.

Such accusations as these are common to all times and all countries; and they are at least partly just whenever they are made. The program we are engaged in today is a partial answer to any such accusations that may or may not be made or may or may not be deserved. For our purpose here is to call the roll of our authors and to honor them; and that purpose is to benefit ourselves no less than the authors we honor. I need not assert—I need only remind you—that a nation or a State without a literature lacks a distinctive character or an identity; and, further, that if we ignore or slight our authors, we do so at our own peril. Literary authors concern themselves with implications and meanings, with rights and morals. They normally speak for our conscience, or they *are* our conscience. They are reformers, in spirit if not in fact; they inspire us to justice and humanity, to generosity and compassion.

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* Dr. Turner, Chairman of the Department of English at Duke University, read this paper in Raleigh at the morning session of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, December 6.

Joel Chandler Harris, writing in the aftermath of the Civil War, regretted that in the period before the War and also in his own time authors had not been at liberty to discuss controversial issues of the region. If a southern novelist had dealt with his region as freely as the English novelist Thackeray dealt with his own, Harris editorialized in *The Atlanta Constitution,* "he would probably," in Harris' words, "have been escorted beyond the limits and boundaries of our Southern clime astraddle of a rail." We today may wish that our authors throughout the past century had furnished us more guidance, had spoken in louder voices of conscience, on the issues which have confronted us, and we may at the same time rejoice that in most of the southern regions today an author may state his convictions freely without fear of "a ride astraddle of a rail."

A literature can have the importance I have been describing in part because of the freedom it may enjoy, the variety which authors may claim in the subjects they choose, the methods in which they handle their subjects, and the attitudes they express. It has often happened that a major literary work was produced by an author isolated or in fact alienated from his time (the poet Emily Dickinson comes to mind); it has often happened also that the greatest work of an age has broken the prevailing rules and has burst out of conventional molds (here the name of Walt Whitman suggests itself). One might generalize, plausibly, I believe, that the greatest literature has flourished when authors felt least entrammeled and were freest to follow where unencumbered talent might lead, as was true in the London of the great Elizabethans, or in the New England of Emerson, Thoreau, and Hawthorne, or, to come closer to our concern specifically with fiction this morning, in the South during the decade beginning in 1929, when Thomas Wolfe, Erskine Caldwell, and William Faulkner were publishing their best work; or, to come still closer, in the present South, where a group of remarkable women authors are producing, themselves, a major literature.

In such a time of freedom there is likely to be a free choice of types and subtypes, and a wide adaptation of conventional forms. The books submitted in the Sir Walter Raleigh competition this year might be displayed to illustrate such variety.

One of the books, entitled *Ghosts of the Carolinas,* suffers none at all because it diverges in type from the novel and the short story; it is in fact a fine work. The ghost stories are told by Nancy Roberts, and accompanying photographs have been furnished by Bruce Roberts. (An earlier collaborative book by these two, I might note, is *An*

Illustrated Guide to Ghosts and Mysterious Occurrences in the Old North State.) A variety of ghostly happenings are narrated directly, concisely, and without straining for effect; but assisted by the photographs, the sketches often produce genuine ghostly illusions. Bruce Roberts has adapted the techniques of photography to ghostly purposes. By double exposure and other means of superimposing one image on another he has suggested the essential quality of ghostly tales; and by his selection and management of shape, position, and shade in order to reveal truths otherwise obscured by the details of actuality, he has dramatized in his photographs a basic element in literary method.

Another of this year's books, *Der Wizard in Ozzenland, Mein Grossfader's Rhymers und Fable Tellen,* by Dave Morrah, has thoroughly modest intentions. It displays, as Mr. Morrah has done in several earlier books, a delightful skill at fusing the English and German languages for humorous effects, all illustrated by ink drawings of his own. Mr. Morrah has retold nursery rhymes, children's songs, and fables. Besides deriving the interest which lies normally in the imaginative use of dialect, he isolates for our notice several recognizable qualities of the German language.

Olive Tilford Dargan's new book, *Innocent Bigamy and Other Stories,* is a collection of 11 short stories. A note on the jacket reminds us that Mrs. Dargan has published poems, stories, novels, and dramas since 1904 and that the number of her published volumes has now reached 14. These stories are varied in nature and narrative method. They have in common, however, a quality of lightness, which is accompanied at times by whimsy, and now and then by genuine subtlety of thought and presentation. The characters often move in deprived communities and are themselves poverty-ridden, but exposing their degraded state is not the main purpose. They are portrayed sympathetically, and as in the story entitled "Lem Goforth Decides," soberly but not sentimentally. In the story "Gangway" the degraded lives of the characters are given understanding but humorous treatment in a manner common in William Faulkner's novels and tales, in which one character tells the story, in stops and starts and with prompting questions from other characters, leaving the reader much to figure out and much to learn only after tantalizing delays. One of the pieces, "She Walked in Beauty," is an anecdote in which the reader enjoys with a beautiful, mischievous young woman her success over the other women in her community who are jealous of her. The title story, "Innocent Bigamy," is a study in insanity which manifests itself in the belief in

an avenging ghost. Here the author displays to best advantage her skill in handling her materials, for the insanity is thoroughly convincing and the ghost half-convincing without challenging the reader's normal skepticism.

Mrs. Dargan avows no more pretentious hope than that her "simple and realistic" stories, as she calls them, will furnish entertainment and relaxation for her readers. She achieves this goal, and she exceeds it, for she endows several of her characters with a warm humanity, and she gives some of them thorough individuality.

The Boy in the Pool is the first novel from the pen of Camille R. Bittle. The setting is a New England prep school for boys, where the body of one of the pupils is discovered one morning floating in the swimming pool. Half a dozen characters, including the headmaster, among others at the school, and the drowned boy's divorced parents, are observed as each attempts to assess in himself and in others the blame for the tragedy. The writing is straightforward, and the organization is simple. The novel is slightly over 200 pages in length, hardly space enough, one might suppose, to allow the sort of psychological study the author has undertaken, but the characters become clear and believable, though uncomplex. The plain naturalness of the surroundings and the plausiblity of the routine happenings at the school carry over to the characters and give them altogether convincing reality.

The Sand Pebbles, by Richard McKenna, is likewise a first novel, but it is far different in type from *The Boy in the Pool* and much longer. The scene of the action is the interior of China during the revolution of the 1920's which ultimately brought Chiang Kai-shek to power. The primary stage for the action is the United States gunboat "San Pablo" (which becomes the "Sand Pebbles" of the title) as it moves back and forth on a tributary of the Yangtze River, through a region subject to the ministrations of American missionaries on the one hand and the whims of fortune on the other, manifested in the power which swings from one ruthless war lord to another. The canvas is large and the varieties of human character and existence portrayed upon it are widely divergent. The author captures the tone and the tempo of the life, the tensions which exist between the missionaries and the Chinese outside their sway, between the missionaries and the American naval forces, between the patrolling forces of the various foreign powers, between the gunboat crews (river rats) and the salt-water sailors, and between the factions belonging to the different war lords. It is a teeming, cruel world, complete with odors and sounds,

and producing its own tragedy, sometimes quick and startling, sometimes slow and inevitable, and its own humor, sometimes earthy and hilarious, at other times subtle and restrained. The author studies with care and perception a series of characters drawn into decisive roles in this seething world, particularly an introspective American sailor who experiences the violent forces of the crisscrossing tensions. The author maintains the integrity of the world he portrays and makes no compromise as his chief characters fall victim to the relentless march of events. He has presented with vividness and reality a historical era which was momentous in China and on the world scene as well, and at the same time he has created memorable characters who are no less real than the world they inhabit.

My comments have made it quite clear, I am sure, that the harvest of fiction in the past year seems to me a worthy one, worthy of our sincere applause on this occasion.

REPORT TO THE NORTH CAROLINA LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 6, 1963

By Henry Belk *

For my annual report to you as President of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association for 1963 I want to point with pride. So often our speeches and our press are filled with doleful comment of our low estate as a State and as a people. This downgrading and lamenting, it seems to me, can be carried to such an extent that it becomes almost a cult. And the tendency to look at our place with lament can even affect us psychologically and inhibit purpose and progress.

Unashamedly, then, I happily call your attention to a banner year in advance along the many lines of uplifting endeavor in which your Association and its members work. It has been such a significant year that a general review is in order.

First, let us consider the year for the Association. Membership reached a new high of 1,826, an increase of 36 per cent, up 487, from a year ago. But our membership is far from being what it should be in a State as populous as North Carolina.

Year-long close supervision over membership enrollment by your Secretary, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, has made the record possible.

Through efforts of the Association the Associated Press has distributed a weekly State historical column prepared by Dr. Crittenden. The column generally appears in Wednesday afternoon editions and has received approving comment from editors. It is making a distinct contribution to the popularization of State history. The column should be a clipsheet for all State history classes and the scrapbooks of history collectors.

The year saw the revival, after a lapse of several years, of a regional meeting for eastern North Carolina. It was held through co-operation of East Carolina College at the College in April and drew an attend-

* Mr. Belk's presidential address was read by his wife at the luncheon meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh, December 6. Mr. Belk is Editor of the *Goldsboro News-Argus.*

ance of about 125. Dr. Herbert Paschal arranged the program of papers on Old Beaufort and Old Brunswick. A tour to Bath for visits to the restoration projects there was a high spot of the meeting.

The response to the co-operation of East Carolina College and the people of Greenville encourages us to believe that the regional meeting for the East can be successfully continued as a spring feature of the Assocation year. The dozen or so colleges in the eastern half of the State afford ideal situations for staging such annual events.

Rocky Mount's four-year-old North Carolina Wesleyan College has graciously invited the Association to hold its 1964 Spring meeting there. Dr. Thomas Collins, President of the College, has included offers of full co-operation for the meeting. I have passed the appreciated invitation on to your efficient Secretary and I know he will bring it to the attention of the incoming Executive Committee.

With a policy established through co-operation of East Carolina College and North Carolina Wesleyan College, other colleges in the East, extending from Wilmington to Murfreesboro, may be expected to become interested.

It is important, I feel, that the eastern half of the State share in an annual experience that saw North Carolina beginnings.

Though the eastern half of the State saw the earliest history of the State, the Western North Carolina Historical Association has been more purposeful and energetic in local affairs. That Association has a long record of interesting meetings. The ones for the past year were held at Brevard College and in Hendersonville.

We have had good reports of a week-end consideration and discussion of an interesting program. I should like to see the regional meeting idea expand to include one in the central part of the State. But local interest and co-operation must determine any action for such a session. Your Raleigh office and staff cannot be expected to take the time or the trouble to promote such gatherings, as valuable as they are. They must spring from the desire and interest of the regions themselves. Otherwise there is little if any contribution to the over-all appreciation of our history and our heritage.

Probably of more lasting worth than regional meetings are the programs of the county historical associations. There is, I think, a great flowering of new interest in local history, and the county societies need a helping hand from your Association.

A word or letter or note of encouragement from the parent organization might at times be the means of improving the programs of the

county groups. The State has and should have a great body of local historians gathering, writing, and preserving their own history.

The preparation of county histories is an example in point. More and more the county history is becoming a real historical record and reports of volumes which stand up under the critical eye of the trained historians are appearing.

There should be a history of each county in book form. Some means of giving encouragement and aid to county history projects in counties unable to issue them on their own would stimulate such projects.

Many of us wish that regular contact from the Raleigh office could be maintained with the county history groups. That would require more people on the staff. There is insufficient money for such expansion.

Your Association, by the way, is insufficiently financed to do the job that should be done. I am not suggesting that we become a high pressure, eager-beaver sort of operation. But your Association does require funds sufficient to meet the obligations and responsibilities that lie in its field.

Membership fees as long constituted are too low, and not enough.

I suggested that the incoming officers give consideration to raising the membership dues in the several categories offered. This can be done, I think, with the approval of the membership in general.

The Mayflower Society and Sir Walter Raleigh Literary Awards should include a cash honorarium as well as the honor of winning the awards. A prize of $1,000 each should be set up for the winners. The Association on its present income cannot do this.

The addition of monetary awards for the top literary honors would fall in step with a policy adopted by the Art Society, which this year has offered several monetary prizes of considerable amount. The Mayflower Society for its cup might well consider such a policy.

I think that pecuniary awards would add greater incentive to the growing number of professional writers in North Carolina.

The good year for the Literary and Historical Association has been accompanied by equal progress in related fields.

North Carolina history and appreciation of our heritage have received a boost as never before from the outstanding observance of the three hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Carolina Charter. Papers on this session's program reflect something of what has been done in that direction and you need not be bored with its repetition.

We should note, however, that the Tercentenary observance has started projects which will continue to serve and stimulate.

The Colonial Records project should be recognized in this connection. Much original material and many records are being uncovered by this project and the bibliography being made; the index of records not previously available to historians, is extensive. Certainly an understanding State will see to it that this work in original records will be developed to the fullest.

Equally significant as a long-range project, you will agree, was the start of the Mobile Museum of History. Though it operated for only a part of the year ending, thousands of people streamed through the comfortable and attractive van the better to inform themselves on the first 100 years of North Carolina history as shown in numerous well-lighted, well-arranged displays.

Tercentenary-sponsored events and programs are of particular value, you will agree, in that literally thousands of our people have been interested in North Carolina history for the first time. The local commemorative events have had the attention and co-operation of 90 of our 100 counties. Each of these counties has had its own directing committee, and in many instances hundreds of people have been engaged in the observance in some form or other.

North Carolina will be the richer because of this new foundation of interest and work in a field too long slighted or neglected.

A somewhat related development has been the organization of the Coastal Historyland Association. Developing from ideas first discussed in the travel and tourism department of the State Department of Conservation and Development, the Coastal Historyland Association excited the interest and co-operation of towns from the Virginia line to Calabash. The Association, headed by Senator P. D. Midgett, has brought real co-operation and united effort from communities which too often have eyed each other jealously.

While developing tourism is the main idea behind the Association, it will become one of the greatest history teachers serving us. Opening of the Norfolk Bridge-Tunnel in a few months will turn new thousands of travelers into the highways of the coastal region. The Association will have organized programs calling attention to places and incidents which may interest the travelers.

Observance of the Civil War Centennial has proceeded with vigor during the past year. By now, most people recognize the fact that this observance was planned to extend over too long a period. But North Carolina's part has been marked by solid historical advance in commemorating the anniversary of the War of the Confederacy.

The State has an opportunity to stage one of the most significant

observances of the war in the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Bentonville, March 18-20, 1865. Restaging of battles of the War between brothers has already been overdone. We hope that Colonel Hugh Dortch, Centennial chairman, and his group will arrange for Bentonville in 1965 a national reunion of descendants, Federal and Confederate, of men who fought at that great battle. Thousands of people from many States, grandchildren and great grandchildren of men of the battle, would have a personal interest in a reunion there. Such an observance could attract more than State attention to the restoration of the battle site with a museum as a shrine by the people of Johnston County and the State Department of Archives and History.

A deepening interest in our heritage was manifest in the increased projects for restoring historic old homes or buildings. Local residents are coming forward to take the lead in saving landmarks of beauty or history. The program for Halifax, Edenton, and Hillsboro have gained impetus to carry to other communities restoration programs such as that at Bath, now well advanced. Citizens of Swansboro have made a good beginning in saving and marking old homes in that old fishing village. Such a program now should be started for Beaufort, one of the oldest and loveliest of our towns.

That historic sites, under the direction of the State Department of Archives and History, serve more visitors and their place in tourism, is a well known and recognized fact. If North Carolina continues for a few years its program in this field as in recent years our State will occupy a place of repute for such works. Virginia long has shown us the financial and cultural value of such projects.

Equally important has been the year of North Carolina in the field of authorship. Many books of great variety, some of them important in their fields, have been issued. These have been reported on in detail in the several literary awards and we need not repeat, except to point with pride to the growth and development in book publishing.

News of books, authors, music, and art got more space from the papers during the year. Observers point to the work of Harriet Doar on the *Charlotte Observer* and that of Mr. and Mrs. William D. Snider on the *Greensboro Daily News*. The 40-year old "Literary Lantern" from Chapel Hill, weekly book comment column, now serves two papers. Once it was the principal literary column on the State scene. Now the larger papers have their own book editors and book pages and each has recruited many lay people for services as reviewers.

Sam Ragan's column "Southern Accent" in *The News and Observer* provides a focus upon the world of letters with emphasis on the

North Carolina scene. The column, we think, is a great influence for encouraging the author and for recruiting followers for worthy efforts in books, poetry, and drama.

Ragan, from the vantage point of his column, has prepared facts on the significant advances in the cultural field in the past year.

Besides the activities mentioned and those stimulated by the Tercentenary celebration there have been others such as the completion of the lengthy study by the Performing Arts Committee named by Governor Terry Sanford. The recommendation of this Committee that the establishment of such a school and center was desirable and feasible, and subsequent action by the North Carolina General Assembly in appropriating $325,000 for the establishment of such a school, contingent upon matching funds from private foundations and other sources, indicates to us the great interest that North Carolinians have in the performing arts.

Continued growth of the truly phenomenal Friends of the College Series at North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh, in which residents of North Carolina can hear the world's finest performers for one dollar each, is amazing. The climax of the series thus far was the attendance of 13,500 persons at the Van Cliburn concert in Reynolds Coliseum—far more than have even seen a basketball game there—and in excess of 12,000 for the Royal Philharmonic of London, directed by Sir Malcolm Sargent.

In addition, North Carolina State has developed a Triad Series which brings to the campus individual performers in music, chamber music concerts, literary speakers such as Flannery O'Connor, Shirley Ann Grau, Bennett Cerf, and outstanding critics such as Lionel Trilling, Malcolm Cowley, Alfred Kazin, Bosley Crowther, and Arthur Mizener. Outstanding foreign films, as well as plays, are part of the series. North Carolina State is also co-operating with East Carolina College in the staging of top dramatic productions of East Carolina College in the Triangle area.

The Poetry Circuit initiated last year is under the direction of Guy Owen of North Carolina State this year. Under this program from four to six of the nation's outstanding poets are brought to college campuses for readings and talks. Participating colleges include North Carolina State, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Duke, Atlantic Christian and East Carolina colleges. First poet this year was Charles Edward Eaton.

North Carolina State also has launched a Theater Workshop, converting the old Frank Thompson gymnasium into a very modern

theater. The College Union also employs a theater director for production of plays both on campus and on Channel 4, WUNC-TV.

Guy Owen also conducts the State Writers Workshop, which also is occasionally televised on Channel 4. Owen has moved his poetry magazine, *Impetus,* from Stetson to North Carolina State, and is working on plans for an annual anthology of "Southern Poetry Today."

At Chapel Hill, the University has started a Fine Arts Degree program, which gives great promise in the arts in North Carolina. North Carolina State's liberal arts degree in a new school, combined with the stimulus of the pioneering School of Design, also offers great possibilities in the field. The University at Chapel Hill also has, in addition to its creative writers program, a writer-in-residence for the first time, in John Knowles. North Carolina State last year had Romulus Linney as a writer-in-residence.

The University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill has expanded its work—most notable recently being its Poetry Series, in which ten books of poetry are now scheduled for publication. A new literary magazine, *Reflections,* from Chapel Hill has appeared on the scene under the editorship of Robert Brown.

At the University of North Carolina at Greensboro this year an entire Repertory Theater was in residence for three weeks, with outstanding professional performers working with students and giving public performances.

East Carolina College has shown remarkable progress in the arts, with its developments of quality performances in the fields of drama and music, and the showing of paintings. The exhibit of Frances Speight at Windsor in late October is a fine example of how the College is taking art to the people. The East Carolina College literary magazine, *The Rebel,* continues to be one of the best in the region.

At Duke Dr. William Blackburn continues to inspire young writers in his creative writing classes. Their work has been published again in book form and such writers as Reynolds Price, Fred Chappell, and Anne Tyler are getting national attention.

Charlotte this fall launched the North Carolina Writers Forum, patterned after the successful North Carolina Literary Forum held in Raleigh each spring.

The North Carolina Writers Conference, meeting for the second year in a row in Raleigh, has worked with the State and local libraries in promoting reading. It helped establish a library in the Governor's Mansion where none had been before; its members appeared on tele-

vision during National Library Week; and each contributed to the new North Carolina section in Raleigh's Olivia Raney Library.

Down at Chowan College in Murfreesboro, Bernice Kelly Harris has started a creative writing class, and has continued her work with plays in her home community of Seaboard.

Theaters are in nearly every community. Winston-Salem's Tanglewood, Charlotte's professional theater, and Raleigh's summer theater flourished. Long-run dramas such as "The Lost Colony" set new records this year.

This, then, is a report from the President of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association for 1963. It merely summarizes the historical and cultural endeavors in our State for the past year. It is my hope that the work begun will continue, that new projects will be undertaken, and that both will flourish.

"THE MANNER OF LIVING OF THE NORTH CAROLINIANS," BY FRANCIS VEALE, DECEMBER 19, 1730

TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY EDMUND AND DOROTHY S. BERKELEY *

Official records of North Carolina trade during the early eighteenth century, represented by the detailed reports which naval officers made to the Board of Trade, might be expected to be found in the archives of the Public Record Office in London. For reasons unknown, they do not seem to be there. The earliest surviving records are those of Port Brunswick for the years 1763-1775, and these are in rather poor condition. Christopher Crittenden, who called this problem to public attention, added that as a result, "a description of the commerce of colonial North Carolina can never be complete or perfectly accurate." [1]

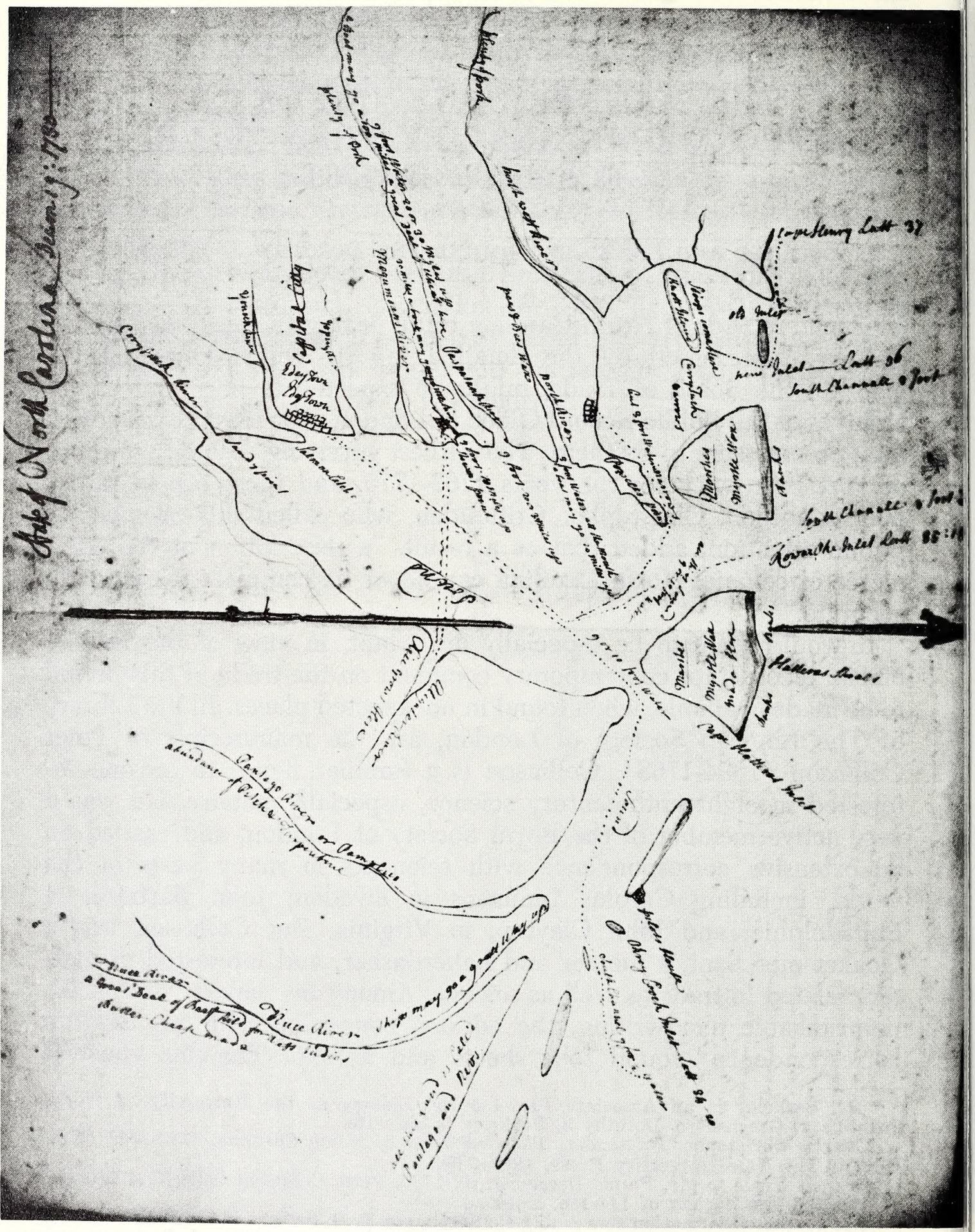
It would seem to be especially important, in view of the lack of official records, for contemporary comment on the trade of this period to be made available, when found in unexpected places. In the Library of The Linnean Society of London, are the manuscripts of Peter Collinson (1694-1768). Collinson is a familiar figure to anyone interested in eighteenth-century science, especially botany. He was a very active member of the Royal Society of London, and carried on an extensive correspondence with scientists in many parts of the world, including Carolus Linnaeus in Sweden; John Bartram, in Philadelphia; and John Clayton, in Virginia. But Collinson was a Quaker merchant, a mercer and haberdasher, and interested in matters related to trade as well as science. Among his papers,[2] and in his unmistakable handwriting, the editors, concerned with his Clayton correspondence,[3] found four sheets and a map. The first sheet is

* Dr. Berkeley is an Associate Professor of Biology at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Dorothy S. Berkeley is his wife.

[1] Charles Christopher Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1936), 69.

[2] Francis Veale to Mr. Paine, December 19, 1730, Peter Collinson Collection, Library of The Linnean Society of London, England.

[3] For further information concerning Collinson, see E. G. Swem (ed.), *Brothers of the Spade* (Barre, Massachuetts: Privately printed, 1957); and Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy S. Berkeley, *John Clayton, Pioneer of American Botany* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963).



Map of North Carolina, December 19, 1730. From the Peter Collinson Collection, Library of The Linnean Society of London, England.

headed, "The Manner of Living of the North Carolinians." At the bottom, in parentheses, appears the notation "Carolina December 19: 1730 from Francis Veale." The second sheet is headed "Mr. Paine from Francis Veale Carolina December 19:1730," and consists of one-third sheet of writing and two-thirds of map. The map portion is too faded for ready reproduction, but shows "Cape Hatteras, Neuse River, Pamlego River, Allagator River, Knott Island, North River, Little River, Paspatank River, Eddy Town" and several other points. The third and fourth sheets bear no headings, and the map is here reproduced.[4]

"Mr. Paine" cannot be identified, and not very much information can be found concerning Francis Veale. On June 18, 1736, Veale requested a patent for 640 acres on the southern bank of Old Town Creek, west of the Cape Fear River. Again, on May 7, 1742, he applied for a grant of 257 acres in Bladen.[5] Despite this paucity of information about the man, his comments on North Carolina at that time are both interesting and amusing.

The First Commers had the advantage of takeing the best Land near att hand & most of them have so much Land that the High Rents as they Call them, Hurts their Circumstances very much being a[m]bitious to keep the whole and phaps don't use above a 100 acres out of a 1000-[6] I have seen as fine Orchards there & in Virginia as ever I saw in England but they have not the Method of Grafting but Letts all grow wild & yett some good fruits & Great Bearers, I have seen four Trees 5 years Old had apples Enough to make a Hhd Cider, so productive is the Soil that a Peach from the Stone will bear the Second year. Their Wheat Lands they dont throw into Ridges to Draine the Water as in England but plough it Rough like Summer fallow yett I have seen as good Wheat as any. Where & when it's worn out, It's turn'd down & they plough a fresh piece & in 6 or 7 years its as full of Wood as Ever-
They might Have the best pasture in the World but take no Care about It but Lett Cows Horses & Hoggs all Sorts feed together, they never Mow any of their Feilds to Raise fodder for their Cattle in the Winter, w[ch] is sometimes pretty sharp. I saw Last Xmas 1729 snow a foot thick but when it is so severe they cutt down Trees for the Cattle to Browse on - they

[4] The editors are indebted to The Linnean Society of London for permission to publish this manuscript, and to Mr. Thomas O'Grady, General Secretary of the Society, for assistance in many ways.

[5] William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: The State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), IV, 220, 619, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records.*

[6] For further commentary on this lavish use of land by the colonists, see the Reverend John Clayton, "A Further Account of the Soil of Virginia," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London,* XVII (1693), 978, hereinafter cited as *Philosophical Transactions;* and John Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina* (Dublin: n. p., 1737), 41, hereinafter cited as Brickell, *Natural History.*

seldome Mind to Milk their Cows Regularly but one Sometimes in a Day or Two they never take their Calves from them but Lett them suck as Long as they Cann.[7]

Fish is Exceeding plenty I have seen a Hundred Mullets Catch'd att a Cast without weating ones foot & theres aboundance of Trout as big as Salmon with Great Variety of Other Fish & Oysters very Good-

There is very good Hunting never Miss of Sport if you Miss the Deer the Dogs Soone find them & Drive them to the River where Some Lie Ready in a Boat to shoot them I have been att the Catching 2 or 3 a Day for severall Days togeather[8] There's plenty of Wild fowl, Swans, Geese, Duck, Wiggin & Teale & Wild Turkys a Lott is Call'd 640 Acres wch may be taken up only paying the Surveyor 5£ Sterling or a five pound Bill & you may do with it what you please[9]

Sr I have given you a Rough Draught of the Country & now I'll proceed to Trade, From Eddey or Edey Town[10] to Little River, Paspatank[11] to North River they Raise a great deal of Good Wheat they Reape the Latter End of June or beginning of July att that Time a Vessell of a 100 Tuns may Load in a Month they Raise abundance of Indian Corn & Pease, Pork, Beef, Wax, Tallow, & Hides Some Pitch Tarr & Turpentine, Many Sorts of Oke, Pine, Hickery & Cypress any Quantity may be had for Little or Nothing Oks 4 & 5 foot Diam^{r}. 60 foot Long & Masts of any Size to any Length without Knott or ben't any Quality may be had ¼ Mile from the Water Side - Pamplico Cheife Trade is Pitch Tarr & Turpentine where any we sell may be Loaded att any Time, Nause [Neuse] being but now setling they've little besides Beef, Pork, Butter, & Cheese, there is plenty of Fodder in Winter.

I will Now Just Mention Something of their Manners—& Religion theres not a Clergy man in the whole Government [12] but they that are Religiously Inclin'd getts a Tayler or Some old Pirate or Some Idle Fellow to Read the Service of the Church of England & then He Hacks out a Sermon made before my old Granum Some call themselves Baptists & some as thinks themselves prysbyterians but they all Live very Loving together & comes

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[7] For a fuller discussion of such slipshod agricultural practices of the colonists, see Thomas Glover, "Account of Virginia," *Philosophical Transactions*, XI (1676), 623-636; and Gilbert Chinard (ed.), *A Huguenot Exile in Virginia* (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1934), 120.

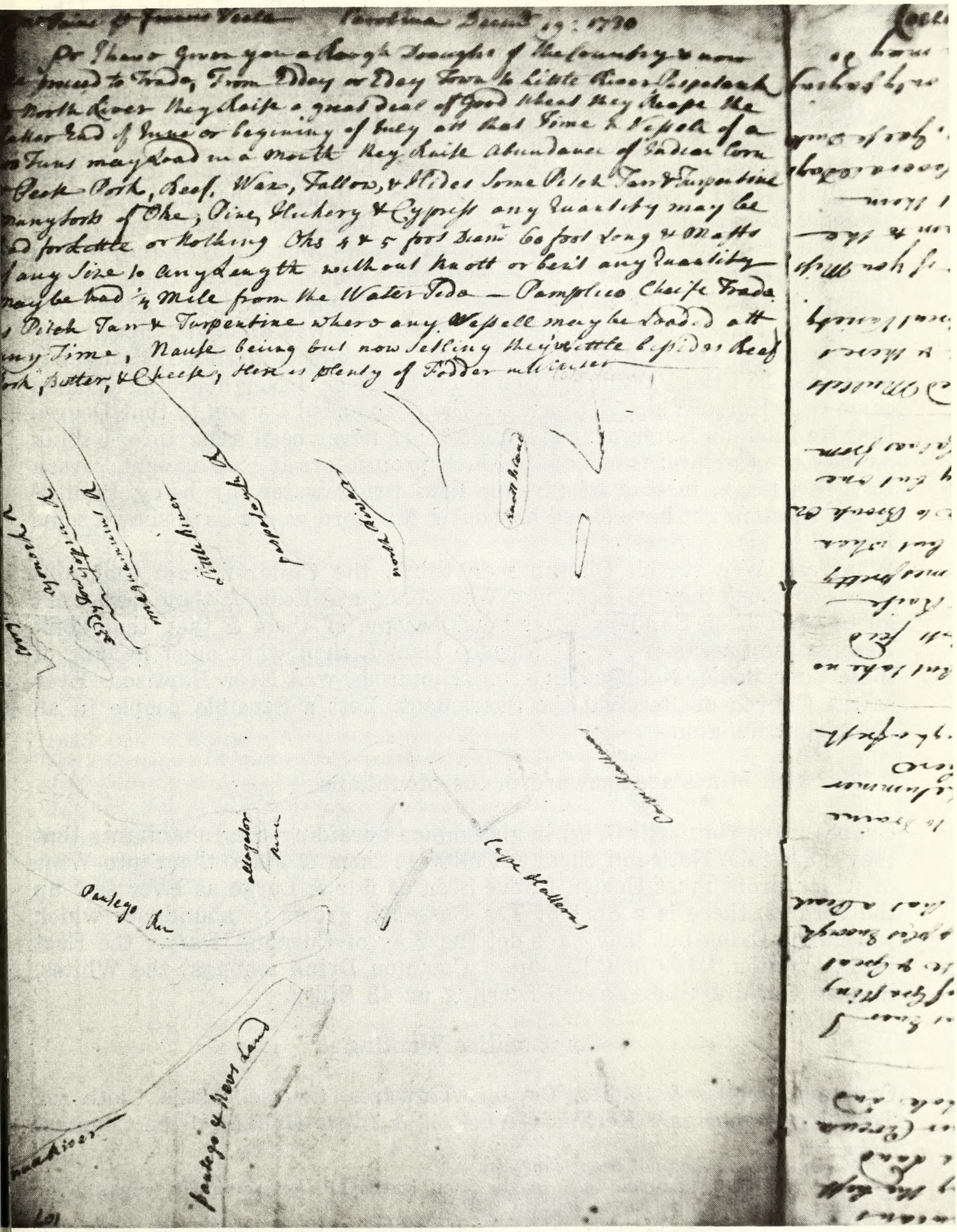
[8] A visitor to Cape Fear in 1734 noted, "We might have shot ten brace of deer, for they were almost as thick as in the parks in England, and did not seem in the least afraid of us." James Sprunt, *Chronicles of Cape Fear River, 1660-1916* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1916), 43.

[9] "The general way of taking up Land here, is to go to a surveyor, who is impowered to survey and give the Taker-up a Draught or Plat of the same, and his Fees will be about 40 s. or 3 l. a tract, which contains 640 acres, and must be settled within Two Years after taken up." E. G. Swem (ed.), *An Account of the Cape Fear Country, 1731*, by Hugh Meredith (Perth Amboy, New Jersey: Privately printed, 1922), 25-26.

[10] This refers to Edenton.

[11] This is apparently Pasquotank.

[12] In 1739 Governor Gabriel Johnston reported only two churches holding weekly services. As late as 1764 Governor Arthur Dobbs could only admit to six ministers in the Colony, two of whom he considered extremely poor. R. D. W. Connor, *The Colonial and Revolutionary Periods, 1584-1783.* Volume I of *History of North Carolina*, by R. D. W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Others (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 6 volumes 1919), 191.



Copy of original letter from Francis Veale to Mr. Paine with accompanying map. From the Peter Collinson Collection, Library of The Linnean Society of London, England.

to Meetings att one anothers' Houses, but never talks of Religion, I believe it is because they know not what it Is. There is a great Many Quakers att Paspatank but they are sometimes with a preacher & sometimes without—I have often Inquird why there is no Clergyman in all the province & the Chief Reason I am told, Is, that ye Goven^r^ has all the profett of Licences, & the Justices Marries - - -

There is Land Lotted out for the Ministers; but the profits of it now goes to mend these [?] ways, that the Great Ones think if they had Ministers amongst them that they Woud be Loosers by them, for if the Clergy shou'd take the 7th or 10th Hogg wch are in great plenty, but the Loss they would sustain Wou'd be so Regretting that they would saye to them as the Gadarens said to Our Savior Depart out of our Country & from Our Coasts - - - I have been told the Last Parson as was amongst them being Fleshly Given Importun'd a Woman to give him a Nights Lodging but no sooner had the Parson his Cloths off but 3 or 4 Neighboruing Women came with Horse Whips & Chastized the poor naked Parson to that Degree that He took his Horse next Morning & has never been seen since, I think as the Lord Cartaret is one of the Cheif proprietors If He had sent Parson Paygen[13] there, instead of giveing Him Bridgewater, by being Punish^d^ in the Flesh might have saved his soul & My Lord wou'd have shown some Regard to his province.-

What can Wee stanch Church men think, the Children here that aint Baptized must they be Lost nay Wee doubt are Lost, & they that don't go to Church on Sundays what must become of them & they that don't Receive the Sacrament won't they be Dam'd, then what must become of these poor Souls. Not One in some Hundreds was Ever Baptized, Ever saw a Church or Receiv'd the Sacrament. Yett a Sensible people in all things but Religion.-

The Rich Mines are bacward in the Mountains.

Grapes grow Naturally Wild in abundance upraiding the Inhabitants that they don't take Notice of them & Cultivate them & Make them into Wine of which profit must Ensue. I have Seen as fine & Large as Ever saw up the Straites there is a Sort of Tea Cassenna grows in abundance which ye Indians Drink but they have not the Way of Cureing It after the East India Fashion.[14] It's now become a Common Drink amongst the Whites, its sold Cur'd att 2£ Barrell Sterling or 48 Bills.

Commodities Wanting -

Ordinary Bridles & Sadles, Pewter, Tinwares, Course Russia Cloth for Towells, Osombrigs,[15] Kerling Garlick 7/8 & Little Holland[16] the Coursest

[13] Parson Paygen has not been identified.

[14] This refers to "Yaupon tea," made from leaves of *Ilex vomitoria* (Cassina or Yaupon), a holly whose leaves contain caffein.

[15] Osombrigs was one of many variations of spelling of the Osnaburg, the name of a kind of coarse linen, originally made in Osnabrück (Osnaburg), North Germany.

[16] The term "Holland" was applied to glazed or unglazed cotton or linen used for slip covers, window shades, and other such purposes.

of printed Linnens & some finer, some Muslin & Course stockings all sizes from the Coasest to 2:9 pair Wax & Rowlers Hunting pipes, the Coasest of Kersies,[17] to NannCloth[18] att 11^{d} y^{d} Corusse Broad to 8 p y^{d} - threds. Mohair Buttons Trimings to, Duroyes[19] no matter how Course & Ordinary, Womans Crapes and Persions, Ribons Handkerchiefs Callico, Cotton, & Silk, from 9/ to 20/. Empty Bottles Cases flask Bottles Pouder Shot Guns - ½ Tun of Iron, Hinges Locks & Latches, Nails, from Longs Tens to 3 penny, 6^{d} most for shingling Houses, Spurs, Buckles, Knives Forks, Midlin Pins, Combs, Rasers, Buttons for Shirts Beads for Indians Course Indian Cloths with stripes loose Blanketting, Ruggs, some Cordage for Sloops an Anchor or Two, Duck for Sails, Canvas, Bunting
Returns are Pitch, Tarr, Turpentine Deer skins and Furrs, Hides, Tallow, Wax, Snake Root, Pork & Beef salted and Wheate & Timber, Beaver, Rice & myrtle wax.[20]

There is Neither Silver & Gold in this Country Butt Paper Money, a 100£ in Bill Money is but 25 in Virginia or Barbadoes.[21] Trade is Carried on there principally by the New England Sloops, who, bring there Goods they can't sell[22] the Collector told Mee from June to Xmas 1729 there had Cleard att Edey Town above 60 sail from 30 to 40 to 60 & 70 Tunns besides whats Cleard att Currytuck & pamplico, they carry Pitch, Tarr & provisions, etc. there has not been a Ship from England In this Country these seven years.

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[17] Kersey was a kind of coarse, narrow cloth woven from long wool, and usually ribbed.

[18] Nanncloth was probably Nankeen, a brownish-yellow cloth used for breeches and other heavy-duty garments, originally introduced into England from Nanking, China.

[19] Duroy was a woolen cloth first manufactured in the west of England.

[20] See also, Brickell, *Natural History*, 43-44.

[21] Governor Dobbs considered this reliance upon paper money a great handicap to trade. One of his first recommendations was for the issuance of copper coinage for North Carolina. Desmond Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs, Esquire, 1689-1765, Surveyor-General of Ireland, Prospector, and Governor of North Carolina.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 116.

[22] In 1707 Robert Holden, Collector of Customs, wrote to the Proprietors concerning North Carolina, "It has barred Inlets into It; which spoyles the trade of it and none but small vessels from New England and Bermuda trades here." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, xiv.

A PROCLAMATION: "TO THE PEOPLE OF ————————."

By Louis H. Manarin *

The writer of history must base his presentation and conclusions upon evidence he has gathered from available sources. Generally speaking, he will find that the further into the past he goes, the more likely the possibility that pertinent official documents are lost, figuratively speaking, when they have but passed into private hands. The abundance of source material necessitates research in known depositories and collections. Often unrelated manuscript collections may contain important documents which remain unnoticed. Recently such a document was uncovered in the William B. Rodman Papers in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina. It is not known how this document came to be in this private collection. Other manuscripts in the papers do not shed any light on the question.

The discovered document is a signed copy of Jefferson Davis' proclamation to be sent to General Robert E. Lee on his invasion of Maryland in September, 1862. Although addressed to General Lee, there is no endorsement to indicate receipt at the headquarters of the Army of Northern Virginia. The significance of the document lies in the fact that this proclamation, dated September 12, 1862, was to the people of Pennsylvania.

All previously published versions of the proclamation either specifically mention Maryland or have blanks where the name of a State was to be inserted. The proclamation as published in the *Official Records* was to the people of Maryland,[1] however, research has raised doubts as to whether the original proclamation was to the people of Maryland. The publication files of the War Records Office, now in the National Archives, reveal that on November 4, 1882, Colonel Robert N. Scott requested Davis to "furnish . . . a list of such . . . dispatches

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* Mr. Manarin is Editor of the forthcoming roster of North Carolina troops in the Civil War, to be published by the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission.

[1] R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series I, XIX, Part III, 598-599, hereinafter cited as *Official Records.*

(letters or telegrams) to General Lee as you are willing to furnish for the completion of the correspondence with him."[2] In reply to this request, Davis forwarded copies of seven of his telegrams and letters sent to General Lee.[3] Among those was a copy of the proclamation as copied from Davis' Letter Book. When originally entered in the Letter Book the date of issue was not recorded, so a probable date of issue of September 7, 1862, was noted on the copy Davis sent Scott. Another change was made before Davis sent it to Scott. In Davis' Letter Book the proclamation contains three blank spaces where the name of a State was to be inserted. A notation in the Letter Book indicates that copies of the original were sent to Generals Lee, Braxton Bragg, and E. K. Smith, who were at the time either planning or undertaking separate offensives. This accounts for the blank spaces within the copy recorded in the Letter Book. In his correspondence with Scott, Davis did not mention the fact that copies of the same proclamation had been sent to the two other commanders. The first blank of the copy sent to Scott contained the word "Maryland." The other two blanks were not filled in.[4] The copy was evidently made by a secretary and proofread by Davis before being sent to Scott. On the back is written: "The President to Gen'l R. E. Lee, instructing him to issue a proclamation to the people of ———— setting forth the motives and purposes of his presence among them at the head of an invading army." The copy is written entirely in black ink, except for the date, the word "Maryland," and in the last paragraph in the last line "on them by" was scratched out and "either by" inserted. These additions and changes are in purple ink, as was Davis' cover letter to Scott of November 23, 1882. Thus it would appear upon comparison of ink and handwriting that Davis inserted "Maryland" in the first blank.

Upon receipt of Davis' letter with the proclamation and other letters and telegrams the editors of the *Official Records* prepared them for publication. They retained "Maryland" in the introductory paragraph, deleted one blank and retained the other. Thus the document was altered a second time before being printed. It was not until 1923 that the copy as it actually appeared in Davis' Letter Book was printed.[5] In this printing it appears with the three blanks and the

[2] Colonel Robert N. Scott to Jefferson Davis, November 4, 1882, National Archives, Washington, D. C., Record Group 94, Entry No. 708, Letters Sent—War Records Office, August, 1879-November, 1882, 191.

[3] Jefferson Davis to Colonel Robert N. Scott, November 23, 1882, National Archives, Record Group 94, Entry No. 710, Letters Received—War Records Office, 1875-1899.

[4] National Archives, Record Group 109, Entry No. 4, Documents Printed in the *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part II, 598-599.

[5] Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches* (Jackson, Mississippi: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 10 volumes, 1923), V, 338-339.

notation that copies were sent to Lee, Bragg, and E. K. Smith. No State is mentioned. The copy found in the Rodman Papers does not contain any blank spaces. Pennsylvania is written in the text without any break. The only other difference, outside of punctuation variances, between this copy and the copy sent by Davis and published in the *Official Records* and in Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Jefferson Davis Constitutionist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches,* appears in the last line. The final line of the copy in the Rodman Papers contains the words "on them by." These words were inserted. This would indicate that Davis may have had a second copy in his possession in addition to the Letter Book. There is a second copy in the Jefferson Davis Papers at Tulane University, in addition to the Letter Book copy, but like the Letter Book copy the name of the State is not filled in.[6] In his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government,* Davis cited the introductory paragraph of the proclamation specifically mentioning Maryland.[7]

It is not known what State, if any, was mentioned on General Lee's copy of the proclamation as it has not been located in any of the major collections of his writings. Soon after entering the State of Maryland he issued his own proclamation to the people of Maryland.[8] Dated September 8, 1862, it appears to have been written by Lee before he received the formal copy from Davis. On September 12, Lee sent Davis a copy of his proclamation with the explanation: "I waited on entering the State for the arrival of ex-Governor [Enoch Louis] Lowe; but finding that he did not come up, and that the citizens were embarrassed as to the intentions of the army, I determined to delay no longer in making known our purpose."[9] It appears that Lee received a copy of Davis' proclamation just after he wrote Davis on September 12, because on the following day he wrote the President: "You will perceive by the printed address to the people of Maryland, which has been sent you, that I have not gone contrary to the views expressed by you on the subject."[10] From this it may be concluded that the copy received by Lee either had the State of Maryland filled in, or was blank. Due to the changing tides of battle, Davis' proclamation, whether blank or to the people of Maryland or Pennsylvania, was never promulgated.

The significance of the Pennsylvania proclamation becomes more

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[6] Mrs. Connie G. Griffith, Director, Manuscript Division, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, to the author, September 13, 1963.

[7] Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 2 volumes, 1881), II, 333.

[8] *Official Records,* Series I, XIX, Part II, 601-602.

[9] *Official Records,* Series I, XIX, Part II, 604-605.

[10] *Official Records,* Series I, XIX, Part II, 605-606.

apparent historically when related to the sequence of events. On September 4, 1862, General Lee informed Davis of his intention of crossing the Potomac River into Maryland. Lee concluded that "Should the results of the expedition justify it, I propose to enter Pennsylvania, unless you should deem it unadvisable upon political or other grounds."[11] On September 9, he informed Davis: "I shall move in the direction I originally intended, toward Hagerstown and Chambersburg, for the purpose of opening our line of communication through the valley."[12] From Hagerstown on September 12 Lee informed Davis that "our advance pickets are at Middleburg, on the Pennsylvania line."[13] It was on the same day, that the proclamation to the people of Pennsylvania was drafted by Davis in Richmond. Therefore, it would appear that both Lee and Davis contemplated an advance into the State of Pennsylvania. The loss of Special Order No. 191 and its subsequent discovery by a Union soldier gave McClellan Lee's order of battle. Lee was compelled to withdraw from Hagerstown and retired to the vicinity of Sharpsburg where the armies joined in battle on September 17. After the Battle of Sharpsburg he withdrew across the Potomac into Virginia. In his official report on the campaign, submitted on August 19, 1863, Lee said of his movement toward Pennsylvania:

> It was decided to cross the Potomac east of the Blue Ridge, in order, by threatening Washington and Baltimore, to cause the enemy to withdraw from the south bank, where his presence endangered our communications and the safety of those engaged in the removal of our wounded and the captured property from the late battle-fields. Having accomplished this result it was proposed to move the army into Western Maryland, establish our communications with Richmond through the Valley of the Shenandoah; and, by threatening Pennsylvania, induce the enemy to follow and thus draw him from his base of supplies.[14]

The existence of the proclamation is evidence that at the time of the invasion Davis concluded from Lee's correspondence that he intended to invade rather than threaten Pennsylvania.

The document, exactly as it occurs in the Rodman Papers, is as follows:

Executive Office,
Richmond, Sep't 12, 1862.

Sir:

It is deemed proper that, in accordance with established usage, you should announce by proclamation to the people of the State of Pennsyl-

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[11] *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part II, 591-592.
[12] *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part II, 603.
[13] *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part II, 604-605.
[14] *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part I, 145.

vania, the motives and purposes of your presence among them at the head of an invading army, and you are instructed in such proclamation to make known,

1st. That the Confederate Government is waging this war solely for self-defense: that it has no designs of conquest nor any other purpose than to secure peace and the abandonment by the United States of its pretensions to govern a people who have never been their subjects and who prefer self-government to union with them.

2nd. That this government at the very moment of its inauguration sent commissioners to Washington to treat for a peaceful adjustment of all differences, but that these commissioners were not received nor even allowed to communicate the object of their mission: and that on a subsequent occasion, a communication from the President of the Confederacy to President Lincoln remained without answer, although a reply was promised by General Scott into whose hands the communication was delivered.

3d. That among the pretexts urged for the continuance of the war is the assertion that the Confederate Government desire to deprive the United States of the free navigation of the Western rivers, although the truth is that the Confederate Congress by public act, prior to the commencement of the war, enacted that "the peaceful navigation of the Mississippi River is hereby declared free to the citizens of any of the States upon its borders, or upon the borders of its navigable tributaries," a declaration to which this government has always been and is still ready to adhere.

4th. That now at a juncture when our arms have been successful, we restrict ourselves to the same just and moderate demand that we made at the darkest period of our reverses, the simple demand that the people of the United States should cease to war upon us, and permit us to pursue in peace our own path to happiness, while they in peace pursue theirs.

5th. That we are however debarred from the renewal of formal proposals for peace, having no reason to expect that they would be received with the respect mutually due by nations in their intercourse, whether in peace or in war.

6th. That under these circumstances we are driven to protect our own country by transferring the seat of war to that of an enemy who pursues us with a relentless and apparently aimless hostility: that our fields have been laid waste, our people killed, many homes made desolate, and that rapine and murder have ravaged our frontiers. That the sacred right of self defense demands that if such a war is to continue, its consequences shall fall on those who persist in their refusal to make peace.

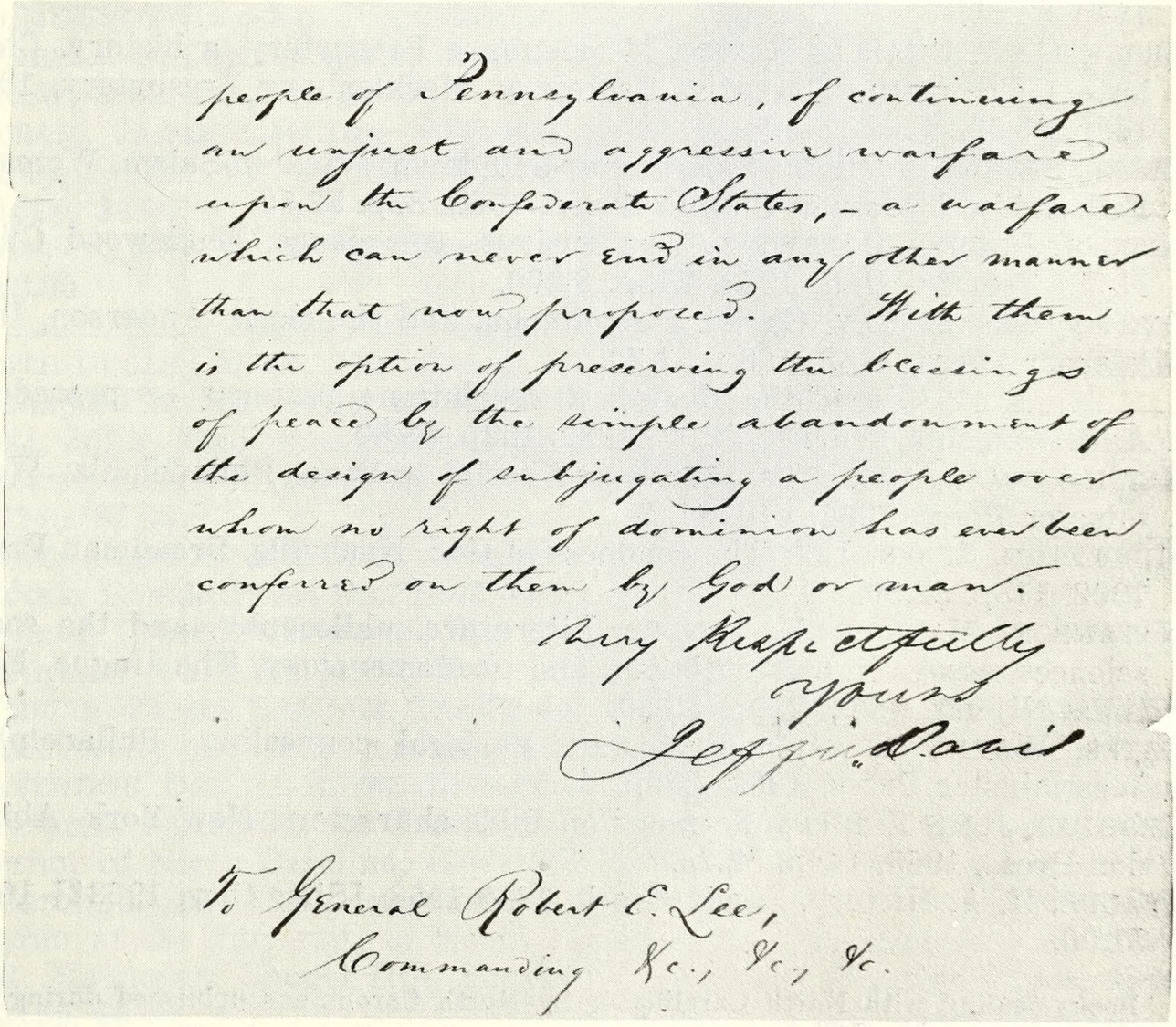
7th. That the Confederate army therefore comes to occupy the territory of their enemies and to make it the theatre of hostilities. That with the

people of Pennsylvania themselves rests the power to put an end to this invasion of their homes, for if unable to prevail on the government of the United States to conclude a general peace, their own State government in the exercise of its sovereignty can secure immunity from the desolating effects of warfare on the soil of the State by a separate treaty of peace which this government will ever be ready to conclude on the most just and liberal basis.

8th. That the responsibility thus rests on the people of Pennsylvania, of continuing an unjust and aggressive warfare upon the Confederate States, —a warfare which can never end in any other manner than that now proposed. With them is the option of preserving the blessings of peace by the simple abandonment of the design of subjugating a people over whom no right of dominion has ever been conferred on them by God or man.

Very Respectfully
yours
Jeffn. Davis[15]

To General Robert E. Lee,
Commanding &c., &c., &c.


people of Pennsylvania, of continuing
an unjust and aggressive warfare
upon the Confederate States, - a warfare
which can never end in any other manner
than that now proposed. With them
is the option of preserving the blessings
of peace by the simple abandonment of
the design of subjugating a people over
whom no right of dominion has ever been
conferred on them by God or man.
Very Respectfully
yours
Jeffn. Davis
To General Robert E. Lee,
Commanding &c., &c., &c.

Conclusion of proclamation, showing Davis' signature.

[15] William B. Rodman Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

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BOOK REVIEWS

My First 80 Years. By Clarence Poe. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1960. Dedication, preface, acknowledgments, and index. Pp. xvi, 267. $4.75.)

Dr. Poe's story covers the period from 1881 to 1963. He correctly acknowledges, however, that the book is not a formal autobiography. His principal effort in the book was to record personal experiences, those of a young boy to those of an elderly man looking back on a distinctively fruitful life.

The author describes a life composed of an unusually wide range of experiences. It is a life of a farmboy born in the South at late dusk of the Civil War, a boy who was marked with a sense of destiny, a young man who was editor of one of the South's leading agricultural magazines at the age of eighteen, a person considered as a candidate for Governor of North Carolina just before World War I, a person considered at the same time by President Woodrow Wilson for Secretary of Agriculture, a counselor to Food Administrator Herbert Hoover interested in sharing America's agricultural abundance after World War I with Europe and Russia, and an adviser to President Truman in the Four-Point Program after World War II.

Even though the author relates these accomplishments and associations with considerable pride, his paramount achievement was building an agricultural magazine. Through this he touched hundreds of thousands of farm lives in the South. Through it he crusaded for improved health and education, and a more prosperous southern agriculture. Herein lies his contribution as a dedicated leader.

Through the experiences he describes, one is able to glance back and see clearly some of the conditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Though not related in a highly organized fashion, he shows how events of this period contributed so much to what Americans enjoy today in health, education, and prosperity.

Most readers will recognize the close attention the author gives to personal details. Treatment of basic issues of the day, of the time, that produced the man is somewhat light and scanty. Yet Dr. Poe obviously is a man who studied life diligently in order that it might become better.

My First 80 Years is a reflection of a person who believes he has lived during the most exciting age known to man. It presented many personal challenges to him. As he mastered them he was able to improve his life, and to contribute bountifully to others of his day, as well as to those of tomorrow. Anyone who would aspire to be a civic, as well as an agricultural leader, will gain much by studying the story of Dr. Poe's life.

William C. White

National Plant Food Institute
Washington, D. C.

The History of Western Carolina College: The Progress of an Idea. By William Ernest Bird. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, and index. Pp. xvi, 294. $7.50.)

William Ernest Bird's *History of Western Carolina College* is a very useful addition to the scanty but growing historical literature devoted to education in North Carolina. The author is uniquely qualified for the task he has undertaken. Today President Emeritus of Western Carolina College, he has served the institution for thirty-seven years as teacher of English, Dean, and President, and has been personally acquainted with nearly every instructor connected with the College since its founding.

The training of teachers for the scattered, understaffed, and—until recent times—impoverished schools of the Carolina highlands is the "idea" whose development forms the theme of Professor Bird's volume. The idea was first envisoned by young Robert Lee Madison, who came from Virginia in 1889 to teach in the primitive grade and high school established by the community of Cullowhee. Largely by his efforts the school added a normal department in 1901 with the help of a $5,000 appropriation from the legislature. During the following decade the school expanded rapidly in student body and physical plant. By 1917 Cullowhee High School offered two years of college training. Ten years later the high school was separated from the normal school and Western Carolina College added a full college curriculum for prospective teachers. Although the College, along with all other State institutions, suffered severely during the Depression from deep slashes in appropriations, it grew rapidly during the forties and fifties and to-

day offers a complete undergraduate program apart from teacher training.

Valuable as Professor Bird's volume is, it suffers from several shortcomings. Written from an administrator's point of view, it is replete with details on the growth of the physical plant, but has very little to say about the development of the curriculum, changes in educational policy, or the nature of the student body. Intramural controversies and rivalries often are swept under the rug as unfortunate occurrences which should be forgotten. The sometimes fierce competition in the political arena with other State schools for appropriations and upgrading of curriculum and degrees is treated very lightly. Biographies of the major figures connected with the college are sketched so lovingly that these men emerge as Socratic stereotypes rather than as flesh and blood human beings. In short, Professor Bird is so much in love with his subject that he has given us a book which often reads more like a romantic memoir than objective history. And more serious, as far as his own task is concerned, his sentimental approach, while often charming and continually testifying to the author's generous and sympathetic nature, makes it difficult to follow *The Progress of an Idea* as he promises in his title.

Elisha P. Douglass

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

Presbyterians in the South, Volume One: 1607-1861. By Ernest Trice Thompson. (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press. 1963. Notes and index. Pp. 629. $9.75.)

Dr. Thompson is John Q. Dickinson Professor of Church History and Church Polity at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, where, as present Dean of the Faculty, he has taught since 1922. He is an astute scholar in the liberal tradition and is eminently qualified for the authorship of this volume. The son of a distinguished Presbyterian minister, he was born in Texas, and educated at Hampden-Sydney College, Union Theological Seminary, and Columbia University. Author of several previous books, he has written numerous monographs on the Presbyterian Church in the South and is a former Moderator of his denomination.

The eleven-page Bibliography in six-point type indicates compre-

hensive research. Original sources include many of the minutes of the sessions of local churches, minutes of numerous Presbyteries which have from time to time comprised the Presbyterian Church in the South, as well as minutes of synods and general assemblies. More than 30 religious periodicals of the ante-bellum period were examined. Many articles and books complete the bibliography.

The author does a masterful job of weaving together the whole story of the Presbyterian Church in the South so that one may readily and satisfactorily trace the history of the church in his own State (or synod).

The book gives an accurate picture of the pioneer "back country" and describes the influence of the church (of all denominations) on the society of the various periods. It points out the significant part played by Presbyterians in Virginia and elsewhere in the movement for religious freedom which led to the first application of separation of Church and State. It covers the migration movement westward and indicates both the strength and weakness of the Presbyterian Church. Its strength lay in its emphasis on education, and to Presbyterians more than any other denomination the South is indebted for laying the foundation for public education at all levels. The Church also exhibited missionary zeal, but unfortunately, because of its high educational requirements, there was ever a scarcity of ministers. Herein lay its great weakness, an inability to supply ministers equal to the demand. Because Baptist and Methodist denominations were able to cope with this demand, they rapidly outstripped Presbyterians, though the latter church by all odds had the greatest opportunity and advantage at the close of the Revolutionary War.

Another weakness of the Presbyterian Church was it proclivity for schism. Numerous divisions in the Church, due to differences on educational requirements, doctrine, evangelism, and psalm versus hymn singing, resulted in severe losses to the Church at the very time other denominations were increasing with great rapidity.

Many great southern leaders, including several North Carolinians, such as David and Joseph Caldwell, are effectively portrayed.

The latter part of the book deals with the great separation which first came in 1838 between the Old and New School parties, a division over doctrine and polity as well as slavery, and again in 1861 within the Old School, between North and South.

"So it happened," concludes Dr. Thompson, "that within less than twelve months time the ties which had bound Presbyterians of the North and South together for a period of a century and a half had

departed; the fellowship which had endured, despite growing sectional animosities, until the actual outbreak of hostilities, was no more. On December 4, 1861, representatives of 47 Southern presbyteries gathered in Augusta, Georgia, to form the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. Dr. Benjamin M. Palmer preached the opening sermon and was elected Moderator (ill health prevented the election of Dr. Thornwell); permanent clerk, later stated clerk, was Dr. Joseph Wilson. His young son, Thomas Woodrow, seven years old at the time, would later lead the reunited states in a war designed to 'make the world safe for democracy'."

Harold J. Dudley

Presbyterian Synod Office
Raleigh

Negro Militia and Reconstruction. By Otis A. Singletary. (New York, Toronto, Canada, and London, England: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. ix, 181. $2.25 [paperback]).

One welcomes this paperback edition of a recent reconsideration of one segment of the continuing enigma of Reconstruction. Effectively written and containing several pertinent illustrations, the volume was published initially in 1957, and its author has since become Chancellor of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

The creation of the Radical militia is depicted as a realistic protective device inspired by the withdrawal of Federal troops, with such forces being utilized to a varying degree in all but four of the reconstructed States. Such an armed Republican wing composed primarily (not entirely) of Negroes understandably provoked the opponents of Reconstruction, and there was sufficient militia misuse and misbehavior to both provide effective propaganda and heighten the bitterness. A test of power, and sometimes of brutal violence, followed, in which the Republican militia displayed inefficiency and failure more often than not. The Redeemers were more successful. As need or opportunity suggested, they utilized legal strategems, social ostracism, bribes, economic sanctions, treachery, and violence to demolish an armed force, whose demise was a part of the general collapse of Reconstruction governments in the South. A naive and timid Republicanism toyed with force more than it dared utilize it and was overpowered with ease by a more confident, competent, and ruthless opposition.

This volume is an effective discussion of the Republican militia, which primarily provides one with a picture rather than an explanation of the Reconstruction rivalry. In his more general interpretations the author was necessarily forced to rely often upon traditional, suspect accounts, and several of his own conclusions regarding the militia debate. One might, for example, question the conclusion that Republicans erred in failing "to employ the militia forces to the full extent of their power," or one might doubt that "the racial affront" was the real core of white hatred and violence. But thoughtful history invariably stimulates such controversy, and Chancellor Singletary has succeeded in providing a vital and balanced portion of the final tale.

Otto H. Olsen

George Mason College

Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy. By Albert Burton Moore. (New York: Hillary House Publishers Ltd. [Reprint] 1963. Notes and index. Pp. ix, 367. $7.50.)

This book, first published in 1924, portrays conscription in the Southern Confederacy. During the year after the Fort Sumter attack, April 12, 1861, the volunteer system was used, but slowness of reenlistments by the twelve-month volunteers necessitated conscription.

The first conscription act adopted, April 16, 1862, provided for conscription for a period of three years of all white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five and allowed the employment of substitutes. An exemption law was enacted on April 21, 1862. Conscription was extended in September to men of forty-five and in February, 1863, to men between seventeen and fifty.

Conflict between Confederate and State governments was inevitable. Exigencies of war demanded immediate establishment of a strong central government, a contradiction of secession. Conflicts arose immediately, particularly with respect to the substitute and exemption provisions of the conscription laws. The substitute system was based on financial standing rather than man power needs. Discontent with this system and need for additional troops caused its abolition in December, 1863. Likewise, the exemption system was a serious problem. Exemptions included Confederate, State, and local officials, local militia, and many other classifications, each classification being interpreted broadly. The number of exemptions became alarming, caus-

ing a near breakdown of conscription. Dual control of conscription by the Confederate and State governments added immensely to the confusion and dissatisfaction.

Bitter conflicts arose between Richmond and the State courts when conscription officials arrested accused draft-evaders and principals after their substitutes became subject to the draft. Some State judges released them under habeas corpus, causing its suspension, such suspension being ignored in some States. The Confederate Constitution provided for a Supreme Court, but it was never implemented.

On the results of conscription, the author observes: "A system of recruitment that enabled the Confederacy to maintain itself against tremendous odds for so long a time deserves a more sympathetic consideration than it has customarily had.... it saved the Confederacy in the summer of 1862 by keeping the seasoned twelve month's troops in the army and by stimulating extensive volunteering."

Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy represents an immense amount of work. Its organization leads to some repetition. Clearness would have been enhanced by more year identifications. It is an important contribution to the knowledge of Confederate conscription and is a valuable background in the study of United States draft systems.

Clarence D. Douglas

Raleigh

The Southern Frontier. By John Anthony Caruso; maps by Neil E. Bolyard. (Indianapolis, Indiana, and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1963. Maps, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, and index. Pp. 448. $6.50.)

This is a very readable account of some of the more dramatic and romantic aspects of the history of the southern frontier, apparently directed toward a popular rather than a scholarly audience. A reader anticipating a history of the southern frontier will be disappointed. Ten of the 16 chapters deal with Florida from Ponce de Léon to the early American period. The others treat Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Georgia in selected episodes, except Chapter 15, "Masters and Slaves," which is only incidentally frontier. The last is unfortunate because there is much to be written of the plantation and slavery as frontier institutions, particularly in Florida during the American Ter-

ritorial Period, when planters were opening up Middle Florida by clearing the forests in the manner commonly associated with pioneer farmers. Slaves ran away from these frontier plantations and produced some of the strongest demands for the removal of the Seminole Indians from the region. The balance is strongly in favor of such episodes as the wrangle between Governor Andrew Jackson and the departing Spanish governor José Callava over the papers in the Mercedes Vidal case, which takes up about two of the nearly 17 pages allotted to the years between 1821 and 1845 in Florida. John Law's Mississippi career also gets a disproportionate amount of space in Chapter 10.

Nor is anything new added to the knowledge of the southern frontier about which, incidentally, there is still much unknown. In the acknowledgments (p. 241) the author expresses his obligation to scholars who have done the spade work in the manuscript sources, as he also does in the footnotes. There can be no quarrel with this, but one wonders about his overlooking such a work on the frontier in the Second Spanish Period in Florida as Professor Rembert W. Patrick's, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1954). However useful such a book may be, the history of the southern frontier remains to be written.

Charlton W. Tebeau

University of Miami

Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution. By North Callahan. (Indianapolis, Indiana, and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1963. Bibliography, notes and index. Pp. 288. $5.00.)

North Callahan has again provided an informative, lively and anecdotal book for those who are interested in the American Revolution. Of the countless Tories who fill these pages, many will come alive to readers for the first time. In a dozen chapters, the author confidently guides his readers into the life of the American Tory. After awakening the reader's interest in an initial chapter detailing the events of the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, the author drops back to examine the English reaction to the Colonial position. Following this introduction, Callahan describes the nature and development of the Tories in America and the main areas of their action. Considerable attention is directed toward their military activity both in organized battle and

as less formal guerilla fighting. Quick informal raids appear to have been more characteristic of Tory tactics, perhaps because many British commanders distrusted them and were reluctant to use them. The war, where Tory and Patriot came into conflict, was an especially bitter one. Brother fought brother, father sided against son, families were split, and closest friends became bitter foes. In dealing with this situation the author demonstrates the true tragedy of the conflict.

All too little has been written about the Loyalists in the Revolution since the works of Sabine and Van Tyne, and much of that has been all too partisan. Fortunately there is a resurgence of interest in this much maligned group. Certainly this book is an important step in that direction. Here is an abundance of material on the activities of the Tories and of the action of the Patriots against them, but there is too little effort, by comparison, to explain what caused them to make the choice they did. Why, between two similar men did one choose one side and one the other? Certainly we do get a clear idea that there were many different kinds of Tories, from the emotionally charged and vindictive extremist to the moderate, almost neutralist position. At times the abundance of anecdotes appears to get in the way of more important development. Why, for example, nearly two and a half pages of stories illustrating the humor of the Reverend Mather Byles of Boston in a chapter on the "Role of Religion"? In spite of such shortcomings, however, this is an important contribution to the understanding of the era of the Revolution. North Callahan writes well, and he knows the American Revolution. He has already demonstrated this in his able biographies of Knox and Morgan. All who are interested in this great movement should be gratified for his effort.

Carlos R. Allen, Jr.

Colorado State University

Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782. By the Marquis de Chastellux. A revised translation with Introduction and Notes by Howard C. Rice, Jr. (Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press, for The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Volume I, Pp. xxiv, 361; Volume II, Pp. ix, 365. $15.00.)

When these volumes first appeared in the 1780's they attracted considerable interest on both sides of the Atlantic. The Baroness

d'Oberkirch decided in her memoirs that Chastellux "attaches great importance to what he eats, for the book consists mainly of a detailed description of the dishes served to him each day." She could not have been more wrong; for as another contemporary noted, Chastellux "possessed a great store of intelligence and brilliant flashes [which] would from time to time pierce the slight haziness that enveloped his ideas." A protegé of Voltaire and member of the French Academy, the Marquis de Chastellux was also one of three major generals who accompanied Rochambeau and the French expeditionary forces to America. As a soldier he admits that "camps, battlefields, and all that relates to war have been the principal objects of my curiosity, [and therefore] only military men can read me from beginning to end with some interest; but it is easy to skip these passages, which are recognizable from the first lines, or at least skim through them rapidly."

Chastellux was intrigued by the elusive problems of "public happiness" and national character. As a sophisticated product of the Enlightenment he sensitively distilled what seemed to him essential qualities of the American—"this new man." Although one may not always agree with him, his composite portrait sketches most of the important features with deft accuracy. He found our manners "pure and respectable," with vice "so foreign and so rare." He appeared humorless, however, and overly fond of discussing politics, particularly the origins of the American Revolution. So strongly did the liberated Colonials resent their erstwhile imperial ties that they refused to admit they spoke English. They preferred to call it American. Nevertheless the Frenchman felt "the Americans have not notably enriched their native language. Anything that had no English name has here been given only a simple designation."

American women—a special object of his concern—seemed serious, attractive, open to compliment, "or even [to] receiving a few caresses, provided it was without any appearance of familiarity or wantonness." Children in the Confederation he regarded as spoiled, perhaps because he believed—mistakenly, I think—that Americans had twice as much leisure as Europeans. Land in the New World appeared inferior in quality, the animals more easily tamed, and the citizens inclined to eat less at a sitting but more frequently than their brethren abroad. Chastellux did not commit the crime of creating an archetypal American, however. He recognized their heterogeneity and regional variations. The settled South and New England did not share the same temperament; and both differ radically in these pages from the frontier. To this nobleman the "mountain people" were handsomer and healthier than those on the seaboard.

Chastellux usually showed a sure sociological sense. He realized the practical necessity of religious toleration in a plural society, although he displayed considerable intolerance himself for the Quakers. He noted the slothful effect that slave-owning induced in the masters, as well as the fact that color raised serious barriers to successful emancipation. The white servant might eventually take his place in a free society; but assimilation of the Negro would be hindered by his badge of blackness. Unfortunately Chastellux fell into an error common then as later, namely that the slaves were insensitive to suffering.

This journal of a journey through eight of the thirteen newly independent States includes detailed descriptions of the Natural Bridge, opossum, and North American birds that should delight the naturalist. The antiquarian and historian will be pleased with Chastellux's narration of such stories as the Pocahontas legend and his occasional discussions of colonial development. He was very much interested in the geographical influences on urban growth, particularly at Richmond, Philadelphia, and Portsmouth. Political scientists should be attracted by his observations on the structure of the new State and county governments. He questioned what seemed a dangerous dabbling with democracy. Popular governments would inevitably be weak ones, he felt. Hence his support for the idea of an elite leadership similar to Jefferson's aristocracy of talent.

Chastellux was himself, as Benjamin Franklin noted in 1780, "a soldier, a gentleman, and a man of letters." He commanded the respect of his American contemporaries, so that one of the great values of his travelogue is the sequence of interviews with statesmen of the new nation. His friendships provide a plenary panorama of the greatest generation of political leadership in the history of the United States. Washington, Jefferson, Samuel Adams, Robert Morris, Jonathan Trumbull, and Jeremiah Wadsworth are all featured performers in this story, along with Paine, Lafayette, and many other participants in the drama of independence.

Unfortunately for Tarheel enthusiasts Chastellux never went south of Virginia; and his primary comment on North Carolina alludes to its settlement by impoverished Scotsmen and subsequent difficulty with internal dissension. Happily there exist several valuable accounts by other contemporary pilgrims who did visit North Carolina extensively in the Confederation period: Johann Schoepf, the German; J. F. D. Smyth, an Englishman; and the Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda.

Chastellux's account has for too long been inaccessible; all the more

reason why this definitive edition collating the previous ones ought to be acclaimed with a great tribute to the publishers and Howard C. Rice, Jr., chief of rare books at the Princeton University Library. He has personally retraced most of the Marquis' path. The resulting illustrations and excellent maps enable the reader almost to participate as a companion. The translation is smooth and graceful; the differentiation and dating of daily entries improves upon earlier texts. Mr. Rice's exhaustive notes correct Chastellux's orthography and geography when necessary and refer the reader to a mine of related information. In short, the scholarly apparatus is flawless.

Michael G. Kammen

Harvard University

The Jeffersonians in Power: Party Operations, 1801-1809. By Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia [1963]. Illustrations, bibliographical note, and index. Pp. ix, 318. $7.50.)

In the second of his studies of Jefferson's Republican Party, Professor Cunningham, through extensive investigation and use of contemporary sources, gives an informative, if not moving, account of the workings of that Party. He has also sought to throw more light on Jefferson's leadership, on lesser leaders, and on the formation of American political habits. He has accomplished his purpose.

The chapters on the patronage ably explain Jefferson's modified policy of moderation toward appointments and the pressures and problems he faced in implementing it. Party organization at congressional, nation-wide, State, and local levels is described. The Federalist potential threat continued to be an irritating stimulant to the party's development during the initial eight years of Republican administration. Finding and keeping competent and acceptable party leaders in House and Senate tried Jefferson's leadership. The Party's national organization was dominated by the congressional caucus and its committees. Professor Cunningham opens up paths to further study as he treats the subject of party operations by sections and States and finds considerable variety but a developing organization with trends toward more popular acceptance and participation. In New England organization was centralized but local activity was marked in Massachusetts. The

more advanced and less centralized organization in the Middle States was plagued by intra-party dissensions. Except in Virginia, party organization was less formal in the South and West. Everywhere party unity had to be maintained in the face of disputes over appointments, leadership, and candidacies. The maneuverings of the Burr and Clinton factions in New York, the Pennsylvania factional feuds, the association of John Randolph with the Quids, and Monroe's challenge to Madison's candidacy are clarified. Jeffersonian relations with the press are assessed in terms of the involvement of editors in party activities and the promotion and use of particular organs. Campaign methods reflect the Party's concern for public relations. Its tax-reduction policy proved to be one popular asset in its voter appeal.

Professor Cunningham concludes that Jefferson was personally effective as a political leader, that his party was successful in administering the government of the United States and that together they contributed direction to the developing American political system.

Lawrence F. Brewster

East Carolina College

The Leaven of Democracy: The Growth of the Democratic Spirit in the Time of Jackson. Selected and edited with Introduction and Notes by Clement Eaton. (New York: George Braziller, Inc. 1963. Pp. xvi, 490. $8.50.)

The Leaven of Democracy, one of the volumes in *The American Epoch Series,* is a compilation of travel accounts, letters, diaries, journals, and other contemporary works describing American politics and society during the period from the 1820's through the 1850's. The editor, Clement Eaton, Professor of History at the University of Kentucky, has divided his selections into nine categories dealing with such topics (to mention only a few) as "The Politicians in Washington," "The Old South: Land of Chivalry," "The Plain People," and "The American Character and Regional Differences."

The selections are varied in length: The longest (16 pages) is "A Virginian Likes New England," from the travel journal of Lucian Minor and the shortest is a two-line excerpt from a letter of Andrew Jackson to "Andrew Jackson Donaldson [*sic*]," in which the Old Hero declared in 1824 that "If I am elected to fill the Presidential chair it must be by the people; and I will be the President of the nation, and

not a party." Several items, including some gleaned from the manuscript collections at Duke University and the University of North Carolina, have not been previously published.

Mr. Eaton, a native of Winston-Salem, has not overlooked the State of his birth in choosing his selections. He has reprinted, for example, Thomas Hart Benton's moving tribute to Nathaniel Macon—"the pride and ornament of my native State," as the Missouri Senator hailed his political mentor. Also included are Henry Barnard's account of a visit to Chapel Hill in 1833, as recorded in letters to his brother; a description of the "Piny Woods" in 1857 by David Hunter Strother ("Porte Crayon"); and the impressions of Sarah Hicks Williams, "A Yankee Bride in North Carolina," taken from her letters written during the 1850's. These letters, incidentally, were originially edited by James C. Bonner and first appeared in the July and October, 1956, issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review.*

These visitors all regarded the Old North State as an impoverished commonwealth whose citizens lolled in the lap of inactivity. "If you call Long Island behind the times," wrote Mrs. Williams, "I don't know what you would call North Carolina. It has been rightly termed Rip Van Winkle." Barnard declared that the residents of Chapel Hill "like most southerners are indolent." He particularly relished an anecdote told him by Professor Elisha Mitchell concerning the wife of a former governor from the western part of the State who declared "that she would not remove to Raleigh, because she would be obliged to wear stockings and shoes." "Porte Crayon" found the inhabitants of eastern North Carolina "lazy and listless" and described their dwellings as "but little better in appearance than the huts of our Western borders."

Somewhat debatable is Mr. Eaton's assertion in his general introduction that "today Jackson is perhaps more esteemed as a strong and useful president than at any time since his death." True, as he points out, Jackson ranked sixth among the notable presidents in the 1962 poll of historians conducted by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., but in a similar poll 15 years earlier Old Hickory had been rated a "Great President," only to be demoted in the 1962 survey to the less exalted ranks of the "Near Great." The Introduction also contains a few errors of fact. This reviewer, having written a study of Mississippi politics during the Jackson era, was naturally sensitive to the misspelling of Seargent Prentiss' first name, to the erroneous statement that Robert J. Walker

in 1845 was "a former New Yorker," and to the mistaken identification of George Poindexter as a Senator from Alabama.

Edwin A. Miles

University of Houston

The Whirligig of Politics: The Democracy of Cleveland and Bryan. By J. Rogers Hollingsworth. (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. vii, 263. $5.00.)

Professor Hollingsworth of the University of Illinois has written a history of the Democratic Party between the years 1892 and 1904, which he prefers to call a "whirligig" of politics. That this period is rightly labeled a "whirligig" is apparent to those who recall the historic struggle between the colorful William Jennings Bryan and the portly Grover Cleveland for control of the Democratic Party. Hollingsworth is concerned here with the failure of both Bryan and Cleveland to form a coalition capable of challenging the Republican Party's leadership. This failure resulted in the gradual deterioration of the Democratic Party until it was helpless to prevent the election of McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Taft.

This book contains little that is new. Rather, it is a rehash of political events from 1892 to 1904. Yet this work will be valuable to both the historian and political scientist because the author goes into a detailed account of the Democratic Party's leadership.

Professor Hollingsworth has documented his book well. His large bibliography contains all the sources necessary to authenticate this political history. If the author can be criticized for any one thing here he can be accused of not using the complete papers of Eugene Debs and David Starr Jordan. The author's style is direct and clear. But few historians will wish to agree that "As we are not likely to discover any significant new sources of material for the study of American political history during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the important thing is to make new use of old sources. . . ."

The Whirligig of Politics can be recommended, therefore, for those interested in a thoroughly detailed account of an "old chestnut."

Frank Grubbs

Meredith College

Fathers to Sons: Advice Without Consent. Edited and with an Introduction by Alan Valentine. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xxxii, 237. Notes, bibliography, and index. $4.95.)

At first glance this volume might appear to be just another anthology of letters for after-dinner browsing. In roughly chronological order, the extracts range from the time of Lorenzo de Medici to our own Franklin D., each with a thumbnail sketch of the writers and recipients in their social context to make good any defects in the reader's memory or education. But this is far more than a bedside book. The editor, a Rhodes Scholar, onetime president of the University of Rochester, and himself a father, writes with humor and insight on an enduring theme, the alienation of the generations, neatly mirrored in his subtitle and elaborated in a provocative Introduction.

The problem, of course, is to bridge the gap from father to son. Should advice-offering fathers "give precedence to indoctrination or self-development, to discipline or sympathy . . .? Should a son be tailored to fit society or to improve it, to adjust or assert?" Fathers have repeatedly grappled with these dilemmas, but editor Valentine questions whether or not the effort has ever really been worthwhile: "The fine art of paternity must be learned from experience that usually brings its wisdom too late." Younger sons, he observes, get off more easily because by their time father has achieved "either more wisdom or a clearer recognition of his own futility." That word futility is the dominant motif. Styles may change from the self-confident authoritarian of yesteryear to the baffled camaraderie of today's more permissive parent, but the problem remains, a persisting dimension of tragedy, the isolation of father from son. What a pity, Valentine laments, ". . . so many generations of experienced fathers have not left their successors a single dependable manual of the profession. . . ." In a sense, this anthology is just such a manual.

Still, for all the tragedy, there is delightful entertainment here. One example must suffice: Dr. Benjamin Rush admonishes his son to write "even a common note" as if one day it were to be "read in court," but to no avail. He soon complains "Your last was scarcely legible and point of composition . . . very improper for a junior . . . at Princeton. . . . From a sense of duty I shall continue my usual kindness to you. I have therefore enclosed you the money you have requested."

I. B. Holley, Jr.

Duke University

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

A biography, *David Lowry Swain: Governor and University President,* has been written by Cordelia Camp and published by The Stephens Press, Inc., P. O. Box 5256, Asheville. Twelve chapters discuss Swain's life from boyhood days through his career as a leader in North Carolina's political and educational life. The 64-page illustrated booklet includes a bibliography and is indexed. Miss Camp's study will be particularly useful as a supplement to the texts used by children studying North Carolina history in the seventh or eighth grades. Paper-bound copies are $1.00, and copies bound in library buchram are $2.50; these may be ordered from the publisher or from the author at 3 Lorraine Avenue, Asheville.

History of Tyrrell County, by David E. Davis, is a 98-page booklet printed by offset. Recent statistical information adds to the value of the account of the County's history. Illustrations, a list of important dates in Tyrrell County history, statistical tables, maps, and bibliography are included in the publication. Orders may be sent to the author, Route 1, Box 143, Columbia, North Carolina.

The Department recently received *The Flight of the Clan* and "Some Historic Families of South Carolina," written by Frampton Erroll Ellis. The former is a small pamphlet which includes a diary of 1865 by Emily Caroline Ellis with an Introduction and notes by Frampton E. Ellis. The latter is a 92-page booklet, originally printed in 1905, and reprinted in 1962. Genealogical history of 15 families is given and interested persons may address inquiries to Mr. Ellis, 1109 Georgia Savings Bank Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

A copy of *Williford and Allied Families,* has been received by the State Department of Archives and History. The 284-page book is by William Bailey Williford, and copies may be obtained from him at 24 Collier Road, N. W., Atlanta 9, Georgia, for $15 each. Genealogists will be interested in references to many North Carolinians, including Thomas, Nathan, Britain, and Samuel Williford; Judge William Williams; Philip Wilhite and family; Robert Weakley, Jr.; Cadwallader Jones IV; Willie Jones; and Judge John Sitgreaves. The book is indexed and there is a bibliography.

William Perry Johnson, Editor of *Journal of North Carolina Genealogy,* has issued Volume I of his *Index to North Carolina Wills,*

1663-1900. The *Index* includes a listing of wills from Alamance, Alexander, Alleghany, Anson, Ashe, and Beaufort counties. The name of the testator, date of probate, and volume and page of the appropriate record book are given for each will. Copies of the publication may be ordered from Mr. Johnson, P. O. Box 531, Raleigh, 27602, for $4.00.

Early American Hurricanes, 1492-1870, by David M. Ludlum, is the first volume in a projected series entitled *The History of American Weather.* Information on the years 1501 through 1700 is all given in one chapter, but a geographical breakdown is used for the later years. Hurricanes in the Gulf Coast area, those from Hatteras north, and those from Hatteras south are discussed. Sections entitled "Bibliography to 1870," "Chronological Index: 1528-1870," and "Geographical Index by States: 1528-1870" add to the value of the data. Numerous journals and first-hand accounts were used in compiling material for the book. Clothbound copies are $7.00; paper-bound copies are $5.00. Orders may be sent to the American Meteorological Society, 45 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, 02108.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission

A twenty-five member Commission has been appointed by Governor Terry Sanford to serve during the remainder of the Civil War Centennial. Reappointed for a third term were the following: Colonel Hugh Dortch, Chairman, Goldsboro; Judge W. H. S. Burgwyn, Woodland; Mrs. D. S. Coltrane, Raleigh; Mrs. G. W. Cover, Andrews; Dr. W. S. Jenkins, Chapel Hill; Mrs. Mary Jane McCrary, Brevard; Senator Hector MacLean, Lumberton; Judge R. Hunt Parker, Raleigh; Mr. John R. Peacock, High Point; Dr. Robert H. Woody, Durham; and Mrs. Charles U. Harris, Raleigh. Second term reappointments include Dr. H. H. Cunningham, Elon College; Mrs. R. O. Everett, Durham; Mr. Ernie Greup, Durham; Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, Hendersonville; Dr. Robert Long, Statesville; Mr. F. C. Salisbury, Morehead City; Mrs. Alvin Seippel, Winston-Salem; Mr. Glenn M. Tucker, Carolina Beach; Mr. R. F. Van Landingham, Thomasville; Mrs. Jessie Ruth Seagroves, Siler City; Mrs. Earl Teague, Statesville; and Mr. George Myrover, Fayetteville. The twenty-fifth and newest member is Mr. W. Cliff Elder of Burlington, Colonel of the North Carolina Sixth Regiment. Ex officio members of the Commission are Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, State Department of Archives and History; Dr. Charles F. Carroll, Superintendent, State Department of Public Instruction; and Mr. Robert L. Stallings, Director, Department of Conservation and Development.

The twelfth plenary meeting of The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission was held on January 17 in the Tartan Room of Balentine's Confederate House in Cameron Village, Raleigh. Following the welcome and introduction of new commissioners and staff members, the Executive Secretary, Mr. Norman C. Larson, reported on activities of the Commission during the year 1963. Commenting on a proposed schedule of Centennial events in 1964-1965, the Executive Secretary said that there would be an emphasis on commemorative activities, highlights being the anniversary of the Battle of Fort Fisher and the signing of the surrender and beginning of peace at the Bennett Place. A major order of business was the election of a board of directors for The North Carolina Confederate Corporation and an executive committee for the Commission. Elected to the former group were Mrs. Cover, Dr. Crittenden, Col. Dortch, Mr. Elder, Mr. Greup, Senator MacLean, Mrs. McCrary, Mr. Peacock, and Mr. Tucker. New members of the executive committee are Colonel Dortch, Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Seippel, Dr. Woody, Mrs. Seagroves, Mrs. Everett, Mr. Salisbury, Dr. Cunningham, and Judge Parker.

The Council of State has allocated $10,000 from the Contingency and Emergency Fund to the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission to continue the Ram "Neuse" project and to make the Confederate gunboat a permanent memorial. Specifically, the money will be used to remove the vessel from the bank of the Neuse River near Kinston to the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial property where a permanent location has been assigned to it, to construct an access road to the site, to provide a concrete foundation for the vessel, and to preserve it. The action by the Council climaxes efforts begun two years ago by the Lenoir County Centennial Committee, the city of Kinston, the Board of County Commissioners, and the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission to raise the Civil War relic from the waters of the Neuse and place it on dry land.

The Mecklenburg Board of County Commissioners announced the appointment in December of Mr. Harry T. Orr as chairman of the newly-formed Mecklenburg County Centennial Committee. This action by the Board raises the number of local committees in the State to 73.

A resolution expressing support of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission in its program during the last years of the Civil War Centennial was adopted by the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association at its annual meeting in Raleigh, December 7. The resolution was presented by the Executive Secretary of the Commission, Mr. Larson.

During January Mr. Larson spoke to several groups about the activities of the Confederate Commission. On January 16 he met with the New Hanover County Centennial Committee and the Fort Fisher Restoration Committee to discuss plans for commemoration of the Battle of Fort Fisher. A tentative outline of events met with the approval of the group. Mr. Larson presented a slide program about diving explorations of sunken Civil War ships in North Carolina waters to the Hagerstown, Maryland, Civil War Round Table on January 23 and repeated the program on the following evening to members of the same organization in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

On January 30 an organizational meeting of the Andrew Johnson-Bennett Place Commemoration Committee was held in Durham. The Committee, combining members of the Andrew Johnson Commission, the Bennett Place Memorial Commission, and the Confederate Centennial Commission, met to establish itself officially and elect officers and directors to plan a joint commemoration of the Bennett Place surrender and the anniversary of Andrew Johnson's succession to the office of President of the United States. Officers elected were: Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Chairman; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan and Mr. R. O. Everett, Vice-Chairmen; and Senator Hector MacLean, Secretary-Treasurer. Elected to the Board of Directors were: Mr. Greup, Mr. H. C. Bradshaw, Mr. A. H. Graham, and Mrs. Everett. Honorary members of the Board elected were Mrs. Taylor Cole, Dr. Woody, and Senator Claude Currie. Mr. Larson was elected to serve as Executive Director.

Mrs. Frances Ashford of the Hall of History staff and Mr. Larson addressed an assembly of junior and senior high school students in Bath on February 5. Mr. Larson spoke on "The Civil War."

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Andrew Johnson-Bennett Place Committee was held in Durham on February 11 for the purpose of selecting committees to plan the commemoration.

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission announces the resignation of Mrs. Edward Bizzell, Jr., Administrative Assistant, and the assumption of her duties by Mr. Robert Jones of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History, who will be on temporary loan during the remainder of the Centennial. Also joining the Commission staff is Mrs. Paul V. Phillips, Jr., who will serve as secretary of the Commission.

Colonial Records Project

The North Carolina Colonial Records Project was transferred to the State Department of Archives and History on January 1, upon dissolution of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission. The Editor continues to be Mrs. Mattie Erma E. Parker. Other members of the Project staff are Mrs. Violet W. Quay, Editorial Assistant; Mrs. Audrey M. Piner and Mrs. Miriam B. Purvis, Stenographers; and Mrs. Rosemary C. Carmichael, Mrs. Florence T. Eubank, and Mrs. Ann S. Powe, Researchers.

The immediate objective of the Colonial Records Project is to locate, wherever they may be, all extant documents related to colonial North Carolina and to prepare a detailed inventory, describing each document and giving its location. Approximately 200,000 manuscript pages of colonial records in depositories in North Carolina have been examined and inventoried. The staff is now inventorying the colonial court records in the State Department of Archives and History.

A search for North Carolina colonial records outside the State is also under way. This search is being conducted in the archives of the thirteen original States, manuscript depositories in major cities and universities, and other depositories which are known or thought to have North Carolina records. It has been completed and the pertinent records have been inventoried in forty depositories outside North Carolina, in many of which significant discoveries were made. Discoveries of important papers, including correspondence of governors, legislative records, and papers of prominent residents of the colony, have been made in such widely separated places as Massachusetts, Texas, and Michigan. Plans for extending the search to foreign countries are now being formed. It is already known that important records of colonial North Carolina are in Great Britain, Switzerland, Germany, France, and other foreign countries.

After the necessary information has been obtained, photocopies of the records found outside North Carolina will be obtained for manuscript depositories in the State. The more important documents will be published in a new series of North Carolina colonial records.

Director's Office

Effective in January, Mr. Paul Kelly joined the staff of the Department as Consultant. Mr. Kelly for approximately 30 years was associated with the State Department of Conservation and Development in various capacities. He is assisting with the Department's public information program. On January 6 Mr. Edmund H. Harding, Chairman of the Historic Bath Commission; Mr. Dan Paul, Treasurer of the Commission; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; and Miss Mary B. Cornick, Budget Officer, met in Dr. Crittenden's office to discuss the program of Historic Bath.

On January 15 Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting of the Raleigh Historic Sites Commission at which Mr. Hal W. Trentman, Chairman, presided. The group discussed possibilities of issuing a brochure; Mrs. Roy Wilder reported for a committee which had investigated various types of publications applicable to the project. At the February 19 meeting of the Commission a "Minute Man" committee—Mr. Banks Talley, Mr. Henry Haywood, and Mrs. Raymond Murray—was appointed to investigate the present status of houses and buildings in Raleigh designated for preservation. Serving on the criteria committee will be Mr. F. Carter Williams, Mr. Ben Williams, and Mr. Tarlton. The brochure to be published by the Commission will contain pictures of Raleigh houses, a list of local historic sites, and a statement of the purpose of the Commission. Dr. Crittenden, who serves as a consultant to the group, and Mr. Tarlton will study the phrasing of the text for the brochure. A number of related groups have expressed interest in working with the Commission. Four additional committees were appointed—publicity, liaison, research, and a committee to provide speakers to publicize the objectives and work of the Commission. Mr. Trentman and Miss Beth G. Crabtree, Secretary, will serve as ex officio members of the six committees.

On January 23 the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association met to plan the meetings of the various Culture Week societies. Present were President James W. Patton, Vice-Presidents Mr. Ovid Pierce and Mrs. Ina W. Van Noppen, Secretary-Treasurer Dr. Crittenden, Executive Committee members Mr. Henry W. Lewis, Mr. John F. Blair, and Dr. Herbert Paschal, Jr., and Administrative Assistant Mrs. W. L. Burts. An invitation was considered to hold Culture Week in Winston-Salem in 1966 as a part of the 200th anniversary of the founding of Salem. Following a brief recess the Executive Committee reconvened with representatives of other societies joining the group. Present were Mr. Dan Paul and Mrs. E. A. Branch, North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities; Mrs. Floyd D. Mehan, North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs; Dr. Holger Nygard, Mr. Philip Kennedy, and Dr. J. D. Clark, North Carolina Folklore Society; Mrs. Van Noppen, North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians; Dr. Joseph C. Sloane, North Carolina State Art Society; Mr. John W. Fox, Roanoke Island Historical Association; Mr. James Gray, Old Salem, Inc.; and Mr. William Fields, Associated Artists.

The Historic Sites Advisory Committee met on January 29 in the Assembly Room of the Department. Present were the following appointed members: Chairman James A. Stenhouse of Charlotte, Mr. James McClure Clarke of Asheville, and Mrs. P. P. McCain of Wilson; and the following ex officio members: Mr. Hiram Casebolt of Raleigh representing the Director of the Department of Conservation and Development; Dr. C. O. Cathey of Chapel Hill representing the Chairman of the Department of History of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; and Mr. G. Andrew Jones of Raleigh, State Budget Officer. Also present were Dr. Crittenden, who serves ex officio as Secretary of the Committee; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator; Miss Mary B. Cornick, Budget Officer of the Department; Mr. Tarlton and Mr. Walter Wootten, Staff Historian, Division of Historic Sites. Those present discussed appropriations made by the 1963 General Assembly and Dr. Crittenden summarized certain correspondence with the Attorney General's office relating to museums. Representative Alden Baker of Pasquotank County, who introduced the special bill which appropriated funds for the Museum of the Albemarle, joined the Committee for a discussion of the proposed Museum project; no action was taken and the matter was left open.

Following a discussion of two projects located in Edenton, the Committee passed resolutions that the Cupola House and the Barker House were approved and endorsed to receive funds appropriated by the 1963 General Assembly.

Discussion of a long-range Historic Sites program was postponed until the next meeting.

Dr. Rubio Mañe, Mexican archivist, and Mr. Gregorio Ramirez, Mexican architect, visited the Department on February 7. They consulted with Dr. Crittenden, Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, and Mr. F. Carter Williams, architect for the new Archives and History-State Library Building. They were shown rough drawings of the new building and inspected the Archives and Records Center. The North Carolina Department of Archives and History is one of several visited by Dr. Mañe and Mr. Ramirez.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Philadelphia, December 28-30, and participated in a council meeting of the Society of American Archivists held in conjunction with the Association. On January 13 Mr. Jones spoke to the Burlington Rotary Club and on January 28 to the American Business Club of Raleigh on the subject of North Carolina's historical programs.

In the Newspaper Microfilm Project, filming of the *Caucasian,* published in Clinton, Goldsboro, and Raleigh from 1884 to 1913, was completed, as were titles not heretofore filmed from the towns of Greensboro, Pittsboro, and Salisbury, up to 1900.

For the quarter ending December 31, the Microfilm Processing Laboratory produced 1,244 reels (123,550 linear feet) of microfilm, of which

532 reels were 35 mm. negatives, 195 reels 16 mm. negatives, 505 reels 35 mm. positives, and 12 reels of 16 mm. positives. During the same period the Document Restoration Laboratory's production was 23,572 pages of laminated records, most of which were county records. In addition, 3,235 pages were laminated for the Southern Historical Collection and other institutions and individuals.

In the Archives, accessions included a microfilm copy of the account book of William Hooper for 1780-1783; six manuscript Civil War military maps; and a variety of private collections, genealogical materials, and microfilm copies of county records and church records.

The Search Room served 1,343 persons during the quarter, 720 by mail and 623 in person. Copies furnished totaled 980. The experiment of keeping the Search Room open from 8:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. on Saturdays has proven successful, and plans are to continue the Saturday hours indefinitely if the public continues to take advantage of them. The purchase of an ultraviolet (black) lamp has made possible the examination of faded documents. A badly faded manuscript map of Wilmington, heretofore dated by experts as 1755, can now be dated with certainty as 1735.

Staff changes in the Archives include the promotions of Mrs. Frances T. Council and Mr. Roger C. Jones from Archivist I to Archivist II, and of Miss Betsy Fleshman from Clerk III to Archivist I.

The security microfilming of permanently valuable records has been completed in Burke and Caswell counties by Local Records Section camera operators and in Gaston by the county operator. This brings to 35 the number of counties which have been completed. Work is in progress in Nash and Wilkes counties by Section camera operators, and in Alamance, Guilford, and Mecklenburg, by county operators.

Original county records recently received from counties for permanent preservation in the State Archives include:

Burke County: Criminal action papers (1829-1901).

Caswell County: County Court Minutes (1831-1835, 1843-1862, 1866-1868); miscellaneous County Court dockets (1777-1868); Superior Court minutes (1807-1826); Equity minutes (1807-1868); miscellaneous Superior Court dockets (1823-1868); civil action papers of Superior and County Courts (1777-1878); administrators' and guardians' bonds (1876-1918); apprentice bonds (1880-1921); bastardy bonds (1877-1878); guardians' accounts (books and papers) (1794-1868); record of officials' bonds (1868-1907); records of elections (1872-1912); estates papers (1777-1888).

Davie County: Trial and state dockets of the County Court (1847-1868); Superior Court minutes (rough) (1837-1844, 1856, 1857, 1872-1875, 1877, 1880, 1881, 1883); civil and criminal action papers of Superior and County Court (1825-1900); administrators' and guardians' bonds and returns (1850-1870); estates papers (1845-1875); election records and returns (1850-1904); and ledgers (merchants') (1836-1838, 1846-1848).

Nash County: Miscellaneous County Court dockets (1782-1868); civil and criminal action papers of the Superior and County Courts (1780-1880); Superior Court minutes (1813-1868); Equity dockets and papers

(1811-1824); inventories and accounts of sales (1818-1868); administrators' and guardians' bonds (1857-1915); guardian accounts (1820-1867); bastardy bonds (1871-1880); marriage record book (1851-1867); wills (originals) (1790-1906); index to wills (1779-1926); estates papers (1780-1880); record of elections (1878-1924); deeds, not called for (1800-1915); land entries (1838-1902); records of official bonds (1823-1888); division of slaves (1829-1861); minutes of superintendents of common schools (1843-1864); minutes of Wardens' Court (1844-1860); mercantile journal (Algood and Bunn) (1836-1837); and a tax list (1875).

The following positive microfilm copies of county records have been processed and placed in the Search Room:

Brunswick County: Deeds and land grants and indexes thereto (1764-1952); registration of land titles and records of survey (1905-1940); marriage register (1850-1961); index to vital statistics (1914-1963); County Court minutes (1805-1868); Sueprior Court minutes (1882-1944); records of administrators, executors, and guardians (1929-1963); record of accounts (1868-1963); appointment of administrators, executors, and guardians (1868-1929); record of settlements (1868-1963); record of resale of land (1920-1963); inheritance tax record (1923-1963); wills and indexes thereto (1764-1963); special proceedings (1908-1963); armed forces discharges (1927-1963); records of partnership and corporations (1889-1963); minutes, county commissioners (1869-1928); minutes, board of education (1872-1935); record of elections (1934-1962); and tax scrolls (1873-1925).

The Document Restoration Laboratory restored by lamination 20,792 pages of county records. A total of 36 volumes were rebound at State expense.

In the State Records Section, the schedule for the Laboratory of Hygiene, State Board of Health, has been approved, and schedules for the Board of Refrigeration Engineers, Board of Examiners for Engineers and Land Surveyors, Insurance Department, Merit System Council, and Rural Electrification Authority have been submitted to the respective agencies for approval. A revision of the State Auditor's schedule is in progress, as is an amendment to the Department of Conservation and Development schedule relating to the Division of Community Planning. The State Department of Archives and History schedule has been amended.

The workshops have continued, with the Correspondence Management and Plain Letters workshop being given three times to 57 persons representing two agencies and the Files and Filing workshop being given two times to 33 persons representing one agency.

A central file has been developed for the Department of Mental Health and, after approval, was installed. The Equivalency Index of the Testing and Pupil Classification Section of the Department of Public Instruction was reorganized and alphabetized. The filing system developed late in 1962 for the State Department of Archives and History has been reviewed and is generally found to be operating satisfactorily. A special study of duplicate accident report files of the Department of Motor Vehicles has also been made.

In the State Records Center, 1,244 cubic feet of records were accessioned during the quarter ending December 31, and 897 cubic feet were disposed of, for a net gain of 347 cubic feet. The total holdings of the Records Center at the end of December were 28,726 cubic feet. The Records Center staff performed 11,788 reference services during the quarter, including 5,131 services in which documents or information were furnished and 6,657 items were refiled or interfiled. Ninety visitors for 17 State agencies visited the Records Center to consult records.

The Records Center has sold 11.54 tons of waste paper during the quarter for $35.

In the Microfilm Project, 82 reels of microfilm containing 183,750 images were filmed during the quarter. In addition, 81 reels of paid checks were processed for the State Treasurer.

Mr. Leland T. Jones, Clerk II, was promoted to Clerk III effective December 1. Mr. Alexander R. Tuten, Records Management Consultant I, resigned effective December 31 to take a position in private business; he was replaced by Mr. John F. Dunning, who was appointed Records Management Consultant I effective January 1. Mr. Robert L. Fry was appointed Clerk II (Microfilmer) effective January 1.

Division of Historic Sites

There are many indications of growth in restoration activity throughout the State at the local level. Several county historical societies and special organizations have undertaken restoration or historic site projects and are working with commendable success. The staff of the Division of Historic Sites is frequently asked to assist these local or special projects. Thus the Department extends its work without the problems of finance and administration; the local projects benefit from the experience and professional skills of the full-time specialists of the Department. This cooperation results in a higher standard of accomplishment in local restorations all over the State.

During recent months the Division has assisted the following projects:

McDowell County Historical Society. Restoration of the Carson House, which has already been acquired by the Society, and planning the reconstruction of Davidson's Fort at Old Fort. Davidson's Fort was a pre-Revolutionary outpost in the settlement of the upper Catawba Valley and also was used during Major Griffith Rutherford's campaign against the Cherokee in 1775.

Bladen County Historical Society. Restoration of "Harmony Hall," pre-Revolutionary home of Colonel James Richardson. Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Restoration Specialist, has been working with Mr. Chatham Clark and other members of the Society in planning the restoration.

Catawba County Historical Association. More adequate marking of the Bunker Hill Covered Bridge near Claremont, one of three surviving covered bridges in North Carolina and the only one being preserved. The bridge is located at Connor Roadside Park on US 70, east of Claremont.

James Iredell Association, Edenton. Restoration and improvement of the period furnishings, improvement in the administration of the project

and its presentation to the public. The Iredell House was the home of one of North Carolina's two members of the United States Supreme Court. Judge Iredell was appointed by President George Washington.

Beaufort Historical Society. Planning a town-wide preservation program, including the acquisition and restoration of two historic buildings and other property for future use. Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Superintendent, and Mr. James H. Craig, Curator of Arts and Crafts, recently spoke to the Society on over-all planning and on the furnishing of historic houses, respectively.

Hezekiah Alexander House Restoration Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Charlotte. Additional restoration of buildings (including kitchen and spring house) and improvement of furnishings of the pre-Revolutionary stone house, home of one of Mecklenburg's prominent early citizens. Mr. Tarlton and Mr. Craig recently met with the Committee and recommended a plan to be followed.

Western North Carolina. Mr. Robert O. Conway, Site Specialist for the area, has investigated and made recommendations to local organizations concerning the old Judson College Building at Hendersonville, the Keyhole House at Lenoir (resulting from a letter sent by two schoolgirls to Governor Terry Sanford asking for aid in preserving the House), and the Toxaway Indian burial mound in Transylvania County.

Pantego Historical Society, Beaufort County. This group is planning to acquire and preserve the old Pantego Academy building and use it as a local historical museum.

Confederate fortification on Roanoke River. Mr. Tarlton, Mr. Honeycutt, and Mr. Walter Wootten, Staff Historian, have inspected and investigated the remains of a large Confederate fortification near Halifax and recommendations have been forwarded to a local group of citizens for their consideration.

Hillsborough Historical Society. Mr. Honeycutt has been working with this organization on the restoration of an early house which was acquired last year by the Society.

Within the regular program of the Division the following events and developments have occurred:

At Fort Fisher State Historic Site the newly acquired 12-acre tract on the ocean side has been cleared to a large extent so that visitors may now tour another portion of the Fort earthworks. The beach on this front is, however, undergoing a serious erosion and the earthworks are being destroyed at an alarming rate. A recent survey by Mr. Stanley A. South, Archaeologist, shows extensive destruction in the last four or five years. The New Hanover Board of County Commissioners and the Department have appealed to the Water Resources Commission and the State Highway Department for repair and stabilization of the beach to protect the Historic Site property and the road. The New Hanover County Confederate Centennial Committee has made plans to commemorate the Battle of Fort Fisher early in 1965. An amphibious landing by armed forces and a display of fireworks are among the features tentatively planned. Plans for the restoration of the palisade and sally port on the land face of the Fort have been made and work is ready to begin. The visitor center-

museum is in the final planning stage and bids will be let by mid-April. The building will be located outside the sally port, on the north side of the Fort works.

At Brunswick Town State Historic Site the area for the visitor center-museum, also in the final planning stage, has been cleared and recently excavated colonial house foundations have been cleaned up and landscaped for exhibit. Mr. South, Site Specialist, has written a series of radio programs on the history of Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher, which are being presented three days a week over Radio Station WMFD, Wilmington.

Mr. South, at the request of the Bethabara Historical Society and Old Salem, Inc., has conducted preliminary investigation of the Moravian village site at Bethabara, the first Moravian town in North Carolina, and has recommended a program for further archaeological work and development as a historical attraction. He will continue to work on the program, which is being financed with funds contributed by Mr. Charles H. Babcock, Sr., of Winston-Salem.

Mr. James Ivey, Historic Site Assistant at the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site, has been in charge of clearing the site at the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial property, Kinston, for the relocation of the Confederate Ram "Neuse," which is soon to be moved from downriver where it was raised from the bottom of the Neuse River in 1963.

The landscaping contracts for the Caswell Memorial have been completed with the recent planting of trees along the walks and drives. The Frosty Morn Meat Packing Company, with a plant adjacent to the site on the east, has generously co-operated with the Caswell project by planting screening trees and shrubs, making it possible at the same time for the Company's lake, next to the Caswell graveyard, to be an integral part of the landscape plan.

At Bentonville Battleground construction of the visitor center-museum was begun in early January. It is expected that the building will be ready for occupancy by midsummer. Mr. Roy S. Dickens, Archaeologist at Town Creek Indian Mound, recently headed an artifact-finding expedition to Bentonville Battleground, which resulted in the recovery of a number of bullets and other battle relics for the Bentonville museum and careful archaeological notes for the record.

At Town Creek the backlog of laboratory work of last summer's archaeological excavations is being done during the slack winter season. The Archaeologist has also carried on a good deal of field survey work in the area.

At Historic Bath a ceiling in the Bonner House fell, which caused considerable damage to the furnishings and resulted in the temporary closing in November of the two historic houses for inspection and repairs. The houses are now repaired and open for visitors. The kitchen at the Bonner House has been furnished and added to the list of attractions. Mr. Willie Grey Moore of Bath has been appointed to the permanent staff as Maintenance Mechanic. Mr. Craig compiled an inventory of all furnishings in the Palmer-Marsh and Bonner houses for the Department's permanent records. Mr. Frank E. Walsh, Exhibits Designer, has made plans for

remodeling the reception center and historical exhibits and this work is now in progress. Plans are being drawn for the Ruth Smith Memorial Garden at the Bonner House.

Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Operations Manager, has co-operated with the staff of the Confederate Centennial Commission in making plans for the Centennial program for the Bennett Place, Durham. He is a member of the Andrew Johnson-Bennett Place Centennial Committee, designed to plan and promote a joint commemorative program in 1965.

At Historic Halifax the Constitution House has been donated to the State by the North Carolina Daughters of the American Revolution. The Department will assume responsibility for the house, in co-operation with the Historic Halifax Restoration Association as part of the over-all program. Mr. Honeycutt is supervising the final stages of restoration of the Dutch Colonial House. The Historic Halifax Restoration Association is acquiring additional property to enlarge the historic area.

Division of Museums

A highlight for the Tarheel Junior Historian Association occurred December 6, at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, when Secretary of State Thad Eure presented Junior Historian Awards to the first winning chapters. The 1962-1963 president and vice-president and the 1963-1964 president and vice-president of the Stephen Cabarrus Chapter, Harrisburg School, Harrisburg, accepted the Literary Award which was presented to their club for their narrative history of Cabarrus County, "The Gold Nugget." Mrs. Mable Blume serves as the club's adviser. The Arts Award was won by the Roanoke Junior Historian Club, Washington Street Elementary School, Plymouth, for a series of oil paintings depicting the history of North Carolina. The five contributing artists accepted the award on behalf of their club. Mrs. Ruth Thomas Pharr is the club's adviser.

For the first time since the establishment of the Junior Historian Association, more than 100 Junior Historian Clubs have been organized.

Mrs. Frances Ashford made a talk on "Culpeper's Rebellion" on November 21 to the Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century in Raleigh.

A talk was made to the State's Mates Club on November 11, on "Accessories from 1790 to 1920" by Mrs. Sue R. Todd.

Mr. Samuel P. Townsend made a trip to the Preservation Laboratory on November 15-16, to check on progress and to make specific plans with Mr. John Miller for the preservation of cannon and other artifacts and to outline specifications for additions and improvements to the laboratory building. Many changes have already been made, including the addition of 600 square feet of storage space. A large stainless steel tank has been constructed which makes it possible to have 200 cubic feet of distilled water for use in the treatment process. A sandblasting shed has been added, also. Two of the cannon recovered from the "Peterhoff" in the summer of 1963 have been placed in huge steel vats and are undergoing constant fresh water washing.

Mrs. Jordan attended the ceremonies of the sixtieth anniversary of powered flight at Kitty Hawk on December 15-17. Most of the staff members of the Division attended the organizational meeting of the North Carolina Museums Council in Raleigh on December 4. Mrs. Jordan was elected to serve as a member of the Steering Committee of the newly formed Council. The women staff members of the Division were present at a luncheon at the Velvet Cloak Inn in Raleigh honoring the Women's Allied Auxillary of the North Carolina Motor Carriers Association. Mrs. Sue R. Todd gave a talk at the meeting on "Accessories from 1663 to 1963."

Governor Terry Sanford formally opened the Transportation Gallery in the Hall of History on January 24. The exhibit was sponsored by the North Carolina Motor Carriers Association. A reception was held for the honor guests attending the ceremonies. Other persons participating were Dr. Crittenden and Mr. R. L. Brinson and Mr. J. T. Outlaw, President and Vice-President of the Association.

Mr. Charles W. Loftin resigned on December 31; he had been in charge of the Mobile Museum of History. Since January 27 Mr. John Amari has been filling this position until a permanent employee can be obtained. Mr. James Alfred White joined the staff of the Division on December 12 as Museums Preparator. Mrs. Betty Tyson began work on January 16 as a Typist-Receptionist (Temporary) and Mrs. Marge Hamilton, who recently finished the course in museum work with this Division as a Meredith College internee, reported to work January 30. She will work as a Typist (Part-Time) during the remainder of the college semester.

Division of Publications

During the fourth quarter of 1963, sales in the Division of Publications totaled $7,855, with $5,130 being retained by the Division and $2,725 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 222 documentary volumes; 6 letter books of governors; 201 small books; 13,753 pamphlets, charts, and maps; 48,235 leaflets and brochures; and 8,994 copies of the list of publications. Not included in the total of 71,411 are 1,992 copies of the Winter, 1963, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review,* and 1,773 copies of the November issue of *Carolina Comments.* There were 205 new subscriptions and 538 renewals to *The Review.*

Indians in North Carolina, Civil War Pictures, and *The Old North State Fact Book* were reprinted. *North Carolina's Role in World War II, North Carolina Signers: Brief Sketches of the Men Who Signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution,* and *The North Carolina Historical Review: Subject-Title-Author-Index, 1924-1963* were all issued for the first time. The first two new titles are pamphlets, each available for 25¢; the *Index* is $5.00. All publications may be ordered from the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, 27602.

Plans are being made to revise the list of publications available from the Department. Publications should be ordered from the new list after

April 1. Copies of this list are available free of charge from the Division of Publications.

Manuscript copy for Volume III of *The Papers of John Gray Blount,* edited by Dr. W. H. Masterson, was received late in 1963 and will be sent to the printer in the early spring. Copy for the first volume of the Jarvis Papers, edited by Dr. W. B. Yearns, was received in January; it, too, will be sent to the printer in the spring.

Mrs. Brenda C. Whicker, Stenographer II, resigned and was replaced by Mrs. Marion T. James on February 4.

Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, Editorial Assistant II, spoke to the Samuel Johnston Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Raleigh on January 8. She spoke to the staff of the Department on the publications program on January 16. Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor, spoke to the Clio Book Club in Raleigh on January 28.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. George Pasti, Jr., of the Department of History at East Carolina College, spoke at the annual meeting of the Southeastern Regional Conference of the Association for Asia Studies held at Sweetbriar College, Virginia, on February 14. His topic was "The Comparative Study of East Asian and Western History: Some Topics and Problems." Dr. Pasti has received, from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, a post-doctoral award for a year of study of the Chinese language and Asian history at the University of Southern California. Dr. George Baker had an article, "The Wilson Administration and Cuba, 1913-1921," in *Mid-America,* Volume 46, Number 1, 1963. Dr. Betty C. Congleton had an article, "Prentice's Biography of Henry Clay, and John Greenleaf Whittier," in *The Filson Club History Quarterly,* for October. Dr. Joseph Steelman was a discussant at a session on Progressivism at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Philadelphia in December and Dr. Richard C. Todd spoke to the Chatham Book Club in Greenville on February 4 on "Nathanael Greene: His Life and Times." Dr. Joseph S. Bachman spoke to the Pitt County Historical Society on January 30 and Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., Director of the Department, was elected to the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association on December 6.

On December 5 Dr. John H. Gilbert, Department of History and Political Science at North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh, moderated the *Time* Round Table program on "Prospects for the Johnson Administration" on Radio Station WKNC. Dr. Burton F. Beers had an article, "The Common Market, the United States, and American Textiles," in the *Textile Forum,* Winter, 1964, and Dr. Marvin L. Brown, Jr., had an article, "France in the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchie," in the *French Historical Studies,* Fall, 1963. Dr. Ralph W. Greenlaw is serving as general editor of the series, *Problems in European Civilization,* published by the D. C. Heath Company.

Dean A. K. Hinds of Western Carolina College died on February 11 and Dr. D. C. Sossoman, Assistant Dean and Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences, became Acting Dean on the same day. Dr. Sossoman will continue his duties as Chairman.

Dr. Norris W. Preyer, Chairman of the Department of History of Queens College, will be a discussant at a session on "Textiles and Southern Economic Development" at the May 1 meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Cleveland, Ohio. The session will be sponsored jointly by the Textile History Association and the Historical Association. Dr. Cary Henderson received the Ph.D. degree in history from Duke University in January.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College, appeared as a panelist on WRAL-TV on January 8. The topic discussed was "The Little Federal Plan." The Department is co-operating with Tulane University in a pilot project for early identification of students interested in and capable of a professorial career. The study is sponsored by a Ford Foundation grant. Dr. Richard D. Goff has been promoted from Instructor to Assistant Professor of History.

Dr. Robert Crane of the Department of History of Duke University spent the academic year 1962-1963 in India on a fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies. In addition to his work in the West Bengal Government Archives and the National Archives of India in New Delhi, he served as Visiting Professor of Indian History at the University of Calcutta. He also read papers at three conferences which will be published in the proceedings of each group. Recently Dr. Crane was elected Fellow of the Institute of Historical Studies in Calcutta; he has also accepted the editorship of the *Journal of Asian Studies.*

At the Philadelphia meeting in December of the American Historical Association, Dr. Joel Colton appraised "The Blum 'New Deal'" in a session on Left and Right in France in the Thirties. At the same meeting Dr. Robert Durden spoke on "The Populist Ticket of 1896," and Dr. John Tate Lanning, chairman of the nominating committee of the Association, addressed the Luncheon Conference on Latin American History on "The Hispanist in the American Historical Association." Dr. Theodore Ropp was a commentator at a session on Far Eastern Diplomacy and Dr. Anne Firor Scott described "The Southern Lady: Image and Reality" at a joint session with the Southern Historical Association. Dr. John Alden had a college textbook on American history published in late 1963 and Dr. Robert Durden's article, "The 'Cow Bird' Grounded: The Populist Nomination of Bryan and Tom Watson in 1896," was published in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December. In the September issue of the same periodical Dr. Richard Watson's article, "The Defeat of Judge Parker: A Study in Pressure Groups and Politics," was published.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Roanoke Island Historical Association opened the sessions of Culture Week on December 3 with its annual business meeting of membership at a luncheon. Mrs. Fred W. Morrison of Washington, D. C., Chairman, presided at the meeting. Mr. John W. Fox of Manteo, General Manager of "The Lost Colony," gave a report on the work of 1963. Officers of the Association for the coming year are Mrs. Morrison (third term), Chairman; Mrs. J. E. Winslow, Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Burwell Evans and Mr. Chauncey S. Meekins both of Manteo, Secretary and Treasurer, respectively. Mr. William S. Powell of Chapel Hill was elected Historian.

Directors re-elected were Mr. J. Sibley Dorton of Chapel Hill, Mr. C. Alden Baker and Mr. Albert W. Card of Elizabeth City, Representatives Herbert C. Bonner of Washington and Mr. M. K. Fearing of Manteo, Mrs. Luther H. Hodges and Mrs. Sam J. Ervin, Jr., of Washington, D. C., Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby, and Dr. Frank P. Graham of New York City.

New directors are Dr. Deryl Hart of Durham, Mr. Huntington Cairns and Mr. James Morton of Washington, Mr. M. L. Daniels, Jr., of Manteo, Mr. Walter R. Davis of Midland, Texas, Mrs. Haywood Duke of Greensboro, and Mr. Sam Ragan of Raleigh.

The seventh annual Music Day, sponsored by the North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs, was held on December 3 in Raleigh. Mrs. Floyd D. Mehan, President, of High Point presided at the two sessions. Presentation of the winners of the Junior Federation Scholarships included Mr. Henry Adams, Greensboro, Transylvania Music Camp Scholarship by Mrs. Mahlon O. Board, State Junior Counselor; Miss Anna Rose Marino, Elon College, Federation Piano and P.J.C. Scholarships; and Mr. Chris Tew, Greensboro, State Junior Composition winner. Mrs. Paul Muilenburg of Charlotte spoke on "The North Carolina Governor's School." Winning compositions of the 1963 Senior Composers' Contest, Amateur Division, and a tape recording of the Hunter Johnson work, commissioned by the Carolina Tercentenary Commission, were presented.

At the dinner meeting Mrs. David B. Sutton, Chairman, recognized the winners of the 1963 Senior Composers' Contest and the State and District winners of the Student Division, 1963, Auditions, were presented by Miss Louise Epperson, State Student Adviser, of Catawba College. A musical program, in which the following participated, concluded the evening: Miss Joyce Gift, soprano, Greensboro, and Miss Marcia Fountain, cellist, Raleigh; Mr. Paul Hickfang, baritone, Greensboro (1963 winner in State and District); and Miss Nora Snornieks, pianist, New Bern.

On December 4 the thirty-seventh annual meeting of the North Carolina State Art Society was held in Raleigh. Plans for the 1964 Art Society Cultural Arts Tour of Europe were discussed and officers and the following Board members were elected: Dr. Joseph C. Sloane, Chapel Hill, President; Mrs. George W. Paschal, Raleigh, Vice-President; Mr. Charles

Lee Smith, Raleigh, Secretary-Treasurer; Mrs. W. Frank Taylor, Mr. Harry Dalton, Dr. Robert Lee Humber, Mrs. Richardson Preyer, Mr. Gregory Ivey, Mr. H. Henry Ramm, Mr. Joe Cox, Mr. George P. Geoghegan, and Mrs. Agnew H. Bahnson. At the luncheon meeting citations for outstanding contributions to the cause of visual arts were made and a demonstration and presentation of the first "Art Kit," assembled for use in schools, were held. At the evening meeting awards were made to the winners of the 1963 North Carolina Artists Exhibition and gifts from the Exhibition to the Museum were announced. Following the meeting a reception and a preview of the Exhibition for artists, members, and guests were held at the Museum of Art.

The Associated Artists of North Carolina held a subscription dinner in Raleigh on December 4. Officers are Mr. William C. Fields of Fayetteville, President; Mr. Edward N. Wilson of Durham, Vice-President; Mrs. Mackey Jeffries of Raleigh, Secretary; and Mrs. Peter W. Hairston of Advance, Treasurer.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its twenty-third annual meeting in Raleigh on December 5. The Board of Directors of the Society had met on the preceding evening. Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., of Fayetteville, President, presided at the meetings. Reports on preservation and restoration projects were presented as follows: Historic Bath Commission, Mr. Edmund H. Harding of Washington; Historic Hillsborough, Mrs. A. G. Engstrom of Hillsboro; Swansboro, Rev. Tucker R. Littleton of Swansboro; Old Salem, Mr. Ralph P. Hanes of Winston-Salem; Tryon Palace, Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro; Old Brunswick Town, Dr. E. Lawrence Lee of the Citadel; Edenton, Mrs. Carrie Earnhardt of Edenton; and "Kyle House," Mrs. Julian Hutaff of Fayetteville. Other reports were given by Dr. John Costlow, Mr. Chatham Clark, and Mr. Henry Jay MacMillan. Officers elected were Mr. Dan Paul of Raleigh, President; Mrs. Horace Robinson of Littleton, Vice-President; and Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh, Secretary-Treasurer. Dr. Ivor Noël Hume, Chief Archaeologist at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, spoke at the luncheon meeting on "Archaeology: Handmaiden to History."

The Charles A. Cannon Awards, presented annually by Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, were given at the evening meeting to the following persons for their contributions in the historical field: Dr. Lenox D. Baker of Durham, preservation of the Bennett House; Rev. Tucker R. Littleton of Swansboro, historic research and authorship and work at Swansboro; Mr. James A. Gray of Winston-Salem, for work at Old Salem, Inc.; Hon. Francis E. Winslow, service as Chairman of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission. The Department of Dramatic Art, St. Andrews College, Laurinburg, with Mr. Arthur McDonald as Director, presented a drama, "Old Temperance Hall and the Literary Society." Excerpts from the Tercentenary production, "The Sojourner and Mollie Sinclair," were also presented at the evening meeting.

The sixty-third annual meetings of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association were held on December 6 in Raleigh. Miss Mary M. Greenlee of Old Fort, Vice-President, presided at the morning session. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Secretary-Treasurer, gave his report and Mr. A. B. Combs, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, suggested resolutions that were adopted. Officers elected for the coming year are Dr. James W. Patton of Chapel Hill, President; Dr. Ina W. Van Noppen of Boone, Mr. Winston Broadfoot of Durham, and Mr. Ovid W. Pierce of Greenville, Vice-Presidents; and Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., of Greenville, and Mr. John F. Blair of Winston-Salem, Executive Committee members. Dr. Mattie Russell of Duke University read a paper, "Thomas' Legion of Indians and Highlanders," after which Dr. E. Lawrence Lee of the Citadel read a paper, "North Carolina and the Spanish Danger." Dr. Arlin Turner of Duke University gave a review of North Carolina fiction of 1962-1963. Dr. Rosser H. Taylor of Western Carolina College presented the R. D. W. Connor Award, given anually by the Historical Society of North Carolina for the best article dealing with North Carolina which is published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, to Mr. John L. Bell, Jr., of Western Carolina College for "The Presbyterian Church and the Negro During Reconstruction." Mr. W. S. Tarlton, area representative, presented three American Association for State and Local History Awards to the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, and the State Department of Archives and History and television station WBTV in Charlotte for their joint production of the film, "Profile of Greatness." Special awards were made by the Department to the Honorable Francis E. Winslow and General John D. F. Phillips, and to 68 members of the Charter Commission for their contribution to the successful year-long celebration of the Charter Tercentenary.

Dr. Crittenden presided at the luncheon in the absence of Mr. William D. Snider of Greensboro. Mr. Henry Belk of Goldsboro gave his presidential address, read by Mrs. Belk, which noted the progress made in the field of history in North Carolina in 1963. Mr. Henry W. Lewis of Chapel Hill presented the 1963 Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award, given annually by the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Society, to Mr. Herman Salinger of Duke University for his volume of poems, *A Sigh Is the Sword*. Mrs. C. L. Gilliatt of Shelby presented the American Association of University Women Juvenile Literature Award for 1963 to Mrs. Julia Montgomery Street of Winston-Salem for her book, *Dulcie's Whale*. Mrs. Street previously won the Award in 1956 for *Fiddler's Fancy*. Secretary of State Thad Eure presented awards to the winners of the Junior Historian Competition (see *Division of Museum* news).

At the dinner meeting, presided over by Mr. William J. Cocke of Asheville, the Salem College Choral Ensemble gave a program of Charter Tercentenary commemorative music, directed by Mr. Paul Peterson. Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, Board Member and Director of Tryon Palace, presented Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, an award recognizing his work, especially as Chairman of the Board. Mr. Lewis, presenting vol-

umes by John Locke, acknowledged Mr. Winslow and General Phillips as leaders in the celebration of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary.

Mr. Belk presided at the evening meeting at which Dr. Louis B. Wright, Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C., made the address. His topic was "In Search of a Colonial Utopia." Mr. Francis E. Winslow, Chairman of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, presented the awards for the literary competition sponsored by the Commission. Winners were Mr. Sam Ragan, Executive Editor of *The News and Observer-Raleigh Times,* and Mr. Thad Stem, Jr., Oxford poet, who shared the $500 poetry award for their "In the Beginning. . . ." Mr. Manly Wade Wellman won the $1,000 award for fiction for his novel, *Settlement on the Shocco.*

Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett of Greensboro won the Mayflower Award, given by the Mayflower Society for her *William Swaim: Fighting Editor,* a biography of O. Henry's grandfather. Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt of Chapel Hill made the presentation. Miss Clara Booth Byrd of Greensboro presented the Sir Walter Raleigh Cup to Mr. Richard McKenna of Chapel Hill for his novel, *The Sand Pebbles.* This award is made annually by the Historical Book Club of Greensboro for the best book of fiction published during the year.

A reception followed the evening session for members and guests of the Association.

The fifty-second annual session of the North Carolina Folklore Society was held in Raleigh on December 6 with Dr. Joseph D. Clark as principal speaker. Dr. Clark's topic was "Fifty Years of North Carolina Folklore Society." He cited particularly the work of Dr. Arthur Palmer Hudson of Chapel Hill. Dr. Earl H. Hartsell, President, of Chapel Hill presided at the meeting and introduced Mr. Philip H. Kennedy of Chapel Hill, who gave a brief program of music from the period from 1663 to 1763. Dr. W. Amos Abrams presented a talk, via tape recorder, of nostalgic reminiscences, "I knew Frank C. Brown." Officers elected for 1964 are Dr. Holger O. Nygard of Durham, President; Mr. Kennedy, First Vice-President; Mr. John Moser of Brevard, Second Vice-President; and Mrs. S. R. Prince of Reidsville, Third Vice-President. The Society was invited by Dr. Nygard to attend a celebration at Duke University in honor of Frank C. Brown on April 14-16.

The Executive Committee of the North Carolina Symphony Society held its annual dinner meeting at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh on December 6. Mr. Victor S. Bryant of Durham is President, Mrs. Carl T. Durham of Chapel Hill is Executive Vice-President, Mr. William R. Cherry of Chapel Hill is Secretary-Treasurer, and Dr. Benjamin F. Swalin of Chapel Hill is Director.

On December 7 the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina held its annual breakfast in honor of the Society's officers and the winner of the Mayflower Award, Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett.

Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt of Chapel Hill is Governor and Mrs. William T. Powell of High Point is Deputy Governor.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians was held in Raleigh on December 7 with Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of Greensboro presiding. Mr. William S. Powell of Chapel Hill announced that there were no entries submitted for the Hodges High School Award, given yearly for the best published historical work by high school students. Mr. Charles Dunn of Durham presented the Smithwick Newspaper Awards to Mr. T. H. Pearce of Franklinton for a Civil War article published in *The Franklin Times,* winner of first place; Mrs. Margaret McMahan of Fayetteville, winner of second place; and Mr. Lewis Philip Hall of Wilmington, third place. Honorable mention citations went to Mr. Herbert O'Keef of Raleigh, Mr. F. C. Salisbury of Morehead City, Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives of Enfield, and Mr. C. A. Paul of Greensboro. Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett of Greensboro was awarded the Peace History Award for her volume, *William Swaim: Fighting Editor,* which also won the Mayflower Cup. Mr. A. Earl Weatherly of the Greensboro Historical Museum spoke on "Historical Greensboro." Dr. D. J. Whitener of Boone was elected President to succeed Dr. Robinson. Other officers are Mr. John H. McPhaul of Fayetteville, First Vice-President; Miss Mary Louise Medley of Wadesboro, Second Vice-President; Miss Lena Mae Williams of Chapel Hill, Third Vice-President; and Dr. Ina W. Van Noppen, Secretary-Treasurer.

Mr. H. Glen Lanier of High Point presided at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Poetry Society held in Raleigh on December 7. Readings from the winning poems in the 1963 Society contest were heard; Mr. Howard Gordon Hanson of Erwin spoke on "Poetry: Whither and Whence." Mrs. Robert Councilman of Burlington gave a report on the work of the Poetry Council of North Carolina and read from winning poems in contests sponsored by the Council. Mr. Herman Salinger of Duke University, winner of the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Cup, was introduced; Miss Charlotte Young of Asheville then presented the Oscar A. Young Memorial Award. A joint luncheon of the Society and the Society of County and Local Historians followed with the Hon. Francis E. Winslow addressing those present on the year-long celebration of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary.

Mr. Jesse F. Pugh, Camden County author and educator, spoke to the Pasquotank County Historical Society on December 2. The Rev. George F. Hill also spoke briefly on the work of the late General John E. Wood, one of founders of the Society. Mr. L. S. Blades III gave a progress report. New officers are Mr. Reid Overman, President; Mr. W. C. Morse, Vice-President; Mr. Gordon Trueblood, Secretary-Treasurer; and Mrs. E. Pratt Fearing, Historian. Outgoing President Fred Markham III presided. The Society adopted a resolution suggesting that the names of the streets in Elizabeth City be changed to those of historical or other significance.

Names of States, the eight Lord Proprietors, distinguished citizens, governors of the State born in the vicinity, and Indian names of the area are to be considered.

The Onslow Historical Museum opened on December 4 on the first floor of the Ringware House in Swansboro. A regular schedule will be announced at a future date but the Museum is open now only on week ends. Groups wishing to visit the Museum should write Box 21, Swansboro, to make advance arrangements for a guided tour. The building was a gift to the Swansboro Historical Society from Mr. Lee Jones, Mrs. Kathleen Jones Bell, Mr. John L. Bell, Mrs. Robert M. Garey, and Mrs. Elizabeth W. Garey as a memorial to the late J. M. Jones and his wife, Minnie Ward Jones. The Society has received grants totaling $1,200 since restoration work began in 1961.

Mr. Tommy McNeill of Raleigh, Mr. Ted Matthews of Campbell College, and Mr. Malcolm Fowler of Lillington spoke at the December 12 meeting of the Upper Cape Fear Chapter of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina. The meeting was held at Campbell College. Mr. Matthews and Mr. McNeill are joint owners of a large collection of Indian artifacts, found in the immediate area of Harnett County. These were displayed at the College two weeks prior to the meeting.

The New Bern Historical Society held open house at the Attmore-Oliver House on December 15. A colonial motif was used for the holiday event and hostesses wore colonial dress. The House, free of indebtedness, was shown to visitors by members of the Daughters of the Revolution and local garden clubs and friends of the Society.

The *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., Bulletin* for February carried the president's message by Mr. N. Winfield Sapp, Jr., and an article, "Development of Libraries in the Lower Cape Fear," by Mrs. Barbara Beeland Rehder. Mr. Stanley A. South, Archaeologist at Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher State Historic Sites and Vice-President of the Society, wrote a brief report on recent developments at the two sites. At the February 21 meeting of the Society Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of the Department of History of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro spoke on "Renaissance in North Carolina." The most significant accomplishment of the Society to date occurred on December 20 when the purchase of the Latimer House for the Society's headquarters was completed. On February 3 necessary structural repairs and painting of the exterior of the house were begun.

The State Legislative Council announced January 11 the names of members of the committee for the study of preservation of historic sites. Senator Cicero P. Yow of New Hanover County will serve as chairman. Members are Senator Clarence Stone, Speaker of the House H. Clifton Blue, Council Chairman Hugh S. Johnson, Sr., Senators Irwin Belk and Thomas J. White, and Representatives Gordon Greenwood, L. Sneed

High, and Sam L. Whitehurst. Included also are Senator Perry Martin, Representatives Thomas D. Bunn, Hoyle T. Efird, Claude M. Hamrick, Arthur W. Williamson, and Mrs. Grace T. Rodenbough.

The Wake County Historical Society met on Tuesday, January 7, with Mrs. J. Bourke Bilisoly, President, presiding. The program featured the first public showing of the color film, "The Road to Carolina," produced for the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission by the Coordinating Film Board.

The James Iredell Association has elected Mrs. Wood Privott as President; she succeeds Mr. Grayson Harding, who has held the post for more than 10 years. Other new officers are Mrs. John Kramer, First Vice-President; Mrs. George Hoskins, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, Third Vice-President; Mrs. P. S. McMullan, Recording Secretary; Mrs. George Mack, Corresponding Secretary; and Mrs. J. N. Pruden, Jr., Treasurer. The purpose of the Association is to preserve and restore the house of James Iredell, built in 1759 and now owned by the State.

An elaborate fireworks display is being planned by the Tryon Palace Commission for the evening of April 2 as a climax for programs honoring Mr. and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro. The Kellenberger Gardens on the Palace grounds will be dedicated on that date. The fireworks display will feature the entire history of Tryon Palace. Narration is being written by Mr. Robert Jones and the narrator will be Mr. Norman C. Larson.

Fire destroyed the Museum of the American Indian at Cherokee on January 4. The Museum, located on the Qualla (Cherokee) Indian Reservation, contained hundreds of relics, according to Mr. Richard McLean, owner of the building, and Mr. Walter Jackson, vice-chief of the tribe and head of the Cherokee Fire and Police Department.

The Hillsborough Historical Society announces the publication of *Ladies in the Making*, by Ann Strudwick (Mrs. Frank) Nash. Mrs. Nash, an honorary member, has written the story of the famous old Nash and Kollock School, which operated from 1859 to 1890. A program and exhibit was presented on January 24 at the new Courthouse in Hillsboro. Those participating were Dr. George B. Daniel, program chairman, Mr. Harry Waldo, Mrs. Robert J. Murphy, Mrs. E. M. Lockhart, Mrs. William Hopewell, and the Rev. E. F. Smith.

The Society has adapted an educational program, used successfully by Old Salem, to teach Orange County history to approximately 400 seventh and eighth grade students during April and May. Slide-lectures, guided walking tours, and museum visits have been planned. A special leaflet for the educational program is being prepared. Society membership totaled 460 on January 15.

A committee headed by Mr. L. S. Blades III plans to catalog and store items donated for the Museum of the Albemarle. Mr. George Attix, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, states that items are now being accepted for the proposed museum. Mr. Frank Hollowell recently selected and contributed a number of items from the Hollowell collection.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association met on January 20 in the Howell Room of the Charlotte Public Library. Mr. Linn D. Garibaldi spoke on "General Stonewall Jackson." Members and other citizens of Mecklenburg County have been asked to volunteer to serve on the Civil War Committee by Mr. Harry T. Orr, recently appointed to head the commemoration for the next two years. He may be contacted at his home, 2411 Randolph Road, Charlotte.

A new history of Person County is scheduled for release in late spring. Written by the Reverend Harry R. Mathis, pastor of the United Church of Virgilina, Virginia, and the Hebron United Church of Nelson, Virginia, the book will contain chapters on the settlement, schools, and churches of the county.

The Beaufort Historical Association met on January 20 and heard Mr. W. H. Potter of Beaufort describe the proposed expansion of the historical area of Beaufort. Eighteen students from the School of Design of North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh are engaged in a study of the oldest buildings in Beaufort. A long-range program of restoration was explained by Dr. John Costlow, President of the Association. Three weekly meetings to continue discussion of the program were scheduled by Dr. Costlow. The Association received a grant of $200 from the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities to be used with other funds to purchase and restore an old Beaufort home.

Officials of "Horn in the West," the outdoor drama, announced an essay contest on the subject, "Daniel Boone—Empire Builder." Mr. Herman W. Wilcox, Executive Vice-President of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association, states there will be three divisions—elementary school, junior high school, and high school. The first prize in each division will be $35, second prize will be $10. The deadline for entries is April 15; winners will be announced June 1 and will be guests at a special performance of the drama on July 31.

Dr. J. C. Yoder, Professor of History at Appalachian State Teachers College, was elected President of the Western North Carolina Historical Association on January 25 in Asheville. Miss Mary M. Greenlee made a report on the Carson House and the Old Fort restoration projects. The Association voted to endorse the projects and to contribute $50 to each. Mr. J. C. Hall, Assistant Police Chief of Asheville, was the principal speaker; he read excerpts from the Civil War diary of his grandfather. Admiral Ligon B. Ard reported on the Toxaway Indian burial ground investigation. Other officers elected include Mr. Glenn Tucker of Flat

Rock as Vice-President and Chairman of the program committee. Miss Cordelia Camp was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer.

Dr. John R. Gibson, President, presided at the January 25 meeting of the Carteret County Historical Society. Mr. F. C. Salisbury was named Treasurer to succeed Mrs. E. G. Phillips. Dr. John Costlow, President of the Beaufort Historical Association, spoke on the plans for the proposed restoration of Beaufort. A committee composed of Mr. Thomas Respess, Mr. Clark Cole, and Mr. Salisbury are investigating the cost of publishing a series of historical papers for use by schools and libraries in the County.

The Pitt County Historical Society held a dinner meeting on January 30 in Greenville. Dr. Joseph Bachman of the Department of History at East Carolina College spoke on "William Pitt, the Elder," for whom Pitt County was named. Miss Elizabeth Copeland, President of the Society, led a discussion on the need for a county history. She appointed a committee to study the possibilities of sponsoring such a project. The next meeting of the group is set for April 23.

The *Newsletter* of the Brunswick County Historical Society for November has an article by Mr. Stanley A. South, Archaeologist at the Brunswick Town State Historic Site. Entitled "Buttons from the Ruins at Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher," the article is one of several by the author dealing with artifacts uncovered during site excavations. Part II of an account of the Cape Fear area is also given in the issue as well as a notice of the November meeting of the Society.

The Gaston County Historical Bulletin for Fall, 1963, contains a reproduction of the Gaston College seal recently adopted by the trustees of the College. Much of the issue is devoted to articles relating to the proposed community college which will be a drive-in college without dormitory facilities. Scheduled to open for the 1964-1965 session, the two-year school will be located near Dallas. Mr. W. T. Robinson of Cherryville is President of the Gaston County Historical Society and Mrs. William N. Craig of Gastonia is editor of the *Bulletin*.

The Moore County Historical Association met on January 28 with President Colin Spencer of Carthage presiding. "Shall This Pass?," a program dealing with the Old Temperance Hall near Wagram, was presented by the Highland Players of the Division of Music, Art, and Drama of St. Andrews College, Laurinburg. In addition to songs from the nineteenth century, the poetry of John Charles McNeill, a native of the Laurinburg-Wagram area, was read.

The Beaufort County Historical Society re-elected Mr. Edmund H. Harding of Washington as President at its February 6 meeting. Other officers are Mr. Henry Rumley, Vice-President; Mrs. Louise S. Satterwaite, Secretary; and Mr. Fred Mallison, Historian. Mr. Harding plans

to call a special meeting of township vice-presidents to co-ordinate new areas to be included in the preservation program. The Society heard a report from Mrs. John A. Tankard on visitation to Historic Bath sites, now under the supervision of the State Department of Archives and History.

The Board of County Commissioners of Northampton County voted on February 3 to relinquish the use of a building on the Courthouse Square for a historical repository and county museum, to be supervised by the County Historical Society. Society President Eric Norfleet headed a delegation requesting the use of the one-time clerk of court and register of deeds office. The decision of the Board will further plans for a historical museum to house artifacts and exhibits relating to the history of Northampton County.

The Murfree Historical Association, Inc., on December 4, filed papers with Secretary of State Thad Eure for a charter to operate as a nonprofit organization. The group proposes to raise funds to acquire "Melrose," the Murfree House, to restore the structure, and to make it available as a place of historic interest. Mr. Edwin P. Brown of Murfreesboro was elected President of the Association. Other officers elected to serve with him are Mr. Richard T. Vann, Vice-President; Mr. Henry K. Burgwyn, Secretary-Treasurer; and Mrs. Ethleen V. Underwood, Recording Secretary.

Mrs. Edwin P. Brown of Murfreesboro, chairman of the heritage committee of the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, has arranged a "Heritage Walking Tour of the State Capital City." The dates of Heritage Week were from March 3 to March 7 with additional tours set for April 2 and May 1. More than 600 persons attended the tour in 1963.

At the February 5 meeting of the Catawba County Historical Association plans for a membership drive were made. Special emphasis will be placed on enrolling all history teachers in the County schools and those at Lenoir-Rhyne College. Announcement of recent donations to the Museum was a highlight of the meeting. Donors include members of the McConnell, Haupt, Yount, and O'Berry families. Mrs. Marguerite May reported on other recent acquisitions of the Museum.

The Caldwell County Historical Society on February 7 voted $700 to be used in the restoration of the Keyhole House (George Powell) located on the Seehorn place in Lenoir. Arrangements have been made by Mr. Eric Miller, chairman of the project, to purchase the House from Mr. Thad Mullis. It is thought that the dwelling is the second brick house to be built in Caldwell County. Two high school students, Misses Ginny Ann Bush and Deidre Smith, spoke at the meeting on the history of the House and the need for restoration. Miss Mary Maynard is President of the Caldwell Society.

The Friends of Old Salem fund has reached $13,000, received from 228 donors. This will serve as an operating budget, if an additional $2,000 is received before April 30. President James A. Gray of Old Salem, Inc., announces plans for the construction of a reception center, post office, and restaurant at an estimated cost of $200,000. They will be located at the corner of Old Salem Road and Academy Street, with an exit into Salt Street, if permission can be obtained to close the latter street. The old Winkler Bakery Building on South Main Street has been purchased from Mrs. Alice Lee Googe Bauer of Morgantown, West Virginia. This building and the old Butner Hat Shop, adjacent to it, have been slated for restoration by 1966. The Fourth House at 450 South Main Street, restored as far as practicable, has been leased from the Forsyth County Colonial Dames. Purchased by that group in 1936 the house will be used as a residence. Many experts believe it to be the only usable dwelling, of half-timber structure, in the United States.

Dr. Donald M. McCorkle, musicologist and founding Director of the Moravian Music Foundation, has been appointed Professor of Music at the University of Maryland. He will assume his new position at the College Park school at the beginning of the 1964 summer school session, at which time his resignation from the Foundation will become effective. He began a research project in 1954, which later was expanded into the Foundation. The discovery of music manuscripts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and their later publication and recording, has attracted international recognition. Since the Foundation began in 1956, Dr. McCorkle has collected and catalogued thousands of compositions for the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

On February 18 more than 200 members of the North Carolina Coastal Historyland Association met in New Bern with Mr. Gordon Gray of Winston-Salem and Washington, D. C., as principal speaker. Mr. Gray is presently Chairman of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. State Senator P. D. Midgett, Jr., of Engelhard presided at the business session held at Tryon Palace. Committee chairmen who made reports were Mr. Dan Paul, Raleigh, historic resources; Mr. Louis Howard, New Bern, attractions and accommodations; Mr. Robert T. Ellett, Jr., Winston-Salem, planning and projects; Mr. William Shires, Raleigh, promotion; Mr. T. Carl Brown, Raleigh, education; Mr. Glenn M. Tucker of Carolina Beach, constitution and bylaws; and Mr. Ted Davis, Raleigh, membership. Officers re-elected were Mr. Midgett, President; Mr. Edmund H. Harding, Washington, and Mr. Tucker, Vice-Presidents; Mr. Alonzo C. Edwards, Hookerton, Treasurer; and Dr. Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern, Secretary. Miss Evelyn Covington of Raleigh was elected Assistant Secretary and Mr. L. S. Blades III, Elizabeth City, was elected Vice-President to succeed Mrs. Lucille Winslow of Hertford. The group adopted a resolution recommending that ferry service be instituted between (1) the Outer Banks and Hyde County, (2) Topsail Island and Hampstead, (3) Pamlico and Craven counties, and (4) from Fort Fisher to Brunswick County. Also adopted was a resolution that the State Board of Education institute training courses for distributive service employees to enable them to

deal more satisfactorily with the traveling public and that the history teachers at all levels familiarize themselves with United States, State, and local history as it relates to the coastal area being developed. A memorial resolution was read praising the late Charles J. Parker of the Department of Conservation and Development for his many efforts to advertise North Carolina and particularly for the work he did for the year-old Coastal Historyland Association.

The American Folklore Society will hold its spring meeting with Duke University Press, the North Carolina Folklore Society, and the Graduate English Club of Duke University on April 23-25 at Duke University. The final volume, VII, of *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore* will be released by the Duke Press on April 24 with appropriate ceremonies. Professor Holger Nygard, President of the North Carolina Folklore Society and a member of the English Department at Duke, is serving as program chairman.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW
EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent States. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this State, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for *The Review,* but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, and style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for *The North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook,* which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for *The Review.* Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

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The North Carolina Historical Review



Summer 1964

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—St. Paul's Church, Edenton, as drawn by Porte Crayon and reproduced in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1856. For an article on southern protestantism and the Negro, see pages 338 to 359.

The North Carolina Historical Review

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DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA MILITIA

By E. Milton Wheeler*

Charles II planted the seed of the militia system in North Carolina when he granted the eight Lords Proprietors of Carolina in their Charter of 1663 the authority "to levy, muster and train all sorts of men" in defense of their new Colony.[1] It was realized that the settlers of Carolina faced potential harassment from three areas: the Indians, the buccaneers lurking in the inlets along the coast, and England's European rivals. Spain particularly resented the founding of Carolina, especially after its second Charter extended the boundaries two degrees farther south, admittedly as a "thrust at Spanish Florida."[2] Since stationing regulars in Carolina would have been impracticable, a militia-type defense was outlined to protect the Colony.

Several provisions during the early Proprietary Period should have led to a strong militia. In their second Charter (1665), the Proprietors were again granted the right to muster their Colonists and even to lead them on expeditions outside the Colony.[3] This was an unfortunate precedent, for later, during Indian Wars and the American Revolution, there would be those who would contend that it was illegal to send the militia into other provinces. The Proprietors conferred upon their Governor of Albemarle County in 1667 the power to divide the settlers into companies and to train them in the arts of war.[4] Giving legal status to the embryonic militia, the feudalistic Fundamental Constitutions of 1669 required "all inhabitants and freemen

* Mr. Wheeler is Assistant Professor of History at William Carey College, Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

[1] William R. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: The State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), I, 31, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*. Sir Robert Heath, who received a patent to Carolina in 1629 but failed to establish a Colony, had also been permitted to organize a militia. Since this project did not materialize, however, the permanent North Carolina militia system dates from the Charter of 1663. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 10, 11.

[2] Oscar Theodore Barck and Hugh Talmage Lefler, *Colonial America* (New York: Macmillan, 1958), 158.

[3] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 112.

[4] William S. Powell (ed.), *Ye Countie of Albemarle in Carolina* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1958), 23-24. The Proprietors planned three counties in "Carolina"—Albemarle and Clarendon in what is present-day North Carolina, and Craven, within the limits of modern South Carolina.

of Carolina," over seventeen and under sixty, "to bear arms and serve as soldiers whenever the grand council shall find it necessary." [5] Proprietary instructions to the governors continued to call for the development of a militia.[6] Governors were designated ex officio commander-in-chief with the provision that the President of the Council should assume this position in the governor's absence. As commander-in-chief, the governor would appoint and remove all officers in the organization.

Despite these official pronouncements encouraging a militia system, little was accomplished during the first 50 years of Proprietary rule to put the militia on a sound basis. Indeed, poor organization was representative of this period. Vacillating Proprietary policy and weak, ineffectual governors created discontent among the settlers, sometimes leading to armed rebellion. Queen Anne's Commission on Proprietary Colonies reported in 1706 that, in general, little defense was provided for the settlers in such Colonies and that there was no regular militia establishment in some.[7] Even had there been better leadership in the Colony, the formation of a militia would have been no mean feat at this time. The population of 4,000 in 1675 was so spread out that it was not only inconvenient, but dangerous for a man to leave his family to attend public musters.[8] What roads there were hardly deserved the name. The situation had hardly improved 26 years later, with a population estimated at only 5,000, there were still no towns in North Carolina.[9] As a result, militia musters were almost unknown in North Carolina before 1711.[10]

A devastating Indian War was necessary to convince the Colony's legislators that a general reorganization of the militia was vital to the security of the inhabitants. The Tuscarora War of 1711-1712 revealed the feeble structure of the Colony's defense.[11] If timely aid from

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[5] Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, Raleigh: The State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914, XXV, 135, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records.*

[6] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* I, 239, 361, 389.

[7] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* I, 632.

[8] Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 600, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina.*

[9] Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina,* 600. Bath, North Carolina's first town, was laid out in 1705 and incorporated March 8, 1705/06. Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina,* 50.

[10] Charles Lee Raper, *North Carolina: A Study in English Colonial Government* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1904), 171, hereinafter cited as Raper, *North Carolina: A Study in English Colonial Government.*

[11] Samuel A'Court Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 2 volumes, 1908), I, 179-190. James Hall Rand, *The Indians of North Carolina and Their Relations with the Settlers* (Chapel Hill: The University [of North Carolina; Volume 12, Number 2 of *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*], 1913), 1-41.

South Carolina under Colonel John Barnwell had not arrived, the War could have devastated the province. It was an impressive lesson. The Militia Act passed in 1715 served as the foundation of the system for the remainder of the colonial era.[12] Under this act, the governor retained his role of commander-in-chief and the power to appoint officers for mustering and field action. Lower echelon officers bore the responsibility of organization. For instance, it was the captains' duty to compile a muster roll (corrected and revised each October), listing all the freemen in their districts between sixteen and sixty. Those who were enlisted in the militia were required to appear at muster at such places as the governor would "from time to time" appoint. They were to bring with them "a good gun well-fixed," a sword, and at least six charges of powder and ball. Because militia rules and orders had been so flagrantly ignored in the Tuscarora War, a system of fines was included to encourage obedience. Captains who did not compile militia lists as prescribed were fined five pounds, while militiamen who did not appear at musters properly equipped (unless they had an excuse from their commanding officer) were charged a similar amount.

Although the primary purpose of the musters was to train and exercise the militia in the use of firearms, contemporary descriptions suggest that muster days were also occasions of social functions. During peacetime a carnival spirit was evident at the muster site. The 1715 Act attempted to curb more unruly soldiers. Captains were empowered to punish militiamen who resisted their officers or refused to obey commands; suggested punishments included tying recalcitrants neck and heels, forcing them to run the gauntlet, or having them "ride the wooden horse."[13] This was but another effort to instill discipline in a people who had come to believe, from living on the frontier, that every man could be a general.

There were certain groups of men who were not required to perform militia service. Those exempted under the 1715 Act included: ministers of the Church of England, practicing physicians, "chirugeons," members of the General Assembly, clerks of the courts of justice, marshals, constables, deputies, attorneys, secretaries, those who had served as field officers or captains in the militia, and those "bearing the office . . . or [who] hath borne the office of Lords Pro-

[12] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 29-31.

[13] In Colonial military parlance, "riding the wooden horse" refers to forcing the culprit to straddle a horizontal pole for a given period of time with guns tied to his legs to weigh them down. Theodore Ropp, *War in the Modern World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1959), 39.

prietors." Justices of the peace who were not military officers were likewise exempted.[14] Exemption from musters, however, did not relieve a person of his military responsibilities. For example, those exempted were to provide themselves with arms and ammunition and were subject to the governor's commands during times of crisis.

In the event of invasion or an expedition "against the Indian enemy," the governor was empowered to call out as many of the militia as he felt necessary.[15] But although he was commander-in-chief, the governor seldom led the forces into the field. This responsibility was delegated to the colonel, lieutenant colonel, or major. Captains, as the commanders of the various companies, designated the rendezvous to which their men should report in times of stress. Other positions of the company table of organization at this time were that of aid-major, lieutenant, ensign, sergeant, and private. Militiamen were instructed to bring with them "well-fixed Armes," at least one quarter pound of powder and a pound of "swan or goose" shot or bullets. Those who refused to comply were forced to pay 50 shillings, or the marshal was allowed to confiscate their goods or estate to satisfy the fine. Should the marshal find no property, the sergeant could hire out the delinquent at the rate of five shillings per week until the fine was paid. Deserters were subjected to a court-martial composed of one field officer and four captains. Militiamen who were "wounded, hurt or maimed" in the service of the Colony and who could not afford to pay for the necessary care could have their medical expenses paid by the public and would be given one "Negro man-slave," as an early form of pensioning. The wife and family of a militiaman killed in action would also receive a Negro man-slave as compensation.[16]

Finally, the 1715 Act set up a wage scale that allowed the following daily wages for service at musters and in campaigns: colonel, ten shillings; lieutenant colonel, nine shillings; major, eight shillings; captain, five shillings; aid-major, five shillings; lieutenant, three shillings; ensign, three shillings; sergeant, two shillings; and private, one shilling sixpence. A unique feature was included within the wage scale. No commanding officer could receive more than the pay of an ensign unless he had at least 20 men in his party. At least 40 men were necessary to receive lieutenant's pay, 60 for captain's, 100 for major's, and 200 for colonel's pay.[17]

[14] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 29.
[15] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 30.
[16] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 30.
[17] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 31.

Contrasted to the fragmentary defense system of the Colony's first 50 years, the 1715 Act was a major advance for North Carolina's militia organization. Had it been enforced, North Carolina could have eventually displayed a model militia. There were, however, several pitfalls that impeded smooth development. In the first place, no regular muster schedule was provided. The governor was to order musters "from time to time," but there was no specified number he had to call during any given period of time. Because memories of the Tuscarora War were still fresh, musters were held periodically for a few years after the 1715 Act. When the Tuscaroras moved out of the Colony and the Indian menace subsided, interests in musters waned and consequently the militia became inactive.[18] Furthermore, too much military authority was given to the governor. In consequence, the quality of the militia system was determined, to a large extent, by the caliber of the governor; and, unfortunately, the governors of the latter Proprietary Period were hardly better than their oftentimes inefficient predecessors. Moreover, although the 1715 Act provided for fines and other penalties for disobeying the militia law, the statute was loosely enforced, leaving wide loopholes in the system. Subsequent militia acts cite the negligence of officers in enforcing the law, and provide for means to penalize such officers.[19]

When the Colony was transferred from Proprietary to Crown control in 1729, the militia remained in its lethargic state. The province was at peace; why be concerned about a militia system? In fact, the instructions to the first Royal Governor, George Burrington, seemed to favor an inactive, though prepared, militia: "You are to take especial care that neither the frequency nor unreasonableness of remote marches, musterings, & trainings be an unnecessary impediment to the affairs of the inhabitants." [20] A report written in 1726 went so far as to suggest that the entire militia system be abolished! The logic behind such a bold stroke was stated:

> . . . we learn from Experience that in a free Country it [the militia] is of little use. The people in the Plantations are so few in proportion to the lands they possess, that servants being scarce, and slaves so excessively dear, the men are generally under a necessity there to work hard themselves in order to provide the Common necessities of Life for their Families, so that they cannot spare a day's time without great loss to their Interest . . . wherefore a militia there would become . . . burthensome to

[18] Raper, *North Carolina: A Study in English Colonial Government*, 172.
[19] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 244, 246, 247, 518; XXIV, 359, 360; XXV, 336.
[20] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 113. Richard Everard held office from 1729 to 1731 until Burrington arrived from England.

the poor people. . . . But besides it may be questioned how far it would consist with good Policy to accustom all the able Men in the Colonies to be well exercised in Arms.[21]

This proposal concluded that a small standing army paid by the Colonists was the answer to the problem of defense. Those who preferred the militia to remain weak had a friend in Governor George Burrington. His administration, 1731-1734, was so replete with feuds between the executive and legislative branches that no militia act nor any other act was passed.

When Gabriel Johnston succeeded Burrington in 1734, he was quick to note the run-down condition of the militia. In an address before the Assembly in 1735, he urged that the militia be placed "on a better footing" in order that it could assist the civil magistrates in putting "an end to the disorders and riotous proceedings" that prevailed in the Colony.[22] Two years later Johnston complained to the Board of Trade that it was "a peculiar hardship" to serve in a place where there still was no "fitt nor effectual law for raising the militia."[23] Because of Johnston's persistence and the outbreak of war with Spain, a Militia Act was passed in 1740, but it only slightly modified the Act of 1715; hence, a revision was necessary again in 1746.[24]

According to the Act of 1746, servants as well as freemen were required to enlist in the militia, whereas millers and ferrymen were added to the exemption list.[25] There were now to be two types of musters, with a scheduled time for each to meet. Colonels were to call a general muster of their regiments once a year, while captains were to order their companies to meet four times a year at private musters. Each company was to number 50 privates, three sergeants, five corporals, and two drummers in addition to the captain. The captain was to see that his men came to the musters properly equipped and that the Militia Act be read and explained to them at least once a year. It was also his duty to use the money from fines (collected from absentees or ill-equipped militiamen) to purchase drums, colors, ammunition, and other "implements of war" for his company. He was to turn in a report of such fees annually to the colonel of the regiment, who would then pass it on to the governor.

In a province the size of North Carolina where distance added to the problems of mobility, it is puzzling that there were no provisions

[21] "A Short Discourse on the Present State of the Colonies in America with Respect to the Interest of Great Britain," Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 632-633.
[22] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 78.
[23] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 242, 243.
[24] Raper, *North Carolina: A Study in English Colonial Government*, 172.
[25] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 244-247.

for cavalry under the earlier militia statutes. The 1746 Act rectified this by authorizing the governor to appoint "troops of light horse."[26] Although exempt from mustering in "foot companies," the newly-formed cavalries were required to gather at the same times, and were subject to the same penalties as the infantry militia. They, too, were to furnish their own equipment: a good case of pistols, a broad sword, a fuzee (fuse) with swivel and belt, and a cartridge box containing 24 cartridges of powder and ball.

A spirit of co-operation with neighboring provinces—often conspicuously absent in the Colonial era—appeared in the 1746 Act.[27] If Virginia or South Carolina were invaded, the governor could send as many of the militia as he felt necessary into those provinces to help repel the invasion.[28] The invaded province, however, should first request such assistance and, of course, pay the expenses of the North Carolina militia.[29]

All officers and soldiers were given pay increases in the 1746 Act. In this wage scale, majors were elevated to the same pay as lieutenant colonels, surgeons were to receive lieutenant's pay, sergeants were to be given the same pay as ensigns, and drummers were put in the same wage bracket as corporals.[30]

On the whole, the 1746 Act reflected the trend of the times. Several historians of Colonial North Carolina indicate that the Johnston Administration led the Colony out of the doldrums into a period of growth and progress. As for the state of the militia, a sincere effort was made to fill in some of the open areas of previous laws. Compulsory musters within given periods of time was probably the most important of the innovations of the 1746 Act. From the end of the Tuscarora War to the beginning of the French and Indian War in

[26] Apparently Gobbel overlooked the 1746 Act, when he notes that "the act of 1760 made possible the organization of cavalry." Luther Lafayette Gobbel, *Militia in North Carolina in Colonial and Revolutionary Times* (Durham: [Trinity College Historical Society; Series XIII of the *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*], 1919), 40, hereinafter cited as Gobbel, *Militia in North Carolina.*

[27] William K. Boyd (ed.), *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1929), *passim.* Marvin L. Skaggs, *North Carolina Boundary Disputes Involving Her Southern Line* (Chapel Hill: The University [of North Carolina; Volume 25, Number 1 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1941), 1-250, *passim.*

[28] Raper evidently ignored the 1746 Act when he observes in his *North Carolina: A Study in English Colonial Government,* 173, that the 1759 Act allowed the militia to march out of the Colony for the first time. Likewise, Gobbel, in quoting Raper instead of the Act, makes the same mistake. Gobbel, *Militia in North Carolina,* 40.

[29] As a gesture of appreciation for South Carolina's assistance in the Tuscarora War, North Carolina had sent aid to the South Carolinians when the Indians rose against them in 1715. However, it was not militia, but hired volunteers that went on this expedition. Raper, *North Carolina: A Study in English Colonial Government,* 179.

[30] See Appendix.

1754, the militia was not used in the field for actual service in the Colony's defense;[31] if the rather frequent musters had not been inaugurated by the 1746 Act, it is possible that the militia system would have withered and that the Colony would have been unprepared for later wars as it had been in 1711 with the Tuscaroras. Other new features also pointed in the right direction, even if they did need additional specifications to make them function properly. The article permitting militiamen to assist invaded neighboring provinces was to cause misunderstanding later with Virginia as to which province should pay the expenses of the North Carolina forces aiding Virginia.[32] Subsequent acts imply that the cavalry provisions were misused. Either too few or too many desired to enter the cavalry in certain counties, while the size and ownership of horses seem to have been confusing to some. Nevertheless, the Act of 1746 contributed much to the framework of the militia organization that later acts could fill out.

That the militia system as outlined by the 1746 Act was satisfactory is evident in the preamble of the 1749 Militia Act. Designed to last only three years, the 1746 Act was renewed in 1749 since experience proved it "to be a good and necessary law." [33] Only two amendments were added. Because of no immediate danger of war in 1749, captains were now instructed to muster their companies only twice a year. The other change was the prohibition of the death penalty for court-martial cases.

War was not as distant as was suspected. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754, the frontier of the Colony lay open to Indian raids. Arms and ammunition were sent to the frontiersmen to subdue the savages.[34] When it became apparent that the War would last several years, measures were taken to strengthen the militia throughout the province. The new Militia Act of 1756 raised the number of company musters per year to five.[35] Penalties were placed on militia officers who neglected their duties and fines for missing musters were to be strictly enforced upon the rank and file. Seeking ways to insure collection of such fines, the 1756 Act allowed sheriffs to deduct 5 per cent of all they collected. Clerks who failed to give

[31] Raper, *North Carolina: A Study in English Colonial Government*, 177.

[32] About 450 militiamen were sent into Virginia in February, 1754, to aid that State against the French and Indians. Under the impression that Virginia would furnish food for the combined forces, the North Carolinians were shocked to learn that there were hardly enough provisions for Virginia's own troops. As a result, they disbanded and returned home without seeing action. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, xi, xv, xvi.

[33] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 330.

[34] Raper, *North Carolina: A Study in English Colonial Government*, 177.

[35] Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 334-337.

the sheriffs copies of the fines due were themselves fined £50. The auxiliary cavalry units were forbidden to use horses that were not at least "fourteen hands high," yet specific details on cavalry organization were still lacking. Two more groups were extended exemption privileges—justices of the supreme court and overseers of taxable slaves. Overseers who held military commissions, however, were not permitted to claim exemption. Ironically, now that the militia were being called into active service, the provisions for compensation for wounded or killed militiamen were dropped.

The French and Indian War focused attention on weaknesses of the militia system not so easily discernible in peacetime. For example, it was discovered that the Assembly wielded considerable power in the organization of the militia. Since the Assembly controlled the purse, the governor was forced to request of the Assembly the necessary funds for men, arms, and supplies. Even though it was the governor's prerogative to appoint and remove officers, the Assembly was able to play a significant role by withholding appropriations until its wishes were satisfied, and sometimes unwittingly interfered with the discipline of the troops by using such tactics.[36] The war crisis also brought the question of whether the militia could be sent out of the province into consideration again. Although a 1746 provision allowed the militia to aid Virginia and South Carolina, many North Carolinians still felt that their militia was only for home defense.[37] As a result, when some militia companies received orders to march against the Cherokees in 1759, they refused to move as it would mean leaving the province.[38] Governor Arthur Dobbs informed William Pitt that of the 500 militiamen sent against the Cherokees, all but 80 deserted.[39] He blamed "the dastardliness of our militia" on "their want of education and instruction" and urged the Assembly to "pass a short bill to explain & enforce the militia law."[40] Consequently, the Militia Act of 1759 permitted the governor—with the consent of the Council—to

[36] Charles S. Cooke, *The Governor, Council, and Assembly in Royal North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University [of North Carolina; Volume 12, Number 1 of *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*], 1912), 28, 33.

[37] And not without some reason, too. In the same 1746 Act, which allowed the troops to go to Virginia or South Carolina, fines were charged against those who refused "to march against the enemy where commanded within this Province." This implies that even though the militia were permitted to aid other provinces, it could not be compelled to do so. Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 245. Moreover, the preamble of the 1759 Act explicitly stated that the militia was "limited to the opposing invasions and supporting expeditions within this Province only." Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 393. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the militia could be sent out of North Carolina by the Act of 1746.

[38] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 119.

[39] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 220, 221.

[40] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 119.

send the militia into South Carolina and Virginia to assist those provinces against a "common enemy."[41] Thus, all doubts on the legality of sending the militia outside the province should have been erased, but the issue was to be debated even to the end of the American Revolution.

In an effort to correct deficiencies that had appeared during the French and Indian War, another Militia Act was promulgated in 1760.[42] Under this law no militiaman could be arrested in any civil action on muster days or while he was going to or coming from musters, that is, within "any reasonable time" of the musters. Likewise, militiamen could use bridges and ferries free of charge while going to or from musters. With a treaty signed with the Cherokees and the War turning in favor of the English, the number of company musters was reduced from five a year to four and then to three in an amendment to the act. This same amendment also changed general musters from one every five months to one annually. The cavalry enlistments were clarified. Those who wished to form a cavalry company were required to submit their names to the colonel of their regiment. If he approved the new unit, he would recommend it to the governor. The governor would appoint and commission a captain, lieutenant, and cornet for the group. A maximum of 60 men and a minimum of 30 was required for each "troop of horse." The only other group put on the exemption list by the 1760 Act was Presbyterian ministers, probably offered as a token of good will to the influx of Scottish Highlanders and Scotch-Irish. Finally, the 1760 Act won a place in the hearts of proponents of localism when it required that officers be residents of the county for which they were appointed.

From 1760 to the eve of the American Revolution there was little change in the basic structure of the militia. The only new unit added during this period was a reconnoitering auxiliary known as "rangers." This group was provided for in 1764 with their duties delineated as "to range and reconnoiter the frontiers of this Province as volunteers at . . . their own expense."[43] Since it was difficult to enlist frontiersmen in regular militia, this served to lure them into this loosely disciplined organization.[44] Ranger units needed the approval of the colonel of their regiment, who appointed the officers for such groups. Although there were no daily wages for Rangers, their work could become quite profitable. During Indian wars they were authorized "to kill or take

[41] Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 393.
[42] Clark, *State Records*, XIII, 518-522. Should be XXIII, pp 518-522 14/2/79
[43] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 601.
[44] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, xli.

prisoner any enemy Indian of what nation soever." When they produced the Indian or his scalp to any two justices of the peace in the province, they would receive a certificate that could be cashed by the Assembly for £30 proclamation money for each captive or scalp they had.

Other developments of the militia system during the last 15 years of the Colonial Period only modified the established organization. The elastic exemption list continued to grow. Coroners received the privilege in 1762, followed in 1764 by overseers of public roads, "branch pilots," and schoolmasters who had at least ten students.[45] In fact, schoolmasters and overseers of slaves were to be fined 40 shillings if they were seen at musters! Quakers were excused from musters in 1770, as were those who had not lived in North Carolina more than six months.[46] In 1774 exemption was available for all Protestant ministers who had churches in North Carolina, commissioners of public roads, "searchers," and those who had acted under a commission of the peace.[47] With the exemption list expanding nearly every alternate year, it is not surprising that only about one-half the number of able-bodied white men in a typical North Carolina county attended muster drills in 1772.[48]

For Quakers a special method of exemption was established. Although relieved of muster duty, they were required to enlist in the militia. Their men were placed under the command of separate captains appointed by the governor. Should war break out, a number proportionate to the number of Quakers listed on the muster rolls could be called into service. Those whose religious principles prevented them from bearing arms, even in emergencies, could hire a substitute or pay a £10 fine. This recognition of Quaker religious principles became a precedent for offering exemption to other sects. Such liberal acts were maintained throughout the Revolution and served to bind the Quakers and others to the American cause.

Another liberal measure that appeared at the end of the Colonial regime involved the problem of arms to the poor.[49] Formerly a fine had been charged to everyone who did not come to musters properly equipped. Since this only placed another burden on those who could not afford guns, it was provided that when any two of a company's captains, lieutenants, or ensigns should decide a person was incapable

[45] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 585. Constables regained the exemption. They had been left off the list between 1746 and 1762. Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 597.
[46] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 787, 788.
[47] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 941.
[48] Benjamin B. Winborne, *The Colonial and State Political History of Hertford County, N. C.* ([Murfreesboro]: Privately printed, 1906), 36, 37.
[49] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 597.

of furnishing himself with arms, that person could receive arms which had been bought from the fines of the company's courts-martial. These indigent militiamen were to return the arms after the muster.

The Colonial development of the North Carolina militia had run a course guided primarily by a policy of trial and error. There was little long-range planning for militia organization, and the developments that did take place were the by-products of preceding acts that had either been impractical or incomplete. Nevertheless, on the eve of the American Revolution, North Carolina could boast of a militia organization that was at least comparable to that of most of the other Colonies. Her eastern militiamen had recently experienced the taste of battle in putting down the Regulators at the Battle of Alamance on May 16, 1771, which some writers have called the first battle of the Revolution.[50] When the Colony broke her ties with Great Britain, the new State of North Carolina fell heir to a militia system that could serve as an emergency means of defense until the State and national war machines were developed. Because experience had proved them sound, many features of the Colonial militia persisted throughout the Revolution and afterwards, some of them with hardly any changes.

Naturally there were many readjustments to be made in the transition from Colony to State. The patriots were rebelling from the world's greatest power; a half-hearted attempt could mean execution or ruin to many. Consequently, although the basic Colonial militia system was retained, more efficient co-ordination was needed if the State was forced to undergo a sustained period of war. To achieve this, the legislature divided the State into six militia districts, corresponding with the old judicial districts: Edenton, New Bern, Wilmington, Halifax, Salisbury, and Hillsboro.[51] There was to be one brigade in each district under the command of a brigadier general. Brigades were divided into regiments, which in turn were composed of companies. Each company was to consist of not less than 50 men and was to be divided into five divisions. A unique feature of this organization was that one of these five divisions was reserved for "the more aged and infirm men." The other four divisions of the company were to draw lots to determine the rotation they would follow in entering their tour of service, which usually lasted for three months.[52] Since militiamen had the habit of "turning out . . . with

[50] William Edward Fitch, *Some Neglected History of North Carolina* (New York and Washington, D. C.: Neale Publishing Company, 1905), *passim*. William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), 46-67.

[51] Peter Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series (Washington, D. C.: M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, 6 volumes, 1837-1846), V, 1,350, hereinafter cited as Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series.

[52] Clark, *State Records*, XIV, 286, 138, 472.

greater Alacrity" when a bounty was paid, the offering of monetary inducements to volunteers was common during the Revolution.[53]

In the early days of the Revolution there were two other military organizations in North Carolina in addition to the militia—the regulars of the Continental line and the minutemen. Both carried more prestige and rank than the militia and appealed more to the fighting man. A colonel in the minutemen was ranked with a lieutenant colonel of the Continentals, while a colonel of the militia bore the same rank as a lieutenant colonel in the minutemen.[54] The State minutemen, organized as "shock troops" to meet sudden emergencies, folded in 1776. Actually there was no longer a need for such troops, since by that time their duties were overlapping those of the militia and the Continentals. Distinctions between the militia and Continentals were sharp. No militia unit was to be under the command of any but militia officers, unless the civil power ordered them to join the Continental troops.[55] When the militia and Continental forces were combined, the command went to the Continental officer unless there was a militia officer who held a superior rank to the leading Continental officer.

As the Revolution wore on, the various parts of the militia system were remolded to meet the exigencies of the times. The first of the recent innovations to be cast aside was the fifth division composed of "the more aged and infirm men." Accompanying this change was the lowering of the maximum age limit from sixty to fifty. Exemption lists were revised to draw the maximum service from the State's man power. Exemption from musters no longer meant that a person could not be drafted into the militia service. By 1778 exemptions were extended to only the governor, the speakers of both houses of the Assembly, justices of the superior court of law, the attorney general, Continental delegates, public secretaries, and members of the Quaker, Mennonite, Dunkard, and Moravian sects.[56] Other groups exempt from musters but subject to draft call included: justices of the peace, members of the Council of State, ministers of North Carolina churches, treasurers of town offices, physicians, Continental postmasters and post riders. That there were men excused from musters and the draft who were not in the above categories is indicated by the numerous special exemptions that were granted by the Assembly. For example, an entire company of Ocracoke militia was exempted if it promised to prevent privateers from "cutting out vessels and

[53] Clark, *State Records*, XIV, 860.
[54] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 199.
[55] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 2.
[56] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 193.

committing other depredations" on Pamlico Sound.[57] To foster the State's infant iron industry, men working at the David Allen Iron Works in Surry County or the England and Wilcox Iron Works in Chatham County for a given period of time were relieved of military duty.[58] Similar concessions were allowed to workers at the shoe factory in Guilford.[59] Millers, overseers of slaves, ferrymen, and others, were likewise often granted individual exemptions by the Assembly.

For those who wished to escape the militia draft, there were methods other than an application to the General Assembly. One of the characteristics of the Revolutionary militia was the hiring of substitutes. The 1776 Act offered two alternatives to the draft—finding an "able-bodied" substitute or paying a £10 fine.[60] This principle remained throughout the Revolution, although it was occasionally modified to control the type of substitutes hired. By 1780 Frenchmen, Spaniards, British deserters, Hessian deserters, Indians, and slaves were not acceptable as substitutes in the militia.[61]

Just as the Revolution necessitated readjustments in some parts of the Colonial militia, it also demanded the development of officers that had not been necessary under the old militia system. Supplying the troops posed one of the most difficult problems of the War. To supervise these matters, quartermaster and commissary departments were established. It was the quartermasters' duty to provide quarters, clothing, transportation, forage, and other necessities for the militia. The chief supply officer of the State organization was the quartermaster general who expedited the supplies to the six militia districts. Every brigade had its own quartermaster who appointed a deputy for each regiment in his brigade.[62] During the invasion of the State the quartermasters had slightly less than dictatorial powers. Nevertheless, militia laws were designed to maintain good public relations in the problem of supplies. The quartermaster, or no other militiaman, could impress any article or property without first receiving warrants from two justices of the peace in the County in which he made the press.[63] Before he could take the article from the owner, two "indifferent" people had to make an appraisal of the article's value. A certificate was given to the owner that could be cashed in 12 months for the value of the article plus 6 per cent interest.[64] If the owner refused

[57] Clark, *State Records*, XIV, 334.
[58] Clark, *State Records*, XVII, 852, 917, 971, 972.
[59] Clark, *State Records*, XIV, 428.
[60] Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, V, 1,351.
[61] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 336.
[62] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 192.
[63] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 3, 4.
[64] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 383.

to accept North Carolina currency or certificates, the quartermaster still could impress the article after he gave the owner a State certificate.

The same pattern was outlined for the commissary department, which was responsible for supplying the militia with food. The commissary general, elected by the General Assembly, directed the brigade commissaries whom the brigadier general appointed.[65] The commissaries also were required to follow procedures like the quartermasters when they sought to impress supplies.

The most conspicuous of the new offices was that of brigadier general. When the State was divided into six militia districts, each containing one brigade, six brigadier generals were created. Inferior only to the commander-in-chief of the militia, the brigadier commanded all the forces in his district and submitted regular rolls of the units in his brigade to the governor and the commander-in-chief.[66]

Since the captain and clerks were loaded with many other responsibilities during the War, they were relieved of paying their companies after 1776. The legislature assigned this duty to the paymaster department. They appointed one paymaster to each brigade and allowed him 2½ per cent commission on all the salaries he paid.[67]

In an effort to strengthen the militia's morale, chaplains were employed in 1778 for the first time.[68] Receiving colonel's wages, they were appointed by the brigadier general with the approval of the field officers.

While the Revolution demanded the creation of new offices in the militia organization, it likewise underscored the need for a different type of civil supervision. As a reaction to the almost unlimited authority of the Colonial governors, the civil power over the militia was at first invested in the Revolutionary legislature and council. Until the adoption of the State Constitution, the Provincial Council and the subordinate committees of safety directed all military establishments in the State.[69] It was the Provincial Council's privilege to call out the militia, to approve or reject officers chosen by the people, to suspend officers when necessary, and to fill vacancies in the system. In a like manner, the State Constitution of 1776 denied the governor his old Colonial prerogatives and gave the State Senate and House of Commons the power to appoint the generals and field officers of the

[65] Clark, *State Records*, XII, 688.
[66] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 1, 2.
[67] Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, V, 1,362, 1,363.
[68] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 192. Governor Dobbs had intimated in 1759 that the militia might not be as prone to desert if they had "a pious Clergy to inspire them." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 220, 221.
[69] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 209.

militia.[70] The selection of company officers was left to the militiamen.

Supervision by legislative committees usually proved unsatisfactory, especially if the committeemen were not acquainted with the arts of war. Hoping to correct the mismanagement of the first years of the War, the legislature established in 1780 a Board of War to master-mind the State's military strategy.[71] Composed of five commissioners elected by the legislature, the Board of War was given extensive emergency powers. It was to devise with the commander-in-chief "a general plan of operations . . . as nearly consistent with those formed by the Continental commander, as circumstances will admit." Because it met more frequently and was usually nearer the scene of action than the legislative committees, the Board was expected to solve the defects of the militia.

Even with the authority it wielded the Board failed to provide a panacea to the system's ills. Consequently, civil supervision over the militia passed into the hands of the "Council Extraordinary" in 1781. The "Council Extraordinary," also elected by the legislature, absorbed the powers of the defunct Board of War.[72] Its three members advised with the governor in appointing and suspending officers, in drawing revenues for supplies and wages, in impressing war materials, and in executing any act necessary for the defense of North Carolina. Should a member die or move out of the State, the governor could appoint someone to fill his vacancy. This last provision reflects a mild re-evaluation of the role of the governor in the new State. If the Revolution had lasted a few more years, it is likely that North Carolinians would have restored to the governor the civil supervision of the militia that his Colonial predecessors had enjoyed.

Like its Colonial counterpart, the militia organization in the Revolution was fashioned by the exigencies of the period. New offices were added, some were dropped, and others revised in an effort to establish a desirable system. Complicated procedures were adopted to harness the State's products and resources so that the militia might be properly fed and equipped. Various methods of civil supervision were tested, none of which was entirely successful. Indeed, experimentation was the order of the day. North Carolina was not clamped with an inflexible militia system, but enjoyed one that could be amended whenever necessary. As an adjustable tool of defense, the militia would succeed or fail depending upon the abilities of its officers and men. Whatever blame or praise that the militia's per-

[70] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 981.
[71] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 355-357.
[72] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 378, 379.

formance in the Revolution deserves must be heaped upon those individuals who led and served it, not upon the organization.

APPENDIX[73]

DAILY WAGES PRESCRIBED FOR NORTH CAROLINA MILITIAMEN IN GIVEN YEARS

	1715	1746	1774	1778	1781
Brigadier General	—	—	—	5 pounds	100 pounds**
Colonel	10s	12s 6d	12s 6d	40s	40 "
Lieutenant Colonel	9s	10s	10s	36s	36 "
Major	8s	10s	10s	36s	36 "
Captain	5s	7s	7s 6d	28s	28 "
Adjutant *	5s	7s	7s 6d	24s	28 "
Lieutenant	3s 6d	5s	5s	24s	24 "
Surgeon	—	5s	5s	36s	36 "
Ensign	3s	4s	4s 6d	20s	20 "
Sergeant	2s	4s	4s	12s	17 "
Corporal	—	3s	3s	10s	15 "
Drummer	—	3s	3s	10s	15 "
Private	1s 6d	3s	2s	8s	13 "

* "Aid major" in 1715.

** North Carolina currency.

[73] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 31, 245, 246, 943; XXIV, 192, 359.

THOMAS HART IN NORTH CAROLINA

By Durward T. Stokes*

Thomas Hart came to North Carolina in 1757[1] and settled in Orange County. During the next 20 years he was actively engaged in the political, business, religious, and military life of the County to an extent as great as any one man of his day. In addition to the activities of Hart, his children, most of whom were born in North Carolina, made prominent names for themselves in their own careers. Several of his daughters married men of national prominence and proved equal to both the demands of the State Capital, the national capital, or a European court, as well as plantation homes.

The grandfather of Thomas Hart, also named Thomas, was the founder of the American branch of this family. He emigrated from London in 1690, bringing his eleven-year-old son, Thomas, with him and eventually settled in Hanover County, Virginia. Here he lived as a respectable planter until the end of his days, and here also his son, Thomas Hart II, married Susannah Rice, the aunt of the Reverend Daniel Rice, a respected Presbyterian clergyman. To this union were born six children, Thomas, John, Benjamin, David, Nathaniel, and Ann. After Thomas Hart II died in 1755, the brothers moved to Orange County, North Carolina. Their reasons for moving from Virginia are not known, and there may have been no more particular ones than the desire to relocate in a new place. The attraction may have been solely a desire to try their fortunes in a new setting, as the son of Nathaniel later expressed it, ". . . they removed to North Carolina (then a new country)."[2]

As soon as Thomas Hart was located in Hillsboro, the county seat of Orange, he followed the custom of the day and applied to the State for a land grant. In due time, he received a grant, and later more grants were made to him. He was granted 273 acres in 1757, 1,058 in 1759, and 951 in 1779. These grants were located on the Eno

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[1] Nathaniel Hart to Lyman Copeland Draper, August 2, 1842, Draper Letters, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, hereinafter cited as Draper Letters.

[2] Nathaniel Hart to Lyman Copeland Draper, August 7, 1853, Draper Letters. The Nathaniel Hart who wrote the letter to Draper in 1842 was a son of Nathaniel Hart, the brother of Thomas Hart. The Nathaniel Hart who wrote to Draper in 1853 was the son of this Nathaniel Hart and a grandnephew of Thomas Hart.

River, Seven Mile Creek, Horseley Creek, and Country Line Creek.[3]

Hart built his home, which he named "Hartford,"[4] on his land on Seven Mile Creek and the Eno River. The dwelling was located about two miles northwest of Hillsboro; its site can be determined today by marking a spot on a map of Orange County between the juncture of the Eno River and the tracks of the Southern Railway system, on the west bank of the river.[5] The railroad bridge over the river is not two miles from Hillsboro today, but it would have been two miles from the town limits in 1779. Up the Eno River to the north, Hart built a grist mill, and above that was the ford where the road leading from Hillsboro to the west crossed the river. There were a number of other buildings close by in which Hart conducted various businesses, and the community was known as Hart's Mill.[6]

Thomas Hart had a pronounced liking and talent for the operation of any kind of business, and he was very successful in the management of those in which he engaged. In addition to having the ability to operate a plantation profitably, trade land skillfully, build up a thriving business with a flour mill, and engage in the mercantile field with success, he also had a knowledge of nail and rope manufacturing far above the average man of his time. He owned a large acreage which he farmed, raising hemp for ropemaking, among other things. He became a partner with the enterprising merchant, Nathaniel Rochester, and young Virginia-born James Brown, in a store in Hillsboro. He was getting his rope and nail factory started well when the course of the Revolution changed his plans.[7]

Hart was a man of ordinary means when he came to Orange County. Because of the destruction of the records of Hanover County, Virginia, since 1800, it is impossible to determine exactly what he inherited from his father, but there are no indications that he was a

[3] Land Grant Records of North Carolina, Office of the Secretary of State, Raleigh, Land Grant Book 14, 417, 418, 419, and Book 40, 295, 374.

[4] Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XI, 369, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records.*

[5] Map of Orange County (made and published by George W. Tate, 1891), a copy of which hangs in the Office of the Register of Deeds for Orange County, Hillsboro, shows Jesse Benton's grave in the angle formed by the Eno River and the railroad tracks. Benton owned "Hartford" when he died in 1790 and was buried there. Duke University owns this land at the present time, and the Duke School of Forestry has located gravestones at this particular spot. There are, however, no inscriptions readable on them, which is to be expected as Jesse Benton died in 1790, when few markers had inscriptions.

[6] Clark, *State Records*, XIX, 840-842; XXII, 461-462.

[7] Nathaniel Rochester, *A Brief Sketch of the Life of Nathaniel Rochester, Written by Himself for the Information of His Children* (Rochester, New York: The Rochester Historical Society, Volume III of the Publication Fund Series, reprinted from the original private printing, 1924), 309, hereinafter cited as Rochester, *Sketch.*

man of more than average means. Shortly after settling in Orange County, however, Hart married Susannah Gray,[8] the daughter of Colonel John Gray, and the granddaughter of John Gray, who came to the Colonies in the suite of Governor Gabriel Johnston in 1731. Colonel Gray died in 1775 and willed his considerable estate, including his large plantation, "Grayfields," to his son-in-law.[9] It was this fortune, large for that day, that enabled Thomas Hart to furnish capital for so many enterprises in such quick succession, and it was this estate, added to his own means, which he constantly increased by hard work and keen ability to the point that he was a very rich man when he died. Although he made a large part of his fortune after he left North Carolina, his estate was valued on the Orange County tax books in 1779 as worth £70,431/2.[10]

As soon as Hart came to North Carolina, he became acquainted with the English officials and was well received by them. Governor William Tryon had correspondence with him and Edmund Fanning knew him quite well.[11] He shortly became a vestryman of St. Matthews Parish[12] and was an intimate of James Watson, James Thackston, Thomas Burke, James Hogg, William Johnston, Richard Henderson, Francis Nash, and other very prominent members of the Colony. In 1763 he was made sheriff of the County and served for two years. He was again sheriff in 1768.[13] The fact that his father-in-law had previously been sheriff, as well as a member of the Colonial legislature for two terms and one of the original vestrymen of St. Matthews Parish, influenced Governor Dobbs to appoint Hart to this position. The years in which he filled this office were perhaps the most trying on the patience, strength, courage, and determination of not only the sheriff, but also all the other court officials in the entire history of Orange County, because it was during this time that the Regulator movement began to gain strength. During this period of rebellion against all representatives of royal authority, Hart stanchly upheld the duties of his office although his task was not made any easier when his brother, John, signed the Regulators Petition.

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[8] Sarah S. Young, *Genealogical Narrative of the Hart Family in the United States* (Memphis, Tennessee: Privately printed, 1882), 1-5, hereinafter cited as Young, *Narrative.*

[9] Orange County Will Books, Office of Clerk of Court, Orange County Courthouse, Hillsboro, Will Book A, 182, hereinafter cited as Orange County Will Book A.

[10] Orange County Tax List, 1779, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[11] William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: The State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), VII, 714, 774; VIII, 659, hereinafter cited as *Colonial Records.*

[12] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VIII, 23.

[13] Hugh Lefler and Paul Wager (eds.), *Orange County—1752-1952* (Chapel Hill: Orange Print Shop, 1953), 355, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Wager, *Orange County.*

It was also during this era that there was a great controversy over taxes, and, as the sheriff was the collector of the taxes, Hart became very unpopular with the Regulators. It was also because of much misunderstanding and an irregular system in the tax lists of Orange County that the duties of the sheriff were made more difficult. Whether it was lack of understanding of the law or lack of sympathy with it, Hart did not collect the hated poll tax. On May 10, 1765, the Assembly, meeting in Wilmington, found his account short due to error,[14] and, on May 15, passed a bill requiring that the omitted poll tax be collected.[15] Hart settled his account with the Colony in a satisfactory manner and to the satisfaction of many of the citizens. In a petition from Orange County inhabitants in 1770 to Martin Howard, Chief Justice, in which fee collection and other injustices were protested, 174 signers referred to "Thomas Hart being the only sheriff that ever settled." [16]

The Assembly, however, passed a bill on November 20, 1764, which excused Thomas Hart and others from paying taxes,[17] and the Regulators neither forgot nor forgave this. Reverend Eli Caruthers, who talked with people who were living during the period of the "Hillsborough Riots," states that he was told that Fanning owed his own election to the Assembly "to the sheriff, Thomas Hart, to whom he promised a reward if he would get him elected; and when he took his seat he brought in a bill, and had it passed, for giving Hart one thousand pounds, on account of his losses as sheriff, when in fact he had lost nothing: so said the Regulators." [18] There had been so many dishonest sheriffs and so much abuse on the part of officials that the people hated the name of the office although there was no particular charge against Hart for any special offense against a Regulator in the collection of taxes. Therefore, when reporting on the famous "Hillsborough Riots" of September 24 and 25, 1770, Judge Henderson wrote Governor Tryon on September 29 of that year that "Thomas Hart, Michael Holt, John Luttrell (Clerk of the Crown) and many others were severely whipped by the Regulators," [19] and on September 30 James Watson, Robert Lytle, Thomas Hart, Francis Nash, William Johnston, James Thackston, and James Monro signed a letter to Tryon "deploring the acts of the Regulators." [20]

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[14] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 68.
[15] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 52, 81.
[16] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 233.
[17] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1,299.
[18] E. W. Caruthers, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of the Rev. David Caldwell, D.D.* (Greensboro: Swaim and Sherwood, 1842), 117.
[19] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 242.
[20] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 246-247.

In 1768 Hart was appointed a captain in the Orange County Militia,[21] and was also made Commissary for the troops of Orange, Granville, and Caswell counties.[22] In April of that year, Fanning wrote Hart from Halifax where he was attending the Assembly, and ordered him to raise 500 troops for the defense of the County.[23] Hart and Francis Nash wrote back to Fanning on April 17, that they could not raise troops and that resentment was high against him (Fanning). Also they told him that "Strudwick's tenants are meeting in revolt at Haw Fields." [24] Fanning wrote Tryon on April 23, that he had heard from Adjutant Nash and Captain Hart, and this letter was read to the Governor's Council in Wilmington four days later.[25] Hart did, however, raise some troops and accumulate supplies for all the soldiers when Tryon brought the Militia to Orange County for the September term of court.[26] It was in May of that year that Tryon decided to have Herman Husband, a leader of the Regulators, arrested and tried in court. Thomas Hart, as sheriff, was sent with a group of deputies to serve the warrant, which he did in Husband's home, and brought him back to jail in Hillsboro.[27] Later Husband was released. Further trouble was averted at this time and nothing serious happened until the "Riots" in 1770. In March, 1771, Tryon wrote Hart from New Bern asking him if he could again raise provisions for 500 troops "as he did in 1768." [28] Evidently he could, for Tryon wrote again in April giving him further instructions about the supplies.[29] Then the Battle of Alamance took place, with which Captain Hart was associated at least as officer in charge of provisions for the men under Tryon. In spite of his participation in the War of the Regulation on the side of the Crown, Hart continued to be elected to public office and positions of responsibility. As an officer in the Militia, and always a strong supporter of law and order, Hart obeyed Tryon's commands, but when royal rule ceased to exist in North Carolina, Hart became a patriot of outstanding rank.

After the civil strife caused by the Regulators ceased, Thomas Hart

[21] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 710.
[22] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 659; VII, 888.
[23] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 707.
[24] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 710.
[25] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 714.
[26] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 888.
[27] John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851* (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, Reprint of 1851 edition, 1925), II, 316-317. This volume contains a complete account of the narrative published by Herman Husband in 1770, *An Impartial Relation of the First Rise and Cause of the Present Difficulties in Public Affairs in the Province of North Carolina*, and the account of the arrest was narrated by Husband himself.
[28] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 696, 678.
[29] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 707.

turned with renewed vigor toward business matters. He and his brother, Nathaniel, joined with John Williams, Lancelot Johnston, R. Harrison, John Bacon, John Luttrell, and William Johnston as partners in the Louisa Company, organized by Richard Henderson in 1774.[30] This partnership, the brain child of Henderson, was formed for the purpose of buying and developing western lands in what is now a part of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. Henderson had received a good deal of the information from Daniel Boone, who had scouted the territory for him. Henderson had conceived an idea of a western empire far exceeding in size and possibilities the grants once made to the Lords Proprietors. He took the Harts into his organization because he knew them well, having been a judge of the court at the time Hart was sheriff, and because they had capital, which he needed.

After many complicated details were worked out by Boone, a meeting was arranged with representatives of the Louisa Company and the Cherokee Indian tribes at a place now in Tennessee, known as Watauga. Thomas Hart, and his brother, Nathaniel, made the long trip with John Williams and Richard Henderson to attend this meeting. A number of interested persons who were not financially involved in the transaction, but who were interested in the future development of the section were also present, including John Sevier and Isaac Shelby. During the meeting, after much bargaining and discussion, the Indians finally agreed to convey their rights in the vast acreage, the exact size of which was at that time unknown even to Henderson and his partners. The Louisa Company actually made a treaty with the Indians in which the Company gave the Cherokees several loads of merchandise of the sort which would appeal to Indians, in return for the land.[31]

After this event the company was reorganized and named the Transylvania Company. The partners in the new organization were Richard Henderson, Thomas Hart, Nathaniel Hart, William Johnston, James Hogg, John Luttrell, and John Williams, who owned a one-eighth share each, and David Hart and Leonard Henly Bullock, who owned a one-sixteenth share each. A formal agreement was drawn up between them and duly recorded in Orange County, stating they "as copartners and Tenants in common by the Laws of England, have purchased from the Cherokee Indians a certain tract of land lying on

[30] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 530-531.

[31] William Stewart Lester, *The Transylvania Colony* (Spencer, Indiana: Samuel R. Guard and Company, 1935), 35-38, hereinafter cited as Lester, *The Transylvania Colony*.

the Ohio river and the tributaries thereof."[32] Plans for immediate colonization were begun, and an offer of 640 acres was made to the well-known Presbyterian clergyman, Henry Patillo, if he would agree to go with the colonists and settle it. Patillo did not accept the gift, but prospective colonists at once became interested, nevertheless.[33]

William Johnston, who came to Orange County in 1767, was a partner with James Thackston in the mercantile business and a wealthy man. He also was a partner with Richard Bennehan in a store on Little River, as well as the operator of farms and a mill.[34] His estate, of which Thomas Hart was named one of the executors, was one of the largest in Orange County at the time of his death in or about 1791.[35] James Hogg was a successful businessman in several capacities and a foremost citizen, while John Williams and his brother-in-law, Leonard Henly Bullock, were men who moved in the same circles in the County with Judge Henderson, the Harts, and John Luttrell. Luttrell served as Clerk of the Colony and was married to Thomas Hart's niece, Susannah. Just why men of this caliber went into this venture which required not only a good deal of money but physical exertion as well on the part of some of them, when a Royal Proclamation had expressly forbidden trading with the Indians for western lands, and when neither individuals nor a company had the power to make a treaty with the Indians or with anyone else, is not entirely clear.[36] It happened at a time when many enterprising men were interested in land speculation and in future settlements in the west, although this venture was by far the largest project of its kind ever attempted in this country, and it is quite possible that these men fully believed that American Independence was a certainty in the near future and that the Continental Congress, already a reality, would sustain their intentions and investment. They were quite right in the first surmise but wrong in the second. The United States of America had fully established its independence many years before the affairs of the Transylvania Company were finally settled. However, long before this victory had been won, it was stated by Nash, "This was not the only North Carolina scheme that the Continental

[32] Orange County Deed Books, Office of Register of Deeds, Orange County Courthouse, Hillsboro, Deed Book 6, 124, hereinafter cited as Orange County Deed Book with proper data.
[33] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 261.
[34] Lefler and Wager, *Orange County*, 332.
[35] Orange County Will Book A, 333.
[36] Lester, *The Transylvania Colony*, 24.

Congress treated with scant courtesy, as being too rasping to British nerves to be widely encouraged at the time." [37]

No matter what the reasoning of the partners, however, in organizing the company, they early made it quite clear that they were willing to back their investment in money with their own efforts. Thomas Hart went again to the Watauga with Henderson in 1775,[38] and John Williams, Nathaniel Hart, and John Luttrell also accompanied them. By the year 1779, Nathaniel Hart had made the trip 14 times in the interest of the company,[39] and even gave his life for it when he was killed by the Indians in 1782.[40]

After many years and much litigation, the affairs of the Transylvania Company were finally settled in Williamsburg, Virginia. Three of the partners were still living at the time and Thomas Hart was one of them, although he was not present when the final decision was made. The Virginia Assembly took title to the lands claimed by the Company, declaring the original treaty-purchase null and void. Later the independent State of Kentucky was created.[41] Meanwhile, North Carolina took a stand on this controversial matter as early as 1782 and, while not upholding the claims of the Transylvanians, made a concession of a fair tract of land in Tennessee to the partners as a reward for their efforts at colonization, and a compensation for their capital invested. The Assembly bill stated that "Your Committee are of the opinion that the aforesaid purchase was illegal and that all such attempts to monopolize lands are dangerous and may prove injurious to Society. . . ." but also stated that "It appears that . . . Company have thereby incurred a heavy expence and have had great trouble and risques; that the purchase which they have made may save the State some expence in attaining peaceful possession of the land from the Indians." [42]

The Committee making the report must have felt that the partners were honest in their intentions for it proposed to award as compensation to them a tract of land "lying in Powell's Valley," and the Assembly passed their recommendation. Thomas Hart traded some of this land for some located in Kentucky and held on to what he had. His descendants live on part of it today.

During a period of several years following the Battle of Alamance,

[37] Frank Nash, *Hillsboro, Colonial and Revolutionary* (Chapel Hill: The Orange Printshop, 1953), 35, hereinafter cited as Nash, *Hillsboro.*
[38] Lester, *The Transylvania Colony,* 66.
[39] Nathaniel Hart to Lyman Copeland Draper, August 2, 1842, Draper Letters.
[40] Nathaniel Hart to Lyman Copeland Draper, August 2, 1842, Draper Letters.
[41] Lester, *The Transylvania Colony,* 121.
[42] Clark, *State Records,* XVI, 151-152.

Thomas Hart served as juror,[43] was commissioned to serve with several others to have a gaol built in Hillsboro,[44] was appointed to serve on a board to establish an academy near Hillsboro,[45] and was elected a member of the colonial legislature for Orange County.[46] He served in this capacity both in 1773-1774, and in 1775. During this time a petition was sent to him from Orange County citizens requesting his efforts on behalf of legislation to regulate taxes, courts, courts governed by the Assembly, maintenance of an indemnity law, and the proper bonding for sheriffs.[47] A petition of this kind would hardly have been directed to Hart if the people of Orange County held the same feeling for him as that expressed by the Regulators.

Hart received this request graciously and worked immediately to introduce the legislation, some of which was passed. He also served on the Committee on Claims and Grievances and was very active in the proceedings of the Assembly. His greatest legislative efforts were along the lines of the very reforms sought by the Regulators and show that the man was in sympathy with their aims, if not with their methods.

In 1774 he was elected a member from the County to the first Provincial Congress.[48] He was elected in the same capacity with Thomas Burke to the Second Congress, and with Burke, John Kinchen, John Atkinson, and John Williams to the Third Congress. He made an admirable and very active member of all three bodies and became an ardent patriot in every sense of the word, as well as a leader in court and tax reforms.

It is difficult to understand why Thomas Hart, who had so actively opposed the Regulators, was himself, just a few years later, such a vigorous partisan in the American Revolution. Evidently he did not respect the leadership or the methods of the Regulators, but realized the justice of their claims and, when these causes were espoused by leadership which he felt was both responsible and dignified, he joined heartily in the movement. In so doing, he incurred the bitter hatred of those who remained loyal to the Crown in Orange County, and the Tories became quite a menace to his safety before American Independence was won.

Ever ready to back up his convictions with physical action, regardless of personal comfort or safety, Hart saw active service with the

[43] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 72.
[44] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 869.
[45] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 250.
[46] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 734.
[47] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 699, 706.
[48] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 882.

North Carolina Militia during the Revolutionary War and was appointed Commissary for the Sixth North Carolina Regiment, with the rank of Colonel.[49] During the lull in North Carolina between the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge and 1780, Thomas Hart served as a Senator in the Assembly during the session of 1777.[50] He was especially active during this session, serving on many committees, and he resigned his military commission to Governor Caswell so that he could devote his full time to State affairs.[51]

The people of North Carolina were working steadily toward establishing a suitable government and changing a Colony into an independent State. In Orange County, trading was prosperous, the mercantile business was good, manufacturing was making a start, and the war seemed far away. In August of 1780, the Patriots were appalled and the Tories delighted by the defeat of General Horatio Gates at Camden. The General arrived in Hillsboro shortly after the battle, and Lord Cornwallis followed with his forces as quickly as possible. As the British came nearer, the Tories became bolder and the smoldering resentment that they had felt for years toward those in revolt against the Crown burst into an active flame of hatred as they began to execute revenge on their patriot neighbors in a cruel and violent manner. No one felt secure about his material possessions or safe about his life. Colonel Hart was especially disliked by most of the Tories. Having considerable family, including a number of young daughters, he became apprehensive about their safety. Nathaniel Rochester, who was a business partner of the Colonel at the time, explained:

> His [Colonel Hart's] residence was about the line between the Whigs and Tory settlements. The latter committed many depredations on his property, he being a very influential and active Whig. There were frequent instances of the Whig and Tories, not only committing depredations on each other in North and South Carolina, but murdering privately along their borders. General Gates, who in 1779 commanded the Southern Army, advised Colonel Hart to remove with his family . . . and, as Colonel Hart's property and his life were endangered by remaining where he was, he took the advice of the General, and in the Fall of 1780 removed . . . to Hagerstown, in Maryland. . . .[52]

Shortly after the removal of the Hart family from their home at "Hartford," British soldiers under Cornwallis occupied the site. They

[49] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 536.
[50] Clark, *State Records*, XII, 2.
[51] Clark, *State Records*, XI, 369.
[52] Rochester, *Sketch*, 309.

were surprised by a group of patriots and a lively skirmish ensued, which has been known since as the Battle of Hart's Mill. While this clash of arms was of little military significance, the occupation and the fighting undoubtedly did considerable damage to the property.[53]

Hart sold part of his land before his rather hurried removal.[54] "Hartford" was bought by Jesse Benton, husband of Hart's niece. He made a payment on it and gave a note for the balance. Colonel Rochester went with Hart and was of great assistance to him for the next few years. There is no record that Hart ever returned to North Carolina, but Rochester made two trips for him to help settle his business affairs and also made a trip to Kentucky to look after matters for him.[55] It was Hart's plan to stay in Maryland a short while, then to take his family to Kentucky, where he still owned his land, as well as a tract that he had bought from his brother David. As a result of the news of the death of his brother, Nathaniel, at the hands of the Indians, and the troubled situation in Kentucky at the time because the Cherokees had gone on the warpath against the whites, he bought a home in Hagerstown and remained there until 1794.[56]

Rochester went to Philadelphia to open a business for the two of them, but, because he contracted smallpox and was ill for many weeks, the venture never materialized. When Rochester returned to Hagerstown, he and the Colonel built a mill, a rope and nail factory, and did a thriving business. When Hart did go to Kentucky to settle there permanently, Rochester also left Maryland and went to New York State.[57]

As a family man, Hart was devoted to his seven children and his other kinsmen as well. In a letter from Hagerstown,[58] he wrote James Hogg about his wife and children and spoke of them with great affection and, after settling in Kentucky, he wrote again to Hogg,[59] expressing himself as being well satisfied with the careers of his children and their wives and husbands. When Jesse Benton died rather suddenly in 1790, leaving a wife with eight young children, and a very involved estate, Hart wrote to Hogg from Hagerstown on September 5, 1791,[60] explaining, ". . . my affairs with Colonel Benton's Executors

[53] William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), 255, hereinafter cited as Foote, *Sketches.*
[54] Nathaniel Hart to Lyman Copeland Draper, August 2, 1842, Draper Letters.
[55] Rochester, *Sketch,* 310.
[56] Nathaniel Hart to Lyman Copeland Draper, August 2, 1842, Draper Letters.
[57] Rochester, *Sketch,* 311.
[58] Thomas Hart to James Hogg, September 5, 1791, Vernon Howell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Howell Papers.
[59] Thomas Hart to James Hogg, February 24, 1795, Howell Papers.
[60] Thomas Hart to James Hogg, September 5, 1791, Howell Papers.

I would wish settled on the most favorable terms for the Widow and Orphans but apprehend a great difficulty in doing it, as I am informed his Estate will scarcely be sufficient to pay his debts, in which case, any sacrifice made by me in relinquishing any part of my claim against the Estate would avail nothing in their favor, as other Creditors would immediately lay hold of it." Hart solved the problem of providing for his niece and her family by suing the estate and, in 1800, received from Samuel Turrentine, Sheriff of Orange County, a court judgment against Nancy Benton for £3,622, to be discharged by paying £1,831 and interest and costs amounting to £6, 6s.[61] Hart was never fully paid because Benton's widow could not spare the money. She sold the home in a few years and moved to Tennessee with her family. She worked heroically to educate her children and was rewarded by their progress as good citizens. One son, Thomas Hart Benton, became a famous United States Senator from the State of Missouri[62] and was mentioned a number of times as a possible candidate for President of the United States.[63] When Colonel Hart died, he left Mrs. Benton and the children a tract of land which more than compensated for the amount she had paid him on his claim.[64]

Hart indulged his children with every possible advantage, especially in home training and formal education. He sent his daughter, Eliza, from Hillsboro to Philadelphia, where his friend, Robert Morris, placed her in the fashionable school maintained by Mrs. Bordeaux. In 1780 Cornelius Harnett, writing to Thomas Burke in Philadelphia where the doctor was attending Congress, sent his regards and those of his wife to Miss Hart.[65] Burke was kind to Eliza who evidently missed her home and family for Whitmell Hill, writing to Dr. Burke, mentioned that young Miss Hart was depressed since the doctor had left Philadelphia and returned to North Carolina.[66]

The Hart children made good use of their training, and each had an admirable and interesting career. In Kentucky, Nancy (Ann) married James Brown, who had been a business partner of her father in Hillsboro, and who became United States Minister to France. Lucretia, who was born just after the Harts arrived in Maryland, married

[61] Orange County Deed Book 9, 76.
[62] Lefler and Wager, *Orange County*, 323.
[63] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949: The Continental Congress, September 5, 1774, to October 21, 1788, and the Congress of the United States, from the First to the Eightieth Congress, March 4, 1789, to January 3, 1949, Inclusive* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, Eighty-First Congress, Second Session, *House Document No. 607*, 1950), 843.
[64] Records of Williamson County, Kentucky, Superior Court Minute Book for Mero District, I, 303; III, 428, 433; IV, 203, 399.
[65] Clark, *State Records*, XV, 341.
[66] Clark, *State Records*, XV, 56.

Henry Clay, and was one of the most prominent hostesses of Kentucky for many years. The prestige of the Hart family was advanced even further when the Colonel's niece married Isaac Shelby.[67]

Thomas Hart continued his enterprising business ideas after he arrived in Kentucky and built up his rope and hemp business to proportions of national stature. Among other transactions of importance, Hart furnished all the rope used by the United States Navy at this time.[68] He traded in huge quantities of merchandise and, writing to James Hogg in 1795, the first year he lived in Lexington, he described the bountiful contents of his warehouse not only with pride in the ownership of such profitable goods, but also with satisfaction of a man who liked the luxuries of the day in plentiful supply around him. Also, in the same letter, he described himself as weighing 230 pounds, sixty years old, and still fond of proper human pleasures and desires.[69]

Ever a man of strong character, Hart had the ability to lead, inspire, and work with his fellow man. His many business enterprises would not have been possible without his executive ability and the fact that he was able to command the loyal co-operation of other men. Nathaniel Rochester, one of his partners, always spoke of Hart with great respect and affection. He named one of his sons for the Colonel, as well as naming a street for him when he planned a village that is today the city of Rochester, New York.[70] As a hard-working man at whatever task his duty and office demanded, Hart never shirked or avoided a responsibility, but took the lead in the matter, as in his arrest of Husband and in his personal trip to the Watauga country.

As a member of the Church of England, he served on the Vestry of St. Matthews Parish in Hillsboro.[71] After moving to Hagerstown, he welcomed the change to the Protestant Episcopal Church by becoming a member of All Saints' Parish (later renamed St. John's),[72] and in Kentucky, he was a member of the group which formed the Episcopal Society, which eventually became Christ Church.[73]

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[67] Rachel Sleasman Schwartz, *Lucretia Hart* (Hagerstown, Maryland: Privately printed, 1937), 11-13, hereinafter cited as Schwartz, *Lucretia Hart;* Sarah S. Young, *Genealogical Narrative of the Hart Family in the United States* (Memphis, Tennessee: Privately printed, 1882), 5; Records of the United States Department of State, Washington, D.C.; William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical, Second Series* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1855), 97-99.

[68] Schwartz, *Lucretia Hart,* 18.

[69] Thomas Hart to James Hogg, February 24, 1795, Howell Papers.

[70] Map Collection of the Rochester Historical Society, New York.

[71] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VIII, 23.

[72] Vestry Records of the Episcopal Church in Elizabethtown in All Saint's Parish (present-day St. John's Parish), Hagerstown, Maryland.

[73] Elizabeth King Smith, *Christ Church, 1796-1946* (Lexington, Kentucky: Privately printed, 1946), 2.

Colonel Hart always found time to serve his country whenever called on to do so. At the time he was a progressive businessman, and both an affectionate and efficient family man. He made a great contribution to North Carolina when he lived within her borders, and he carried the good effects and the beneficial results of his Carolina residence with him through two other States to the end of his life. In the Hart family, Kentucky received the finished iron that was forged in North Carolina.

Thomas Hart died at his home in Lexington, Kentucky, June 23, 1808, at the age of seventy-eight, and was buried in the Old Episcopal Graveyard in that City.

SOUTHERN PROTESTANTISM AND THE NEGRO, 1860-1865

By W. Harrison Daniel*

When the Civil War began all of the major Protestant denominations contained slave members.[1] These members constituted a type of associate member status since their voice in church affairs was subordinate to that of the white members. Some congregations would not admit Negroes to membership upon the testimony of their religious experience, which was the customary manner of admitting whites. They might be required to present a two-part written statement containing their master's permission to join the church, and his recommendation attesting to the good character of the applicant.[2] Free Negroes also found it necessary to present a recommendation from a white person before they were accepted for membership.[3] In some congregations Negro members were received in the same manner as white members. They related their religious experience to the congregation which approved their admission.[4] If the experience was not considered sufficiently valid, acceptance might be delayed.[5]

In some localities the colored membership of a congregation might be large enough to justify separate organizations and buildings. In such cities as Richmond, Norfolk, Petersburg, Lynchburg, Charleston, Houston, Mobile, Macon, and Little Rock, Negro churches were

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[1] Slave membership of the major Protestant denominations was: Methodist 215,000; Baptist 157,000; Presbyterian 38,000; Protestant Episcopal 7,000; and Christian 10,000, *Christian Observer* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Richmond, Virginia), February 7, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Christian Observer.*

[2] Minute Book of the Upper King and Queen Baptist Church, April 19, 1860; and scattered papers of the Suffolk Baptist Church. These and all other Baptist manuscript materials hereinafter cited, unless otherwise noted, are in the Virginia Baptist Historical Society, University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia. Minutes of the Mercy Seat Presbyterian Church, November 17, 1861. This and all other Presbyterian manuscript materials hereinafter cited, unless otherwise noted, are in the Union Theological Seminary Library, Richmond, Virginia.

[3] Minute Book of the Mount Holly Baptist Church, Third Sunday in September, 1861.

[4] Minute Book of the Upper Essex Baptist Church, June, 1863; Minute Book of the Suffolk Baptist Church, July 28, 1861; Minutes of the Session of the Presbyterian Church at Liberty, Amite County, Mississippi, May 20, 1862, Presbyterian Historical Foundation, Montreat.

[5] Minute Book of the Clover Baptist Church, September 7, 1861.

established.[6] State laws required that these congregations be served by white pastors,[7] and individuals seeking membership into these churches had to be approved by the white members of the parent church.[8] Once membership was granted the individual might be referred to by the white members as brother or sister.[9] It appears that Negro members who were in good standing generally encountered no difficulty in transferring membership from one church to another within a denomination.[10] A congregation receiving a request for membership by letter might, however, delay such a request until investigations were made concerning the applicant.[11]

Slave members usually attended services and took communion with the whites,[12] but they were segregated within the sanctuary. They might occupy seats near the back of the building or in a balcony, or

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[6] *Richmond Christian Advocate* (Virginia), April 4, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Richmond Christian Advocate*; William C. Robinson, *Columbia Theological Seminary and the Southern Presbyterian Church* (Decatur, Alabama: Dennis Lindsey Printing Company, 1931), 128; *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia for the Sessions of 1861, 1862, and 1863* (Richmond, Virginia: Macfarlane and Ferguson, 1863), 77, hereinafter cited as *Minutes of the General Association of Virginia*; Garnett Ryland, *The Baptists of Virginia 1699-1926* (Richmond: Virginia Baptist Board of Missions and Education, 1955), 285, hereinafter cited as Ryland, *Baptists of Virginia*; *Christian Observer*, March 21, 1861; *Inventory of the Church Archives of Alabama, Protestant Episcopal Church* (Birmingham, Alabama: The Historical Records Survey, 1939), 44; *Minutes of the Synod of Georgia, Held at Macon, November 20-22, 1862* (cover to this publication is missing), 24. *Arkansas Baptist* (Little Rock), November 14, 1860.

[7] Peter Randolph, *From Slave Cabin to the Pulpit, The Autobiography of Rev. Peter Randolph* (Boston, Massachusetts: James H. Earle, 1893), 76, hereinafter cited as Randolph, *From Slave Cabin to Pulpit*; Minute Book of the Leigh Street Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia, February 15, 1861; W. P. Harrison, *The Gospel Among the Slaves* (Nashville, Tennessee: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1893), 308, hereinafter cited as Harrison, *The Gospel Among the Slaves*; *Inventory of the Church Archives of Virginia, Negro Baptist Churches in Richmond* (Richmond, Virginia: Historical Records Survey, 1940), 14-16.

[8] Minute Book of the Hardware Baptist Church, Third Sunday in March, 1864; Fifth Sunday in May, 1864.

[9] Minute Book of the Hardware Baptist Church, Third Sunday in November, 1861; Minute Book of Winn's Baptist Church, Second Sunday in January, 1861.

[10] Minute Book of Bruington Baptist Church, July 21, 1861; Minute Book of Mt. Zion Baptist Church, January 8, 1860; Minute Book of the Ephesus Baptist Church, 1860.

[11] Minute Book of the Elon Baptist Church, October 7, 1860.

[12] *Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the Rappahannock Baptist Association, Held With Mathews Church, Mathews County, Virginia, the Saturday Before the last Lord's Day in July, 1860* (Richmond, Virginia: H. K. Ellyson, 1860), 21; Ben Ames Williams (ed.), *Diary From Dixie*, by Mary Boykin Chesnut, (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949), 31; B. F. Riley, *A History of the Baptists in the Southern States East of the Mississippi* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: American Baptist Publication Society, 1898), 320; J. Edward Moseley, *Disciples of Christ of Georgia* (St. Louis, Missouri: The Bethany Press, 1954), 186, hereinafter cited as Moseley, *Disciples in Georgia*; David Sullins, *Recollections of an Old Man. Seventy Years in Dixie, 1827-1897* (Bristol, Tennessee: King Printing Company, 1910), 327; F. D. Jones and W. H. Mills (eds.), *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina Since 1850* (Columbia, South Carolina: R. L. Bryan Company, 1926), 73.

in a section of the room partitioned off for them.[13] In some congregations, where the colored membership was large, separate services, conducted by white members, were held for them. These services were usually held on Sunday afternoon or at the time of regular morning worship in another portion of the building or in an adjoining building.[14] Occasionally the Negroes would hear a sermon by a preacher of their own race.[15]

Negro members were subject to the same church discipline as the whites. Church records indicate that slave members were expelled for such indiscretions as leaving a wife, fornication, adultery, for running off and going to the enemy, for stealing a cow, for falsehood, theft, drunkenness, for threatening the life of another, for gross immoral conduct, and for bigamy.[16] Congregational meetings for disciplinary action against Negroes were usually held at the request of the colored members.[17] In some instances the Negroes might discipline their own members, subject to review by the white members.[18] Members who were dismissed could apply at a later date for readmission.[19] Slave members who were sold to masters in another section of the country had their names removed from the church roll.[20]

Colored members were permitted to attend the monthly business meetings of some congregations.[21] In other instances it appears that the colored held separate business meetings, which were supervised

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[13] Bell I. Wiley, *Southern Negroes, 1861-1865* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1938), 98, hereinafter cited as Wiley, *Southern Negroes;* Moseley, *Disciples in Georgia,* 186. Moseley describes a Disciple Church in Washington County, Georgia, which had a partition down the middle, one side for white members and the other for Negro members.

[14] Minute Book of the Leigh Street Baptist Church, March 25, 1861, July 27, 1863; Minute Book of the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church, August 25, 1860; Minute Book of the Glebe Landing Baptist Church, February 4, 1862; Minute Book of the Straightstone Baptist Church, November 10, 1860.

[15] Wiley, *Southern Negroes,* 98; Frederick L. Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856), 449, hereinafter cited as Olmsted, *Journey in the Seaboard States.*

[16] Minute Book of St. Stephen's Baptist Church, July 15, 1860, October 21, 1860; Minute Book of the Bethesda Baptist Church, Third Sunday in September, 1864; Minute Book of the Ephesus Baptist Church, January, 1863, April, 1863; Minute Book of the Rappahannock Baptist Church, December, 1860; Minute Book of the Court Street Baptist Church, Portsmouth, Virginia, April 12, 1861; Minute Book of Wallers Baptist Church, May 3, 1862; Minute Book of Bruington Baptist Church, August 31, 1861; Minute Book of Upper Zion Baptist Church, Second Lord's Day in March, 1862.

[17] Minute Book of Upper Zion Baptist Church, Fourth Lord's Day in November, 1861.

[18] Minute Book of the Court Street Baptist Church, Portsmouth, Virginia, October 12, 1860.

[19] Minute Book of the Court Street Baptist Church, Portsmouth, Virginia, November 8, 1861; Minute Book of the Ephesus Baptist Church, Third Sunday in November, 1863; Minute Book of the Bethesda Baptist Church, Third Sunday in September, 1864.

[20] Minutes of the Session of the United Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Virginia, January 18, 1861.

[21] Minute Book of the Four Mile (Creek) Baptist Church, February 25, 1861. This was a customary practice at this church.

by white.[22] In a few instances Negroes were permitted official representation at annual denominational meetings. One author states that the first time a colored "brother" was recognized as a visiting messenger to the Florida Baptist Association was in 1864.[23] The Sunbury Baptist Association in Georgia listed its colored ministers together with its white ministers, there were six of each in 1860.[24] The constitution and bylaws of this Association also gave partial recognition to colored messengers. A provision in the bylaws stated:

> Each colored church shall be entitled to two delegates, and one additional delegate for every 500 members; but the delegates from the colored churches shall not, in any case, exercise the right of suffrage. The delegates from each of the colored churches shall, however, have the right of selecting a white member of the Association to represent them before the Association in any matter which concerns them.[25]

Negro members were instructed that it was their duty and privilege to contribute of their financial means to the program of the church.[26] Usually a positive response was made to teachings of this kind. In 1860 the Negro members of the Suffolk Baptist Church contributed $114.52 toward the pastor's salary.[27] The colored members of the Modest Town Baptist Church in Virginia subscribed $11.00 of $200.00 for the pastor's salary.[28] Negroes also contributed to support army colportage and for slave missions.[29] At a congregational meeting of the Leigh Street Baptist Church in Richmond on December 23, 1861, the colored members were informed "that in the future we will expect [you] to bear a portion of the expenses for sexton and fuel."[30] Colored church members at Mobile invested $600.00 in Confederate bonds, and at Lexington, Virginia, they contributed $100.00 for the care of soldier families.[31]

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[22] Minute Book of the Straightstone Baptist Church, September 11, 1864; Minute Book of the Shockoe Baptist Church, March 11, 1865.

[23] Doak S. Campbell, *The Florida Baptist Association, The First Hundred Years, 1842-1942* (n.p: n.p., 1943), 13.

[24] *Minutes of the Forty-Second Anniversary of the Sunbury Baptist Association, Held at the Baptist Lecture Room in Walthourville, Georgia, November 17-19, 1860* (Savannah, Georgia: Purse's Power Presses, 1861), 11, hereinafter cited as *Minutes of Sunbury Association, 1860.*

[25] *Minutes of Sunbury Association, 1860,* 15.

[26] *Central Presbyterian* (Richmond, Virginia), May 19, 1860, hereinafter cited as *Central Presbyterian.*

[27] Subscription list of the colored members of the Suffolk Baptist Church for the support of the pastor (1859-1860).

[28] Minute Book of the Modest Town Baptist Church, September 31, 1860.

[29] *Minutes of the Valley Baptist Association, Held in Botetourt County, August 15-18, 1862* (cover to this publication is missing), 9; Minute Book of Upper King and Queen Baptist Church, May 16, 1863.

[30] Minute Book of the Leigh Street Baptist Church, December 23, 1861.

[31] *Central Presbyterian,* May 4, 1861.

Some congregations trained certain colored members to instruct others in the faith.[32] In April, 1861, the Presbytery of Kingston, Tennessee, appointed Joseph Thompson to labor as a missionary among the colored, subject to the approval of his master.[33] In Baptist churches Negro deacons were designated by white members to help control and supervise the colored members. Duties of these deacons included "inquiring into the standing of colored members, and taking the proper steps to keep order, love, and fear among them." [34] A colored deacon named Jarrett was appointed by the Mt. Gilead Baptist Church to inquire into the rumor that a colored member, Edward, had received stolen meat.[35] Colored deacons were also appointed to "settle the quarreling and fighting in which colored sisters Lucy and Beatrice had been engaged." [36] At one church a slave who had been excluded from membership for immoral conduct applied for readmission. The congregation, after listening to her testimony and upon the recommendation of the colored deacons, restored her membership.[37]

The type of gospel preached to the Negroes had a two-fold purpose—to save their souls, and to make them better and more obedient slaves. Sermons were not preached from the text "the truth shall make you free," but from "slaves be obedient to your masters." [38] The Reverend L. Hanner, a Christian preacher, was forced by a mob to leave Prince George County in Virginia because he preached from such texts as "the spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach deliverance to the captives." [39] The content of sermons preached to slaves often emphasized this world as a place of sorrows, sickness, and hard work. Slaves were told that it was their duty to work, to be humble, prayerful, and patient. The theme of one sermon delivered to slaves and entitled "The Hard Way" was, that this world is a place of sickness, trouble, sorrow, and death. One should not expect happiness until after death, and the only way to be assured of this experience was to become a Christian.[40] Other sermons empha-

[32] Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Session of the Rappahannock Baptist Association, held with Upper Essex Baptist Church, Essex County, Virginia, July 28-30, 1863, 299.

[33] *Christian Observer*, May 9, 1861.

[34] Minute Book of the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, 1855. No specific date indicated other than the year.

[35] Minute Book of the Mt. Gilead Baptist Church, May 5, 1860.

[36] Minute Book of Winn's Baptist Church, Second Sunday in January, 1861.

[37] Minute Book of the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, March, 1861.

[38] William E. Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1919), 116; Randolph, *From Slave Cabin to Pulpit*, 196.

[39] Randolph, *From Slave Cabin to Pulpit*, 201.

[40] A. F. Dickson, *Plantation Sermons, or Plain and Familiar Discourses for the Unlearned* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1856), 13-14, hereinafter cited as Dickson, *Plantation Sermons*.

sized hard work as a cardinal virtue. Slaves were told that men who sought to avoid hard work would be miserable.[41] God, the Negroes were taught, expected men to "work hard and wear themselves out" here in this life so that they might better appreciate rest in the life beyond the grave.[42] Some sermons threatened slaves with the fires of hell if they did not stop swearing, drinking, and cheating.[43] The humble, prayerful, busy, patient, obedient, and spiritual slave was the type of person, according to the white teachers and preachers, who would experience the joys of heaven.[44] And heaven was described as being "better than a cool breeze, a splendid sunset or sunrise . . . where it is never dark or gloomy; . . . a place where man is free."[45] It was a place where all would be happy and pure, where there would be no storms or night.[46] One preacher explained to a slave congregation that if they ever had desires to be free in this life it was because the devil was working in them.[47] Protestant Episcopal Bishop William Meade of Virginia told a Negro congregation that they were responsible for their souls, even though their bodies were not their own. He warned them not to lose their souls by leading idle, stubborn, and wicked lives. He informed them that their master was God's overseer and that they were to obey him as they would God.[48] A catechism for the oral instruction of slaves also emphasized the virtue of docility. The following questions and answers will serve to illustrate this aspect of slave instruction.

Q. How are you to show that you love your neighbor as yourself?
A. I am to show it by always doing my duty. . . .

Q. Who is your neighbor?
A. Everybody who lives with me, and around me and has control over me.

Q. Can you name some persons?
A. My master and mistress . . . and parents.

Q. How are you to show love to them?
A. I am never to lie to them, to steal from them, nor speak bad words about them; but always to do as they bid me.[49]

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[41] Dickson, *Plantation Sermons*, 30.
[42] Dickson, *Plantation Sermons*, 133-134.
[43] Dickson, *Plantation Sermons*, 85, 158.
[44] Dickson, *Plantation Sermons*, 137.
[45] Dickson, *Plantation Sermons*, 109-110.
[46] Dickson, *Plantation Sermons*, 170.
[47] Randolph, *From Slave Cabin to Pulpit*, 200.
[48] William Meade, *Sermons, Dialogues and Narratives For Servants to be Read to Them in Families* (Richmond, Virginia: Office of the Southern Churchman, 1836), 4, 11, 12, 32-34; Olmsted, *Journey in the Seaboard States*, 118.
[49] *A Catechism to be Taught Orally to Those Who Cannot Read; Designed Especially for the Instruction of the Slaves In The Protestant Episcopal Church In The Confederate States* (Raleigh: Office of The Church Intelligencer, 1862), 29. For a similar

One Baptist association meeting affirmed that the first and most important item the church should teach the slave was "obedience to masters in all things, serving them with a ready mind." [50] It seems obvious that religion was used by the whites more to create peace and preserve order among the Negroes, to make them docile and obedient, than it was to train them to be responsible Christians and to inculate them with the message of love as found in the New Testament.

Protestantism defended the institution of slavery and some clergymen preached the inferiority of the Negro race,[51] however, the most responsible Christian leaders in the South did not defend slavery as an ultimate good.[52] James H. Thornwell, a prominent Presbyterian theologian, said that slavery was a part of the curse which the sin of Adam introduced into the world and that it stood in the same relation to Christianity as sickness, poverty, disease, and death. It exists here on earth but will not exist in the world to come. Slavery, he explained, was a part of God's design; it was found in the Bible and was not sinful.[53] "Our slaves," he said, "are a solemn trust from God and while we have a right to use and direct their labor, we are bound to feed, clothe, and protect them and to introduce them to the hopes of a blessed immortality." [54] The Negro, he affirmed, was not another species but "is of one blood with ourselves." [55] His position in the world was assigned to him by God, and it is the duty of Christians to give him the gospel so that he might be saved.[56] Benjamin Morgan Palmer, another Presbyterian leader, emphasized that the Negro was the most helpless of races and needed the protection given him by the slave system.[57] Palmer believed that slavery as practiced in the

view from a Baptist catechism for slaves see Robert Ryland, *A Scripture Catechism, for the Instruction of Children and Servants* (Richmond, Virginia: Harrold and Murray, 1848), 139-140.

[50] *Minutes of the Judson Baptist Association. Held With the Camp Creek Church, Pontotoc County, Mississippi, September 1860* (Fulton, Mississippi: Fulton Southern Herald, 1860), 7.

[51] W. H. Watkins, *The South, Her Position and Her Duty. A Discourse Delivered at the Methodist Church, Natchez, Mississippi, January 4, 1861* (Natchez, Mississippi: Natchez Daily Courier Book and Job Office, 1861), 2; *The Church Intelligencer* (Raleigh), December 6, 1860, April 17, 1863, hereinafter cited as *The Church Intelligencer; Southern Christian Advocate* (Augusta, Georgia), January 31, 1864, hereinafter cited as *Southern Christian Advocate.*

[52] William W. Sweet, *The American Churches, an Interpretation* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1948), 85.

[53] John B. Adger and John L. Girardeau (eds.), *The Collected Writings of James Henley Thornwell* (Richmond, Virginia: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 4 volumes, 1873), IV, 420, hereinafter cited as Adger and Girardeau, *Writings of Thornwell.*

[54] James H. Thornwell and Others, *Fast Day Sermons on the State of the Country* (New York: Rudd and Carleton, 1861), 51, hereinafter cited as Thornwell and Others, *Fast Day Sermons.*

[55] Adger and Girardeau, *Writings of Thornwell,* IV, 430.

[56] Adger and Girardeau, *Writings of Thornwell,* IV, 430, 433.

[57] Thornwell and Others, *Fast Day Sermons,* 66.

South was in keeping with the will of God.[58] These ideas of Thornwell and Palmer were representative of other Protestant leaders in the South.[59]

Although the institution of slavery was widely supported by churchmen as being divinely created there was little, if any, sentiment among them for the revival of the African slave trade. The Editor of the Georgia Baptist weekly newspaper, the *Christian Index,* wrote "we rejoice that the idea of opening the slave trade has been rebuked in the Georgia State Convention . . . while slavery and the purchase and sale of slaves is scriptural, slave trade between Africa and America involves so much that it is murder and is abhorrent to Christian minds." [60] The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was opposed to the reopening of the African slave trade,[61] and *The Church Intelligencer,* which was the organ of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the South, was opposed to any move by the Confederacy to revive this trade.[62] There is no evidence that any denominational organization in the South favored the reopening of the African slave trade.

There were some clergymen in the South who did not approve of slavery.[63] Professor William Sparrow of the Episcopal Seminary at Alexandria, Virginia, felt that "holding on to slavery was hopelessly contending with the spirit of the age." [64] The Reverend J. M. Pendle-

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[58] Benjamin M. Palmer, *A Discourse Before the General Assembly of South Carolina on December 10, 1863, Appointed by the Legislature as a Day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer* (Columbia, South Carolina: Charles P. Pelham, 1864), 15.

[59] See Robert L. Dabney, *A Defense of Virginia, and Through Her of the South, in Recent and Pending Contests Against the Sectional Party* (New York: E. J. Hale and Son, 1867), 352; William A. Smith, *Lectures on the Philosophy and Practice of Slavery* (Nashville, Tennessee: Stevenson and Evans, 1856), 153, 177, 182, 282; George D. Armstrong, *The Christian Doctrine of Slavery* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1857), 131-132; E. N. Elliott (ed.), *Cotton is King, and Pro-Slavery Arguments* (Augusta, Georgia: Pritchard, Abbott, and Loomis, 1860), 463, 503; George G. Smith, Jr., *The Life and Times of George Foster Pierce, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Sparta, Georgia: Hancock Publishing Company, 1888), 469, hereinafter cited as Smith, *Life of Bishop Pierce; South Western Baptist* (Tuskegee, Alabama), November 14, 1861; Stephen Elliott, *Our Cause in Harmony with the Purposes of God in Christ Jesus* (Savannah, Georgia: John M. Cooper, 1862), 10; *The Church Intelligencer,* December 6, 1860; George H. Clark, *The Union. A Sermon Delivered in St. John's Church, Savannah, on Fast Day, November 28, 1860* (Savannah, Georgia: George N. Nichols, 1860), 4; William A. Hall, *The Historic Significance of the Southern Revolution* (Petersburg, Virginia: A. F. Crutchfield, 1864), 13; Robert Ryland, *The American Union. An Address Delivered Before the Alumni Association of the Columbian College, D.C., June 23, 1857* (Richmond, Virginia: H. K. Ellyson, 1857), 12-18.

[60] *Christian Index* (Macon, Georgia), January 30, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Christian Index.*

[61] *Christian Advocate* (Nashville, Tennessee), January 31, 1861.

[62] *The Church Intelligencer,* March 21, 1861.

[63] Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 277, hereinafter cited as Eaton, *Freedom of Thought.*

[64] Cornelius Walker, *The Life and Correspondence of Rev. William Sparrow, D. D.* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: James Hammond, 1876), 257.

ton, a Baptist minister in Nashville, was a critic of the slave system.[65] John B. McFerrin, a prominent Methodist and Tennessean, owned several household servants, but said that in his heart he believed slavery to be an evil.[66] John McLean, a Methodist minister in Texas, believed that the buying and selling of human beings was a sin against God and humanity.[67] E. W. Caruthers, a Presbyterian clergyman in Greensboro, felt that his brother ministers were misrepresenting the Bible in using it to justify slavery.[68] Such criticisms were few and meager, and the men who expressed them were departing from the accepted value judgments of their society.

Denominational efforts in the South to Christianize the Negroes had been emphasized in the generation preceding 1860 and mission work among the slaves was at its peak when the War came.[69] This activity, though curtailed,[70] continued during the War. In some instances the crises of secession and War served to give renewed impetus to the Christianization of the Negroes. Members of the Texas Baptist Convention believed that the War was a manifestation of God's anger toward the South for neglecting to furnish the slaves with the gospel.[71] Baptists in Alabama and Louisiana felt that God was scourging the South with war because the spiritual welfare of the Negroes had been "sadly neglected."[72] The Editor of the *Confederate Baptist* be-

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[65] *Tennessee Baptist* (Nashville), August 11, 1861.

[66] O. P. Fitzgerald, *John B. McFerrin* (Nashville, Tennessee: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1888), 269.

[67] John H. McLean, *Reminiscences* (Nashville, Tennessee: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1918), 129.

[68] E. W. Caruthers, "American Slavery and the Immediate Duty of Southern Slave Holders," 9, 66, 206, 257, unpublished manuscript in the E. W. Caruthers Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham. Another North Carolinian, Calvin H. Wiley, not a located pastor but an ordained Presbyterian minister, was a critic of slavery. See Calvin H. Wiley, *Scriptural Views of National Trials* (Greensboro: Sterling, Campbell and Albright, 1863), 188.

[69] Harrison, *The Gospel Among the Slaves*, 298, 325; Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1905), 226, hereinafter cited as Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama;* B. F. Riley, *A Memorial History of the Baptists of Alabama. Being an Account of the Struggles and Achievements of the Denomination from 1808 to 1923* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Judson Press, 1923), 166; William W. Sweet, *Methodism in American History* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1933), 273.

[70] *Baptist State Convention of Texas, Sessions of 1861 and 1862* (Houston, Texas: E. W. Cave, 1863), 8, hereinafter cited as *Baptist State Convention of Texas, 1861 and 1862; Minutes of the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Held in Columbus, Mississippi, November 25-December 2, 1863* (Mobile, Alabama: John Y. Thompson, 1863), 23, hereinafter cited as *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1863.*

[71] *Baptist State Convention of Texas, 1861 and 1862*, 6.

[72] *Minutes of the Forty-First Annual Session Alabama Baptist State Convention, Held at Marion, November 6-9, 1863* (Selma, Alabama: Daily Dispatch Book and Job Printing Office, 1864), 10; C. Penrose St. Amant, *A Short History of Louisiana Baptists* (Nashville: Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1948), 37.

lieved that miscegenation was the sin which prompted God to plunge the South into war. He wrote

> the . . . 4,372 mulattos [in our State] presents the darkest phase of our history. We must prepare for God's judgement. . . . This class should be banished from our public thoroughfares and kept out of sight. Respectable merchants should refuse to sell them. . . . Our toleration of this enormity may constitute the principle reason why God is now dealing so terribly with Southern people.[73]

It is not entirely clear whether the Editor believed that it was sin or the failure to hide the results of it, that caused the Almighty to "plunge the South into war."

The widely held view that the War was partly God's wrath for having failed to Christianize the Negroes led churchmen to attempt to overcome this neglect. Baptist associations appointed committees to study and recommend action to be taken concerning the religious instruction of the colored. Some such committees antedate 1860, however, numerous others did not have their origin until this time.[74] One committee recommended that more Sunday schools be established for the colored.[75] A Mississippi Baptist committee suggested that the planters in the State contribute $50.00 annually to support preaching to the slaves.[76] Masters were urged to make every effort to convert their slaves. They were told that it was their duty to instruct their slaves in the faith, to hold daily or at least weekly classes for them.[77] It was recommended that the planters of Louisiana should "in companies of from two to twenty, raise a salary and employ a religious teacher for their slaves."[78] Recommendations of this type frequently included a promise. It was pointed out that God would

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[73] *Confederate Baptist* (Columbia, South Carolina), January 7, 1863, hereinafter cited as *Confederate Baptist.*

[74] For example, the following ecclesiastical organizations appointed these committees only after 1860; Appomattox Baptist Association, The Presbytery of South Carolina, Alabama Baptist State Convention, The Rappahannock Baptist Association, and The Synod of Mississippi.

[75] *Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Anniversary of the Welsh Neck Baptist Association, Held with the Black Creek Church, Darlington District, November 10-13, 1860* (Charleston, South Carolina: A. J. Burke, 1860), 6.

[76] *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Session of the Columbus Baptist Association, Held with the Siloam Church, Oktibbeha County, Mississippi, September 7-9, 1861* (Jackson: Mississippi Baptist Book and Job Printing Office, 1861), 12.

[77] *Minutes of the Appomattox Baptist Association, Held in the Town of Farmville, August 6-7, 1861* (Richmond, Virginia: H. K. Ellyson, 1861), 10; *Minutes of the Lebanon District Baptist Association, Held at Cedar Grove Church, Russell County, Virginia, September 13-15, 1860* (Marion, Virginia: Printed at the Visitor Office, 1860), 11, hereinafter cited as *Minutes of the Lebanon District Association, 1860; Minutes of the General Association of Virginia,* 77; Minute Book of the Roanoke Baptist Association, August 27, 1860.

[78] *Louisiana Baptist* (Mt. Lebanon), January 10, 1861.

favor such efforts and be pleased; also the slaves would become more content with their station in society.[79]

Southern Presbyterians were encouraged to give added attention to the religious instruction of their slaves.[80] Charles C. Jones, a Presbyterian minister in Georgia, stated that owners should establish chapels and Sunday schools for them.[81] At the meeting of the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1861 a committee was appointed to study the problem of religious instruction for colored people.[82] The report of this committee affirmed that slaves had the same claim upon their masters for religious instruction as did the master's children.[83] Masters were urged to instruct their slaves in the faith, and were told that "the angels would smile" upon their efforts.[84] It was considered the master's duty to God to see that his slaves attended religious services. If he was a large plantation owner it was his duty to provide a chapel for them. He was responsible to the Almighty for the religious care of those in his service.[85]

A General Council of the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church which met in Augusta, Georgia, on November 22, 1862, issued a circular letter to the clergy and laity of that denomination concerning slavery. It stressed that the time had come for the Church to press more urgently that slaves were a sacred trust committed to the whites by God for the purpose of Christianization. Christian slaveowners were cautioned to respect family relations of slaves and not to separate parents and children or husbands and wives.[86] In 1862

[79] *Minutes of the Lebanon District Association, 1860,* 11; *Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the Union Baptist Association, Held with the Bellville Baptist Church, Austin County, Texas, August 17-21, 1860* (Anderson: Office of the Texas Baptist, 1860), 14; *Minutes of the Tryon Association, Held with Laurel Hill Church, Cold Springs, Polk County, Texas, September 3-6, 1864* (cover to this publication is missing), 4.

[80] *Central Presbyterian,* July 21, 1860; *Minutes of the Presbytery of Fayetteville, at their Ninety-Fifth Session, Held at Black River Chapel, New Hanover County, North Carolina, October 4-6, 1860* (Fayetteville: Printed at the Presbyterian Office, 1860), 11; *Minutes of the Synod of South Carolina, Abbeville, November 6-9, 1861* (cover to this publication is missing), 36; *The Southern Presbyterian* (Columbia, South Carolina), March 1, 1862, hereinafter cited as *The Southern Presbyterian.*

[81] Charles C. Jones, *Religious Instruction of the Negroes. An Address Delivered Before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at Augusta, Georgia on December 10, 1861* (Richmond, Virginia: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, n.d.), 15-16.

[82] *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America with an Appendix. Volume I, 1861* (Augusta, Georgia: Steam Power Press Chronicle and Sentinel, 1861), 15. This committee was composed of J. A. Lyon, C. C. Jones, and T. Pryor.

[83] J. Leighton Wilson, "Religious Instruction of the Colored People," *The Southern Presbyterian Review,* XVI (October, 1863), 191, hereinafter cited as Wilson, "Religious Instruction of the Colored People."

[84] *Central Presbyterian,* February 19, 1863.

[85] Wilson, "Religious Instruction of the Colored People," 194.

[86] Stephen Elliott, *Sermons* (New York: Pott and Amery, 1867), 575-576; *Southern Churchman* (Richmond, Virginia), January 2, 1863, hereinafter cited as *Southern Churchman.*

the Editor of *The Church Intelligencer* prepared a small catechism for masters to use in giving religious instruction to their slaves.[87] Some Episcopal slaveowners were told that next to their children, their prime religious duty was to provide for the religious instruction of their slaves.[88] There is evidence that while some took the teachings of the Church seriously there were others who ignored them.[89]

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was the denomination most active in slave missions when the War came,[90] and although these efforts were lessened during the War, the Methodists continued to emphasize the importance of religious care for the slaves. Methodist conference meetings and denominational newspapers urged slaveowners to fulfill their religious duty by providing religious instruction for their slaves and by working for their conversion.[91] T. O. Summers informed the Alabama Conference that slaves must not be left to die without knowledge of the Redeemer, and it was the master's duty to see that this did not happen.[92] A Methodist planter near Columbus, Georgia, was portrayed in the religious press as the exemplary Christian master. This man built a chapel for his slaves and provided teachers for their instruction. He reported that religious training improved the manners, habits, and dress of the Negroes; and, made them more home-loving, cheerful, and punctilious in their duties.[93]

The good conduct of the slaves during the War is attributed by some to the religious training given them by the whites; the churches realized the value of religious training in making the slaves submissive and loyal and used it as an effective method of keeping the blacks peaceful and quiet.[94]

Occasionally a reference is noted where the injunction to Christianize the Negro was opposed. In 1861 certain slave missions planned

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[87] *The Church Intelligencer,* September 12, 1863.

[88] *Journal of the First Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Texas, Held in Christ Church, Houston, May 7-9, 1863* (Houston, Texas: Telegraph Book and Job Establishment, 1863), 14.

[89] *Inventory of the Church Archives of Mississippi. Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Mississippi* (Jackson: The Mississippi Historical Records Survey Project, 1940), 22-23; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Alabama, Held in St. Paul's Church, Greensboro, May 7-9, 1863* (Montgomery, Alabama: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1863), 93.

[90] Joseph C. Hartzell, "Methodism and the Negro in the United States," *The Journal of Negro History,* VIII (July, 1923), 301-315; Harrison, *The Gospel Among the Slaves,* 301.

[91] *Richmond Christian Advocate,* April 4, 1861; *North Carolina Christian Advocate* (Raleigh), September 9, 1863.

[92] *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1863,* 14.

[93] *Southern Christian Advocate,* January 14, 1864.

[94] Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama,* 227; Wiley, *Southern Negroes,* 98; Harrison, *The Gospel Among the Slaves,* 299.

by the Methodists in Mississippi were abandoned because the owners were "afraid to have their slaves preached to." [95] Some Virginia Baptists, in the summer of 1863, advised "the suspension of all efforts for their [slaves] moral and religious culture during the impending crisis." [96] Among Texas Baptists one association decided to dispense with the committee on the instruction of colored people,[97] another recommended that the inquiry into the spiritual welfare of the colored people be dropped,[98] and a third reported that no mission work among the Negroes had been undertaken during the War.[99] The Colorado Baptist Association in Texas reported that in some places within the bounds of the association "religious instruction of the colored was not only objected to, but positively forbidden." [100]

There was also some opposition to separate services and church organizations for Negroes as well as the permitting of Negroes to preach or instruct other Negroes. One gathering of white churchmen "deemed it highly inexpedient for Negroes to preach to their own color." [101] The editor of one religious newspaper commented, ". . . it is injudicious to teach the Negro that his spiritual interests can be best secured by having their own pastor and regulating their own discipline." [102] Another editor voiced opposition to the formation of separate African churches claiming that in "these organizations the Negro takes the place of the master, ruling the church." [103] Some congregations debated the advisability of permitting their colored members to use the church building for separate services. In at least two instances where this privilege had formerly been granted the

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[95] J. B. Cain, *Methodism in the Mississippi Conference, 1846-1870* (Nashville, Tennessee: The Parthenon Press, 1939), 296.

[96] Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Session of the Rappahannock Baptist Association, 1863, 298.

[97] *Minutes of the Mt. Pisgah Baptist Association, Beulah Church, Newton County, Mississippi, October 13, 1860* (cover to this publication is missing), 3.

[98] *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Session of the Trinity River Association of the United Baptists, Held with Sterling Church, Robertson County, Texas, September, 1861* (Anderson, Texas: John H. Wilson, 1861), 10.

[99] *Minutes of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Annual Sessions of the Waco Baptist Association, Held with the Churches at Bosqueville, Antioch, and Searsville, Respectively in 1862, 1863, and 1864* (Houston, Texas: Richardson and Owen, 1865), 2, 12, 19.

[100] *Minutes of the Colorado Association, Held with the Shiloah Baptist Church, Fayette County, Texas, September 14-18, 1860* (San Antonio, Texas: Herald Steam Press, 1860), 10.

[101] *Minutes of the Third Annual Session, Richland Baptist Association, Held with Bold Spring Church, McLennan County, Texas, October, 1860* (Corsicana, Texas: Navarro Express, 1860), 4.

[102] *Confederate Baptist*, October 12, 1863.

[103] *The Religious Herald* (Richmond, Virginia), June 25, 1863, hereinafter cited as *The Religious Herald.*

Negroes it was withdrawn.[104] These examples were not characteristic of the majority of Southern Protestantism during the War; they represent a minority but scattered opinion.

During the War the conscience of Protestantism was stirred to action by certain aspects of slavery which it felt should be remedied because they were not in keeping with Biblical teachings.[105] Denominational groups proposed changes in certain slave laws which were designed to remove abuses in the institution and make it more Christian.[106] One aspect of slavery which did not conform to Biblical standards concerned slave family relations and particularly slave marriages. Marriage, according to Christian teachings, was an institution ordained of God and was a sacred relationship. But slave marriages were not recognized by law. Churchmen saw in this situation an evil which should be remedied.[107] A committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church reported in 1863 that there should be laws to protect the marriage and family life of slaves. "To ignore such legislation," it said, "sets at defiance the precepts of the Bible, the dictates of nature, and the moral sentiments of humanity." [108] The Christian conscience was troubled by the fact that the laws ignored the sacredness of marriage relationship between the blacks and gave the master power to separate husband and wife. In a fast day sermon before the Georgia legislature, Bishop George F. Pierce of the Methodist Church said that one of the moral ends of the War was to reform the abuses of slavery. "All laws," he declared, "which authorize or allow arbitrary interference with the connubial relations of slaves ought to be rescinded." [109] In 1863 the Associate Reformed Synod of the South suggested that laws be enacted to render the marriage relations between slaves more sa-

[104] Minute Book of the Mt. Hermon Baptist Church, Second Saturday in January, 1865; Minute Book of the Glebe Landing Baptist Church, July 12, 1862; Minutes of the Session of the First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, February 7, 1862, Presbyterian Historical Foundation, Montreat.

[105] Joseph B. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States. A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1914), 117, hereinafter cited as Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States.*

[106] Bell I. Wiley, "The Movement to Humanize the Institution of Slavery During the Confederacy," *Emory University Quarterly,* V (December, 1949), 208, hereinafter cited as Wiley, "The Movement to Humanize Slavery."

[107] *The Church Intelligencer,* August 30, 1861; Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States,* 118.

[108] James A. Lyon, "Slavery and the Duties Growing Out of the Relation," *The Southern Presbyterian Review,* XVI (July, 1863), 25, hereinafter cited as Lyon, "Slavery and the Duties Growing Out of the Relation."

[109] George F. Pierce, *A Sermon Delivered Before the General Assembly at Milledgeville, Georgia, on Fast Day, March 27, 1863* (Milledgeville, Georgia: Boughton, Nisbet and Barnes, 1863), 14-15, hereinafter cited as Pierce, *Sermon Before the Georgia Assembly.*

cred.[110] The following year Methodist conferences in Alabama and Georgia advocated reforms in slave marriages. The Alabama delegates felt that marriages should be respected and treated as Christian,[111] the Georgia Conference approved a resolution urging the State legislature to adopt a law protecting slave marriage relationships.[112] The Georgia Baptist Association resolved in 1864 that "it is the firm belief of this body that marriage was ordained by God for the benefit of the whole human race without respect to color . . . and the law of Georgia in failing to recognize this is defective and ought to be amended." [113] The Presbyterians in Georgia took a stand similar to that of the Baptists.[114]

Another evil of the slave system which the different denominations petitioned the legislatures to remedy concerned the teaching of slaves to read. With the exception of Tennessee, the various State's laws required that any instruction given slaves be oral.[115] However, by the 1860's many considered the law outdated. In the summer of 1862, the Middle Cherokee Baptist Association in Georgia petitioned the legislature to repeal the act which forbade the owner of slaves to teach them to read. In taking this stand it was explained that such a law was no longer needed. It was pointed out that the vile abolition literature no longer came South and that Negroes, if taught to read, would discover slavery in the Bible and they would become more obedient, docile, and religious.[116] The Georgia Presbytery also advocated the repeal of this law. It was argued that the teaching of slaves to read the Bible would glorify God and make the slaves more faithful

[110] *Abstract of Minutes of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South, for the Years 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866* (cover to this publication is missing), 8, hereinafter cited as *Abstract of Minutes of the Reformed Synod of the South.*

[111] Journal of the Montgomery Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, December 12, 1864, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama; *Southern Christian Advocate,* January 31, 1864.

[112] *Southern Christian Advocate,* January 19, 1864.

[113] *Christian Index,* October 21, 1864.

[114] *The Southern Presbyterian,* December 1, 1864.

[115] *North Carolina Presbyterian* (Fayetteville), April 7, 1860; *Christian Index,* September 2, 1862; *Richmond Christian Advocate,* April 4, 1861; Richard Clark Reed, "A Sketch of the Religious History of the Negroes in the South," *Papers of the American Society of Church History,* IV (1914), 193, hereinafter cited as Reed, "A Sketch of the Religious History of the Negroes." Eaton, *Freedom of Thought,* 114, in which he says that these laws were not always strictly enforced. Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History* (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1927), 288. This author claims that in most areas of the South the teaching of Negroes to read and write was prohibited, but he adds that there were private schools maintained by teachers in Charleston, Savannah, and Norfolk for Negroes. See also, scattered papers of Upper King and Queen Baptist Church. In these papers there is a letter to the Rev. Andrew Broaddus, dated July 25, 1863, from Jaminia Taylor, a woman of color, in Richmond, asking for a letter of transfer from that church to the Second Baptist Church in Richmond.

[116] *Christian Index,* September 2, 1862.

and useful.[117] In 1863 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church recommended that all statutes prohibiting the teaching of slaves to read be repealed.[118] Bishop George F. Pierce said that civil laws should be altered to permit the master to teach his slaves to read. He believed that it was the master's duty to educate and Christianize his slaves and that the law prohibiting the teaching of reading was one of the abuses of slavery.[119] The Appomattox Baptist Association passed a resolution in 1863 requesting the Virginia legislature to repeal the law forbidding a master to teach his slaves to read.[120] The United Synod of the Presbyterian Church also advocated the repeal of this law.[121] The delegates attending the meeting of the Synod of the Associate Reformed Church appointed a committee to prepare a statement concerning the necessity of repealing the law which forbade a servant the "enjoyment and privilege of searching the Scripture." [122]

Baptist associations in Georgia and Virginia urged their State legislatures to repeal the law forbidding a Negro to preach without a court license and the law requiring a white person to be present at colored worship services.[123] The Virginia statement read as follows:

> The infidelity of Virginia's prohibitory laws has had a very deleterious influence. We should stretch our sanction, then, so far as to let them [Negroes] sing, pray, and exhort one another, for when the rigidity of the law is enforced they are mortified, and not only so, but if they are capable of drawing inferences, they must infer we are afraid of them. Let us elevate them.[124]

The emergence of reform sentiment toward slavery arose from a blending of religious and economic motives. Some felt that a modification of certain slave laws would raise the cultural and intellectual level of the Negroes.[125] It was believed that practices definitely contradictory to a literal reading of the Bible should be altered, especially in the matter of slave family relations. Many felt that special laws

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[117] *Central Presbyterian*, January 1, 1863.
[118] Lyon, "Slavery and the Duties Growing out of the Relation," 19.
[119] Pierce, *Sermon Before the Georgia Assembly*, 14.
[120] *Minutes of the Appomattox Baptist Association, Held at New Chapel, Campbell County, Virginia, August 8-9, 1862, and at New Salem, Charlotte County, Virginia, August 4-5, 1863* (Petersburg, Virginia: Gustavas A. Sykes, 1864), 16.
[121] *The Religious Herald*, June 25, 1863.
[122] *Abstract of Minutes of the Reformed Synod of the South*, 8-9.
[123] *Christian Index*, June 1, 1863.
[124] *Minutes of the Appomattox Baptist Association, Held at Rock's Church, Virginia, August 9-10, 1864* (Petersburg, Virginia: Gustavas A. Sykes, 1864), 11.
[125] *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America with an Appendix, Volume I, 1864* (Columbia, South Carolina: Evans and Cogwell, 1864), 293; Wiley, "Movement to Humanize Slavery," 210.

prohibiting the teaching of slaves to read were no longer needed since abolitionist literature was not entering the South. Another factor, and probably the most important, was that many Christians in the South interpreted the War as divine punishment for the neglect of their spiritual duties to the Negro. The South had been negligent in Christianizing the slaves and for this the people were suffering.[126] The advocates of reform believed that if certain abuses were removed from slavery the Negroes would become better Christians and more useful servants; and, that the Almighty would favor reform by granting the South the blessings of peace and independence.

The results accomplished by the petitions and resolutions which churchmen presented to the different legislative bodies were meager. Only two legislative enactments were passed. In April, 1863, the Georgia legislature repealed the act requiring a Negro to have a court license before he could preach.[127] In December of the same year Alabama enacted a law which required the master to provide counsel for an indicted slave and to see that he received a fair trial.[128] Some think that the legislators were too busy with war matters to bother with reform legislation for the Negroes.[129] It might be added that perhaps most of the legislators believed the institution of slavery was satisfactory as it existed and that reforms were not needed.

In rare instances during the War there was some private discussion among certain Protestant leaders concerning the question of emancipation. In 1861 James H. Thornwell informed Benjamin Palmer that the previous summer while in Europe he had decided to advocate gradual emancipation when he returned to South Carolina. He believed this was the only course which would give the country peace. But when he returned in September, 1860, he felt that it was too late to present his ideas.[130] Robert Lewis Dabney, a Presbyterian leader in Virginia, felt that the South should have begun gradual emancipation following the defeats at Vicksburg and Gettysburg. He favored this because he believed it to be the only way of securing aid from

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[126] *Christian Index*, March 23, 1863; *Southern Christian Advocate*, January 14, 1864; Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States*, 117.

[127] T. Conn Bryan, "The Churches in Georgia During the Civil War," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (December, 1949), 229; *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia, with Biographical Compendium and Portrait Gallery of Baptist Ministers and Other Georgia Baptists. Compiled for the Christian Index* (Atlanta, Georgia: J. P. Harrison and Company, 1881), 264.

[128] Wiley, "The Movement to Humanize Slavery," 219.

[129] Wiley, "The Movement to Humanize Slavery," 219.

[130] Benjamin M. Palmer, *The Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell* (Richmond, Virginia: Whittet and Shepperson, 1875), 482-483.

France and England.[131] These men were in favor of gradual emancipation because they considered it the expedient thing to do at the time. They were not motivated by a humanitarian interest in the slave, nor did their views reflect any disbelief that slavery was in keeping with the will of God. Such opinions as the above were private and were never expressed in any official denominational pronouncement. The question of emancipation was not mentioned in church minutes of the period.

The use of Negroes as soldiers was debated in the Confederate Congress during the last months of the War,[132] and this question precipitated some discussion in the religious newspapers. As early as the spring of 1863 one editor expressed the opinion that free Negroes should be impressed into service; the men to work on fortifications and the women to make clothes for the soldiers.[133] In December, 1864, this same editor advocated the using of slaves "for the defense of the country" but added that they should not be given their freedom.[134] A month later, following Federal gains in the South, he urged the arming of slaves to fight for the Confederacy. Owners were implored to give their property to fight and he called upon Congress to enact legislation which would permit slaves to serve as soldiers. This course of action was urged even if it led to emancipation, which was described as being better than living under "Yankee" domination.[135] The *Southern Christian Advocate* approved of arming the slaves. This paper's comments were that

> the Negro will be a future soldier . . . if not on our side, then against us. . . . Lincoln has no recruiting material but Southern Negroes. . . . if we fail to seize the moment to cut off his supplies . . . we simply invite our enemy to pursue his work of destruction. . . . Duty to ourselves, to the Negroes, to the civilization of the continent, demands of us the immediate arming of our slaves.[136]

A Georgia Baptist editor believed that the question of arming the Negro should never have been mentioned because "it was fraught with infinite mischief." He argued that it was not necessary to arm them since they had no conception of chivalry and would never make

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[131] Thomas C. Johnson, *The Life and Letters of Robert Lewis Dabney* (Richmond, Virginia: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1903), 283.

[132] Nathaniel W. Stephenson, "The Question of Arming the Slaves," *The American Historical Review*, XVIII (October, 1913), 296. Stephenson says that this question was discussed from November 7, 1864, until March, 1865.

[133] *Confederate Baptist*, March 25, 1863.

[134] *Confederate Baptist*, December 7, 1864.

[135] *Confederate Baptist*, January 25, 1865.

[136] *Southern Christian Advocate*, February 2, 1865.

soldiers.[137] After legislation was enacted permitting the arming of slaves,[138] an Episcopal paper termed the action laudable; but added that all slaves who volunteered for service should be free from the moment they put on a uniform and that their wives and children should be given their freedom at the end of the War.[139]

When news of the Emancipation Proclamation reached the South comment by the religious press and organizations was unfavorable. Visions of terror were aroused in the minds of some. The Proclamation was described as fiendish[140] and as the worst blow aimed at Christianity in over a century.[141] It was stated that the Proclamation expressed the hypocrisy of the North, which claimed to be fighting for the Union but was actually fighting to destroy the property of the South.[142] It was asserted that the people of the North were dominated by the abolitionists.[143] Emancipation was portrayed as bringing more evils than slavery ever permitted. Negroes with unrestricted freedom would only become further degraded.[144] The promise of freedom was viewed as an invitation to the slaves to "rise up in mass and spread murder and arson and desolation throughout the land."[145] In the spring of 1863, a group of ministers in Richmond, Virginia, prepared a document which was signed by 98 clergymen representing the different denominations. Entitled *An Address to Christians Throughout the World,* the document was a protest against the Emancipation Proclamation. The Proclamation was described as a political document designed to placate the fanatics in the North, and as an invitation to slave insurrections. It was said that the Proclamation was not a show of mercy to the slave but of malice to the master.[146] The proposed Thirteenth Amendment was viewed in a

[137] *Christian Index,* November 11, 1864.

[138] Charles W. Ramsdell (ed.), *Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Last Session of the Confederate Congress (November 7, 1864-March 18, 1865) Together With the Secret Acts of Previous Congresses* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1941), 118-119. On March 13, 1865, Congress enacted a law to provide for the arming of slaves but it did not make them free. It stated, ". . . nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize a change in the relation which the said slaves shall bear toward their owners except by consent of the owners."

[139] *Southern Churchman,* March 29, 1865.

[140] *Southern Christian Advocate,* October 9, 1862.

[141] *The Religious Herald,* October 9, 1862.

[142] *Christian Observer,* January 15, 1863.

[143] *Christian Observer,* January 15, 1863; *Central Presbyterian,* October 2, 1862.

[144] Smith, *Life of Bishop Pierce,* 435.

[145] *Minutes of the Valley Baptist Association, Session 1864, at Enon Church, Roanoke County, August 19-22, 1864* (Lynchburg, Virginia: Virginian Power Press Book and Job Office, 1864), 14; *Central Presbyterian,* October 2, 1862; *Christian Observer,* January 15, 1863.

[146] Edward McPherson, *The Political History of the United States of America, During the Great Rebellion, Including a Classified Summary of the Legislation of the Second Session of the Thirty-Sixth Congress, the three Sessions of the Thirty-Seventh Congress, the First Session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress, with the Votes Thereon,*

similar manner. No denominational publication or leader commended this measure. One editor termed it "stupendous folly" and said that such a law would "render the land of the whole South comparatively worthless, for it would break up the entire labor system of the country . . . and would put two great classes of people in new and unnatural relations to each other."[147] Such an arrangement was so contradictory to what was believed to be the will of God that it was doubted if it "would ever come to pass."[148]

It has been mentioned that the religious training given slaves was partly responsible for their good behavior during the War. The majority of slaves were peaceful and quiet during the War.[149] Most of them remained loyal to their master, worked the fields in his absence, served him while in camp, prayed for his success in battle, cared for him when the Federals raided his home, and made financial contributions to provide him with religious tracts and papers.[150] However, as the Federal armies pushed into the South, some Negroes did run away to join them. In June, 1862, over 100 runaway Negroes heading North were reported to have passed through Fredericksburg, Virginia, in three days.[151] Elsewhere in northern Virginia in 1862, Negroes were reported to have left the estates in droves.[152] One Baptist church excluded ten Negroes from membership for running off to the "Yankees,"[153] and another dismissed 21 of their colored members for the same offense.[154] The year 1862 also saw slave church members desert their white brethren in Mississippi and Louisiana.[155] In 1863

and the Important Executive, Judicial and Political Military Facts of that Eventful Period; Together with the Organization, Legislation, and General Proceedings of the Rebel Administration and an Appendix Containing the Principal Political Facts of the campaign of 1864, a Chapter on the Church and the Rebellion, and the Proceedings of the Second Session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress (Washington, D.C.: Solomons and Chapman, 1876), 518-519.

[147] *The Church Intelligencer,* March 16, 1865.

[148] *The Church Intelligencer,* March 16, 1865.

[149] Wiley, *Southern Negroes,* 98.

[150] Albert T. Goodloe, *Confederate Echoes: A Voice From the South in the Days of Secession and of the Southern Confederacy* (Nashville, Tennessee: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1907), 399; Moseley, *Disciples in Georgia,* 199; Wiley, *Southern Negroes,* 106; *The Religious Herald,* December 3, 1863.

[151] *Christian Banner* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), June 14, 1862.

[152] Francis Robinson to Mrs. Courteny R. Jones, April 27, 1862, Charles W. Andrews Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University; Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Session of the Rappahannock Baptist Association, held with Upper King and Queen Church, King and Queen County, Virginia, September 23-25, 1862, 264-265.

[153] Minute Book of the F. T. Baptist Church, October 12, 1862.

[154] Minute Book of the Mattaponi Baptist Church, June 14, 1862. See also, Minute Book of the Hermitage Baptist Church, July 5, 1863; Minute Book of Bruington Baptist Church, July 19, 1863.

[155] John Q. Anderson (ed.), *Brokenburn, The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955), 128; Samuel A. Agnew, *Historical Sketch of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church of Bethany, Lee County, Mississippi* (Louisville, Kentucky: n.p., 1881), 12.

the Presbyterian Synod of Mississippi reported that many Christian servants had left their comfortable homes and abandoned their rightful owners to flee to the Federals.[156] This same year Texas churchmen complained that Negroes were leaving estates and accompanying the Federal Army, thus robbing the owners of their laborers.[157] The diary of a Federal private in Arkansas records that on July 10, 1863, "five niggers came in."[158] A Baptist church in North Carolina lost part of its membership when a number of slave members fled to Federal troops in 1864.[159] Some churches who lost members in this manner branded the runaway slaves as traitors.[160] As the Federals pushed into the South, a number of Negroes, from Virginia to Texas, sought freedom by fleeing to their lines.

By 1861 Protestantism was making its greatest effort to Christianize the Negro. This effort was in response to the call of Christian duty and had been increasing during the past decade. Slavery was interpreted as an institution ordained of God for civilizing and Christianizing a backward race. Each of the larger Protestant denominations contained Negro members. They were admitted, in many instances, on the same basis and in the same manner as white members, and were subject to similar discipline. They worshiped and took communion with the white members although they occupied a separate part of the building. In some instances additional, separate services were held for the Negroes. Sunday schools where they received oral instruction were established for them.[161] In a few cities and on some plantations there were Negro churches and chapels, which were supplied by white pastors who occasionally permitted a Negro exhorter to speak. By designating certain colored Christians to positions of partial leadership such as deacon, the church—although perhaps unwittingly— was instilling in the minds of a few a sense of responsi-

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[156] *Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi, 1861-1867* (Jackson, Mississippi: Clarion Steam Publication Establishment, 1880), 34.

[157] *Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention* [Texas], *October 24-28, 1863* (Houston, Texas: Telegraph Book and Job Establishment, 1864), 6.

[158] Ralph R. Rea (ed.), "Diary of Private John P. Wright, U.S.A., 1864-1865," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, XVI (Autumn, 1957), 310.

[159] Proceedings of the Coleram Church Conference, Bertie County, North Carolina, 1860-1865, entry of June 3, 1864, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University.

[160] Minutes of the Twenty-Second Annual Session of the Rappahannock Baptist Association, held with the Mattaponi Baptist Church, King and Queen County, Virginia, October 26-28, 1864.

[161] H. H. Farmer, *Virginia Before and During the War* (Henderson, Kentucky: Henderson Journal Steam Job Print, 1892), 46; Reed, "A Sketch of the Religious History of the Negroes," 195; *Christian Index*, October 21, 1864. This paper implied that some Sunday schools were integrated. It said that the Mount Enon Baptist Church had a good Sunday school and that some Negroes attended each Sunday. It also stated, however, that one Sunday in each month was devoted especially to Negroes.

bility which would be needed at the end of the War. The gospel preached to the Negroes was designed not only to convert them but also to justify slavery and to urge loyalty and obedience. The gospel was preached in such a manner as to make it a force of social control and to justify the social and economic order of the day.

During the War religious work among the Negroes suffered but interest, on the whole, continued high. Masters were reminded of their duty to care for the religious needs of their slaves in the same manner as they did for their children. Protestantism, feeling that it had not adequately performed its mission to the Negroes and interpreting the War as divine judgment for this neglect, attempted to remove certain abuses in the slave system and to make it more Christian. Petitions were presented to State legislatures urging them to legalize slave marriages and to prevent the disruption of families, to repeal the law forbidding a master to teach his slaves to read, and to abolish the law requiring a Negro to secure a license from the court before he could preach. Although the results of such petitions were meager, they were not entirely unheeded.

The Emancipation Proclamation was condemned, but during the War certain influential churchmen were not averse to a form of gradual emancipation. After legislation was enacted permitting the arming of slaves the opinion was expressed that not only the slaves who fought for their country should be freed but also their wives and children.

The absence of slave uprising when the men were away at War is attributed largely to the religious training which the slave received. The mass of them were loyal and obedient, however, some slaves did desert their masters when the opportunity came and sought refuge within the Federal lines.

CHARLES McIVER FIGHTS FOR THE TARHEEL NEGRO'S RIGHT TO AN EDUCATION

By William E. King*

In the spring of 1902 the famed educational renaissance in North Carolina was getting underway with the blessings and partial leadership of Governor Charles B. Aycock. This campaign for public schools, the result of complex and converging forces, faced many real obstacles. In North Carolina an overt interest in education had long been expressed but results had been meager indeed. Only a few State institutions of higher education and several progressive graded school systems had been established in a number of towns and cities. The uneducated forgotten man, eulogized so eloquently by Walter Hines Page, for the most part remained forgotten. In 1900 the constitutional amendment to limit the suffrage to literate voters who had not registered under the "grandfather clause" forced the public education issue upon the political leaders of the State. Since North Carolina had the second highest white illiteracy rate in the nation, the rumblings of discontent over the suffrage amendment posed a real problem for the discerning politician. In response to the discontent in the western part of the State, where educational opportunities were quite limited, the Democratic campaign director, Furnifold M. Simmons, pledged that "if the amendment should be accomplished" the Democrats would "inaugurate an educational campaign that would enable the white adults to pass the [literacy] test. . . ."[1]

For the popular Democratic gubernatorial nominee, Charles B. Aycock, Simmons' promise was not just a politically expedient move. Aycock had long been interested in public education and strongly supported the Democratic platform which advocated a four-month school term. As the campaign progressed, Aycock placed increasing emphasis on education, making it a major pledge by the Democrats. Thus Aycock, "white supremacy," Negro disfranchisement, and public education all helped bring a decisive Democratic victory. The

* Mr. King is a Ph.D. degree candidate in history at Duke University, Durham.

[1] J. Fred Rippy (ed.), *F. M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South: Memoirs and Addresses* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1936), 27-28.



Charles D. McIver (center) with faculty of State Normal and Industrial College in Greensboro. From North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

political oratory established an awareness of the educational problem on the grass roots level for the first time.

The educational leaders in North Carolina, however, were too few in number, and the political leaders were too busy with affairs of state, to conduct the campaign so badly needed to persuade the majority of the people to make the necessary sacrifices in the form of tax support for education. The Fourth Annual Conference for Education in the South, meeting in Winston-Salem in April, 1901, proved to be the organization that could supply the time, energy, and money to develop and capitalize on the newly aroused interest. This meeting of northern and southern industrialists, philanthropists, politicians, and educators, presided over by millionaire Robert Curtis Ogden of New York, had broadened its original concern which had been mainly for uneducated Negroes and poor mountain whites. Its new goal was to help solve the educational problems of the entire South. Realizing that direct financial support for such a great undertaking would be beyond its means, the Conference organized a vast propaganda campaign for local support of public school education.

Early in 1902 the Executive Board of the Conference for Education in the South, known generally as the Southern Education Board, announced its first endeavor as a "vigorous educational campaign for public schools in North Carolina."[2] A donation of $4,500 annually for two years was to finance traveling expenses for speakers at rallies to be held in every county in the State. A special effort was made to secure money from local taxation to improve the county schools.

Governor Aycock and Superintendent of Public Instruction Thomas F. Toon were grateful for this vital support, and with the assistance of President Charles D. McIver of the State Normal and Industrial College in Greensboro, they set out to organize the campaign. Despite the increased interest in education and the leadership and money for the campaign, many problems still faced the educators. Of foremost importance was the racial problem. The leaders intended schools for Negro as well as white children when they spoke of educational improvement, but the question of Negro education aroused opposition as it always had. Some people believed that to educate a Negro meant to spoil a field hand, and others resented tax benefits for the Negro when his taxable property was negligible.

As an aftermath of the bitter "white supremacy" campaign of 1900 several bills were introduced in the State legislature in 1901 that would improve white schools at the expense of the Negro schools. Senator Henry A. London, the influential Editor of *The Chatham Record* in Pittsboro, introduced the most popular bill.[3] He proposed a constitutional amendment authorizing the citizens of either race in a school district to vote a tax upon themselves for the benefit of their own schools. This bill was reported to the floor with the unanimous approval of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Because of Governor Aycock's threat of resignation and the successful lobbying of Benjamin Aycock, the Governor's brother, the London Bill was referred to committee again before it was voted upon.

The bill nevertheless appealed to many, especially in the central and eastern parts of the State. For sponsoring the bill, London was mentioned as a possible Democratic candidate for Governor in 1904. Aycock, Toon, and McIver were not greatly disturbed about the passage of such a bill, but they were concerned about unnecessary, harmful publicity that might endanger the educational campaign.

The following exchange of letters well illustrates the reasoning of

[2] Minutes of the Southern Education Board, November 6 and 7, 1901, Scrapbook 38, Southern Education Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[3] *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), March 3, 1901.

both the proponents and opponents of the London Bill. The correspondence is between Charles Duncan McIver, Secretary and field agent of the Southern Education Board and a member of the Governor's Central Campaign Committee, and his distant cousin, John McMillan McIver, a friend of Senator London and businessman from the community of Gulf, in Chatham County. Charles D. McIver's letter is important because it reveals much of his thinking on the role of Negro educational development in the public school campaign in North Carolina. A careful reading of the letter will show that the often used term "universal education" did indeed include Negro as well as white education, although it did not truly mean equal education. And, luckily for contemporary North Carolina, the views of Charles Duncan McIver, and his associates, triumphed over those of the opponents of Negro education.

John McMillan McIver to Charles Duncan McIver

March 20, 1902.[4]

Your favor of the 17th has been rec'd and noted. I am sorry to say that the [special local school tax] election spoken of by you was not to be held for this portion of Gulf Township but the upper end around Carbonton.[5] It has been abandoned on account of the opposition it met with because the funds raised would go to both races alike. And this is a very serious objection. I do not believe that such a measure could be carried in any community where there are as many negroes as there are around here. I believe we could carry it with a flash here if the provision was that the funds were to go to the white schools. I do think it would be a wise provision in our law to have this provision: have the regular 4 month free school for both races and then have local taxation for each race to suppliment [*sic*] its own school. The whites have stood all the taxation they will to educate negroes and I honestly think all they should. If you will have this change made I will guarantee a 9 or 10 month school in Gulf Township for the white children. I have heard dear old Dr. Alex Wilson[6] say time and again, "Well, boy, God never intended every boy for a scholar or he would have given him more brains." He never said this to me but he might have done so—he said it in my hearing, and the longer I live the more I am impressed with its wisdom. An education ought to be put within the reach of every one who wants it—some do not want it

[4] Charles Duncan McIver Papers, General Correspondence, 1896-1906, Box 12, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

[5] Carbonton and Gulf are located southwest of Pittsboro on the Deep River in Chatham County. *Rand McNally Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), 322.

[6] Dr. Alexander Wilson had been one of John McMillan McIver's schoolteachers. Charles Duncan McIver to John McMillan McIver, March 21, 1902, Southern Educational Conference Letterbook, I, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, hereinafter cited as Southern Educational Conference Letterbook.

and you can not give it to them free, gratis and for nothing. Charles, I am proud of you—you are an honor to your father's name, to your state, and to the institution over which you preside. Remember me very kindly to Cousin Lula and the bairns.

Sincerely yours,
J. M. McIver

Charles Duncan McIver to John McMillan McIver

March 21, 1902.[7]

I am obliged to you for your letter of March 20th., but I regret that the courage of the friends of education on the local tax question failed them.

I note what you say in regard to the division of the school fund. I am sure that your position and that of Mr. London is not only wrong in this matter, but is hurtful to the cause of education, and will probably be hurtful to us politically if the question is agitated. I sincerely hope that we will not be side-tracked from the question of educational development by a renewal of the discussion of the race problem.

If the people only knew the facts about the managements of the schools where a local tax has been voted and where the negroes are very numerous, they would not fail to vote a special tax because of the negro. Those of us who are trying to develop the state educationally do not propose to force an agitation upon any of the people of eastern North Carolina except where we are invited to go and help the influential citizens of a community to carry the vote for a local tax. But you must remember that there is nearly half of this state with practically no negroes in it, and in this part of the country the few negroes that we have are located in towns where there is already a local tax. The negroes of Guilford county are in Greensboro and High Point; those of Forsyth are in Winston; those of Rockingham are largely in Reidsville; those of Rowan already have schools by a local tax in Salisbury; and, in a measure, this is true of Statesville, Charlotte and other towns in central and western North Carolina.

I wish to say to you, from my own intimate knowledge, that in nearly every portion of North Carolina there is just as much opposition to public education in those sections of the state where there are no negroes as there is in counties where negroes are most numerous. I wish to say also that Edgecombe county, where there are two negroes to every white man, and with the same rate of taxation as in those counties where there are no negroes has had for the past ten years the longest school terms, and among the best teachers of all the counties of the state. (It is possible that Durham county, New Hanover, and Buncombe now have as long a school term or longer.)

With the same rate of taxes on property [,] the white people of the negro counties, after dividing their school funds with the negroes, have a longer school term, better school houses, and better general educational

[7] Southern Educational Conference Letterbook, I.

conditions than those of the counties where there are no negroes, and where all the taxes from the real estate, personal property, and poll taxes come from the white people and go to the white children.

. . . . . .

If Wilson, New Bern, Goldsboro, Raleigh, Charlotte, Winston, Durham, Henderson and finally Oxford, Tarboro, Washington, and Wilmington can afford to levy a special tax upon all their property and then support negro schools and white schools with it, doesn't it seem strange that the people of the rural districts should think that they cannot afford to do so, and that they are gaining something by starving their own race intellectually rather than let a small portion of our taxes go to the colored race?

It is a condition and not a theory that we must meet. There is not the ghost of a chance of the adoption of the amendment to the constitution proposed by *The Chatham Record.* I know that it is easy to take a little community and work it up to white heat on that issue, but I am also sure that North Carolina is not going to put herself in the attitude before the world of depriving a race of its vote on the ground of illiteracy and ignorance and then upon the heels of that pass another amendment which looks toward keeping them in illiteracy and ignorance. A state has a reputation to sustain before the world of states exactly as a man has among his fellowmen.

I know that yours and Mr. London's answer to this would be that we mean to give the negroes a four months school term. My answer to it all is that from ten to twenty years ago precisely the same arguments made by you and by London were heard by me nearly every day in the towns of Durham, Winston, and Goldsboro, but practically no one in those communities makes that argument now or believes that it was ever a wise position to take.

Moreover, the schools are so managed by a Board of Trustees who control all the schools in the district for both the white and the colored children that the white people get back most of the taxes they pay, and still the colored people have very good schools.

In Goldsboro township, where the negroes are very numerous, they get nothing from the special tax except what they pay, and that is sufficient to supply their necessities as well as the necessities of the white people. It was in recognition of this principle among those of us who here studied public education that we induced the Populist and Republican legislature to adopt a public school law, which if properly carried out, would have done more for public education than any public school law that we have ever had. The Democrats of the last legislature admitted, after it was too late, that a mistake had been made to change radically the Fusion school law.[8] It was so framed that wherever equity required it the idea that you

[8] The school law of 1897 changed the distribution of school funds by the local township school committee from the traditional per capita distribution according to the number of white and colored school population to a system whereby the school funds were apportioned without regard to the numbers of school children of each race provided that the schools for both races operated for equal terms. Under this system of expenditure the white schools in general benefited more than the Negro schools. *Public Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly at its Session of 1897, Begun and Held in the City of Raleigh on Wednesday, the Sixth Day of January, A. D., 1897,* c. 108.



Statue of Charles D. McIver on Capitol Square in Raleigh. From files of State Department of Archives and History.

and Mr. London advocate could be carried out without friction and with perfect satisfaction to all parties concerned; but men who do not study the school business, but who think of everything only as it relates to election to office, have no more ability to frame a school law than I have to determine how you shall manage your store or mill.

In my judgment, if we adopt a school law in North Carolina dividing any part of the school funds on the principle of giving to each race what it contributes directly in taxes, it will so arouse hostility among people outside the state who are now silent on the constitutional amendment [disfranchising the Negroes] that the amendment will be carried to the Supreme Court of the United States and maybe declared unconstitutional.

I suppose you know, by the way, that the reason Judge Hoke[9] refuses to go on the Supreme Court bench of North Carolina is for fear that he may be called upon to decide on the constitutionality of our amendment. He is doubtful about its constitutionality, but so well satisfied is he that it is for the good of the people of the state that he would not wish to be placed where he might be obliged to decide against the validity of the law. And then I say that the dissension which Mr. London is trying to get the state into will not only hurt the cause of education, but, I think, will give great sympathy and counter-argument to those who are fighting the constitutionality of our amendment already adopted.

I am speaking to you very plainly. I am a "deep-dyed" Democrat, and have never even felt the temptation to scratch a democratic ticket from Constable to President. I do not know what I may do in the future, but I feel like standing with the majority of the white people of North Carolina. When they will not go as fast as I would like for them to go, I abide by their decision as cheerfully as I can. I will say that there is no power on earth that can make me vote to limit suffrage on the ground of illiteracy and then vote for another amendment, the object of which is to keep a large class in the bonds of illiteracy and ignorance.

I do not mean to question the motives of any who think differently from me, and, least of all, of yourself, whom I have known for so many years to be one of the most generous-hearted Christian citizens of this old commonwealth. Nevertheless, I do feel that, if men like you and Mr. London could know the conditions in the communities that dropped the arguments you are making fifteen or twenty years ago, soon after our Supreme Court decided that the Dortch Bill, giving white taxes to white schools and colored taxes to colored schools, was unconstitutional, you would throw no hindrance in the way of those who are now struggling to move North Carolina up towards the head of the procession where she belongs. Ignorant and illiterate negroes and white people not only will not place her where she belongs but they will make it impossible for men who live in the state to get their just recognition in the forum and markets of the world.

What is the little school tax that a man pays? Eighteen cents on one

[9] William A. Hoke, Judge of the Superior Court, 1890-1904; Associate Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, 1905-1924; Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, 1924-1925. Kemp P. Battle, "An Address on the History of the Supreme Court," *North Carolina Reports,* I (Reprinted edition, 1937), 873-874.

hundred dollars worth of property, $1.50 on a thousand dollars worth of property; not as much as he pays on his whiskey or his tobacco, not as much as he paid to establish compulsory education for the citizens of Cuba, one-third of whom, by the way, are negroes, just as one-third of the population of North Carolina is composed of negroes.

I mail you a copy of the state Normal Magazine, and, if you have time, I should be glad for you to read my speech printed in there on "Educational Statesmanship" and I know you will enjoy Walter Page's article on "'The School That Built a Town."

I notice your quotation from your old teacher, "God never intended every boy for a scholar, or he would have given him more brains." That is all true, but I believe that in a great Christian democracy it ought to be considered one of the inalienable rights of a man to have an opportunity to train all the brains that God gave him, it matters not how little or how much. We had just as well take away from a man the right to free air because he has small lungs, as to take from a man the right to the highest mental development because the gray matter in his head is below the average in quantity and quality.

I do not feel quite right in preaching to you or being too dogmatic in my assertions. You are a so much better man that I am and so much older, and your kindness to me has always been so great that I fear that I may be violating the proprieties in arguing with you against your expressed opinions; but I feel sure that you will understand that there is no lack of respect and affection for you because I cannot see my way clear to adopt again the view which I once held, but which by experience I have found out to be wrong.

I want you to understand why I am so afraid of the negro argument. It always excites Western North Carolina, where we propose to make our campaign, more than it does the east. The race issue seiz[es] men wild in western North Carolina where they do not see a negro, but where the terrible stories are told about his running over the white people of the east. It stirs them from the bottom of their hearts.

We want to develop the educational sentiment of the Piedmont and western section of North Carolina, and we would like to do it without the negro prejudice being thrown into our compaign.

Very truly yours,

Charles D. McIver

P.S. We need very badly the backing of men like you in the educational and industrial development of the state. Take the most generous, liberal view of this matter you can, and if I am wrong tell me about it. . . .

John McMillan McIver to Charles Duncan McIver

March 24, 1902[10]

Your favor received and I have laid it aside to take up when I have time to give it a careful consideration. I know that this world do move and that we old fellows will have to move with it or get run over but Sambow has made a good servant and I verily believe these here litterary negroe in Chathm [*sic*] have been a miserable failure. . . .

Sincerely yours,

J. M. McIver

[10] Southern Education File, The College Archives, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

THE NORTH CAROLINA TOBACCO MARKETING CRISIS OF 1933

By James C. Daniel*

The Great Depression of 1929 brought to a head the problem of overproduction which had plagued tobacco growers for three centuries. In fatuous attempts to offset low prices they had received for tobacco, farmers planted more of the weed, and the swollen production diminished prices even more. No organization existed which could effectively unify tobacco farmers in an effort to reduce the supply of tobacco and thereby raise prices. In North Carolina, however, a leader arose who solved both the problem of overproduction and the problem of low prices for that State's tobacco crop. In a master stroke, Governor John Christoph Blucher Ehringhaus unified the farmers, reduced acreage, raised prices, and established a plan for controlling tobacco acreage for years to come.

Ehringhaus' first task was to overcome the farmers' claim of independence from government control. Boasting of their alleged independence as farmers, weed growers buffeted royal displeasure, governmental taxation, the Black Patch War in Kentucky in 1905, and the co-operative movement of the 1920's, while vainly attempting to reduce production and raise prices.[1] In 1933, however, the overproduction problem in North Carolina appeared insurmountable, primarily because the depressed economy insured that higher prices could not be forthcoming without reducing the amount of tobacco grown. Following forty-cent prices in 1919, prices fell to half that figure in the 1920's and were halved again as the Great Depression became more acute.[2]

Realizing the folly of their continued obstinate attitude, the Tarheel agriculturists called upon Governor Ehringhaus, to lead a program which would ultimately balance the supply and the demand of

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[1] For general accounts on the history of tobacco see Joseph C. Robert, *The Story of Tobacco in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), and Nannie May Tilley, *The Bright-Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948).

[2] United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, *Agricultural Adjustment* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1934), 84.

tobacco. Ehringhaus responded dynamically by closing the tobacco markets, by leading an acreage reduction sign-up campaign among weed growers, and finally by personally debating with the manufacturers' representative, S. Clay Williams. Ehringhaus provided the leadership which resulted in establishing parity[3] prices for flue-cured tobacco. He boldly faced the perennial problem of overproduction and, through co-operation with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, laid the foundation for continuing prosperity of tobacco growers. Had Ehringhaus hesitated in his attack on low prices, the income of many North Carolina farmers would have suffered. In the New Deal era characterized by bold action, Ehringhaus stood out as one of the foremost leaders.

Yet, as Ehringhaus took office in 1933, no effective means existed to reduce tobacco acreage in North Carolina. On the national level the newly inaugurated President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had promised in his inaugural address to try to solve the farm problem. On May 12, 1933, he signed the Agricultural Adjustment Act, a statute aimed at restoring to the farmers their previous purchasing power.

Several sections of the Agricultural Adjustment Act were directly applicable to the problem of overplanting tobacco. Provisions of the Act enabled farmers to reduce acreage and receive compensation in the form of benefit payments. To insure tobacco farmers that higher prices would be paid if acreage was reduced, the Act provided for marketing agreements based upon an understanding between producers and manufacturers.[4] A processing tax, to be levied upon manufacturers as the commodity was first processed, would furnish money to pay the farmers the benefits. Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace could enact these provisions if he felt it necessary.[5]

Clarence Poe, since 1899 Editor of *The Progressive Farmer,* became a leading advocate of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Poe was born in 1881 in Chatham County, North Carolina. In 1914 he received the Litt.D. degree from Wake Forest College and in 1928 the LL.D. degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Poe held numerous impressive positions during his career of public service in North Carolina.[6] In 1933 he called for co-operation with the government during the tobacco crisis. To counter the age-old cry of the farmers that a strong governmental control struck at

[3] The price tobacco farmers should receive in 1933 in order to enable them to purchase the same amount of consumer goods as they could purchase during the base period, 1919-1920.

[4] 48 Stat. 34, c. 25.

[5] 48 Stat. 35, c. 25.

[6] *Who's Who in North Carolina* (Chicago: Larkin, Roosevelt and Larkin, Ltd., 1947), 623.

their independence, Poe stated that he, too, desired to see the farmers maintain their autonomy. He argued, however, that freedom to pay creditors meant more than independence to grow surplus crops which sent prices even lower. He left the decision to the farmers: Co-operate with the AAA and chance a new era of profits or gamble on higher prices in the face of oversupply.[7]

A month prior to the opening of the North Carolina tobacco markets the ideas of Clarence Poe began to gain popularity. Some people realized that only by immediate action could a crisis in prices be averted when the tobacco markets opened. During the last week of July, at the "American Institute of Cooperation, and the 31st Annual Farmers' and Farm Women's Convention," in Raleigh, people heard speeches from numerous leaders in American agriculture. Most of these speakers listed plans for production control for the 1934 crop.[8] The tobacco growers, however, wanted some plan which would raise prices for the tobacco already grown, the bumper 1933 crop.

On August 1 the prospect for high prices for the 1933 crop abated as the Georgia markets opened. Many people in Georgia protested as prices proved extremely low.[9] North Carolinians foresaw that the same low prices would be paid for tobacco in North Carolina when the tobacco markets opened. This gloomy prospect stimulated action. On August 7, the *Goldsboro News-Argus* urged farmers to demand parity prices through the processing tax. *The News and Observer* asked farmers to demonstrate willingness to reduce acreage for the 1934 tobacco crop.[10] Throughout the State, farmers called meetings to discuss the possibility of low prices and ways to avert them.

The necessity for immediate action became even more apparent when the Border Belt markets opened in South Carolina and in southern North Carolina. Though farmers held several mass meetings there, the market area remained relatively quiet as tobacco sold for only a few cents higher than during the previous year.[11] After two weeks of sales the prices had dropped to the same averages as in 1932. On August 24, as prices continued to fall, Congressman Allard H. Gasque, representing the Sixth South Carolina District, criticized the low prices. They were below production costs, he stated, and the rising cost of living intensified the gravity of the situation. Advocat-

[7] Clarence Poe, "Social Planning Begins New Era in Agriculture," *The Progressive Farmer*, XLVIII (June, 1933), 3.
[8] *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), July 29, 1933, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*.
[9] *The News and Observer*, August 2, 1933.
[10] *The News and Observer*, August 8, 1933.
[11] *The News and Observer*, August 11, 1933.

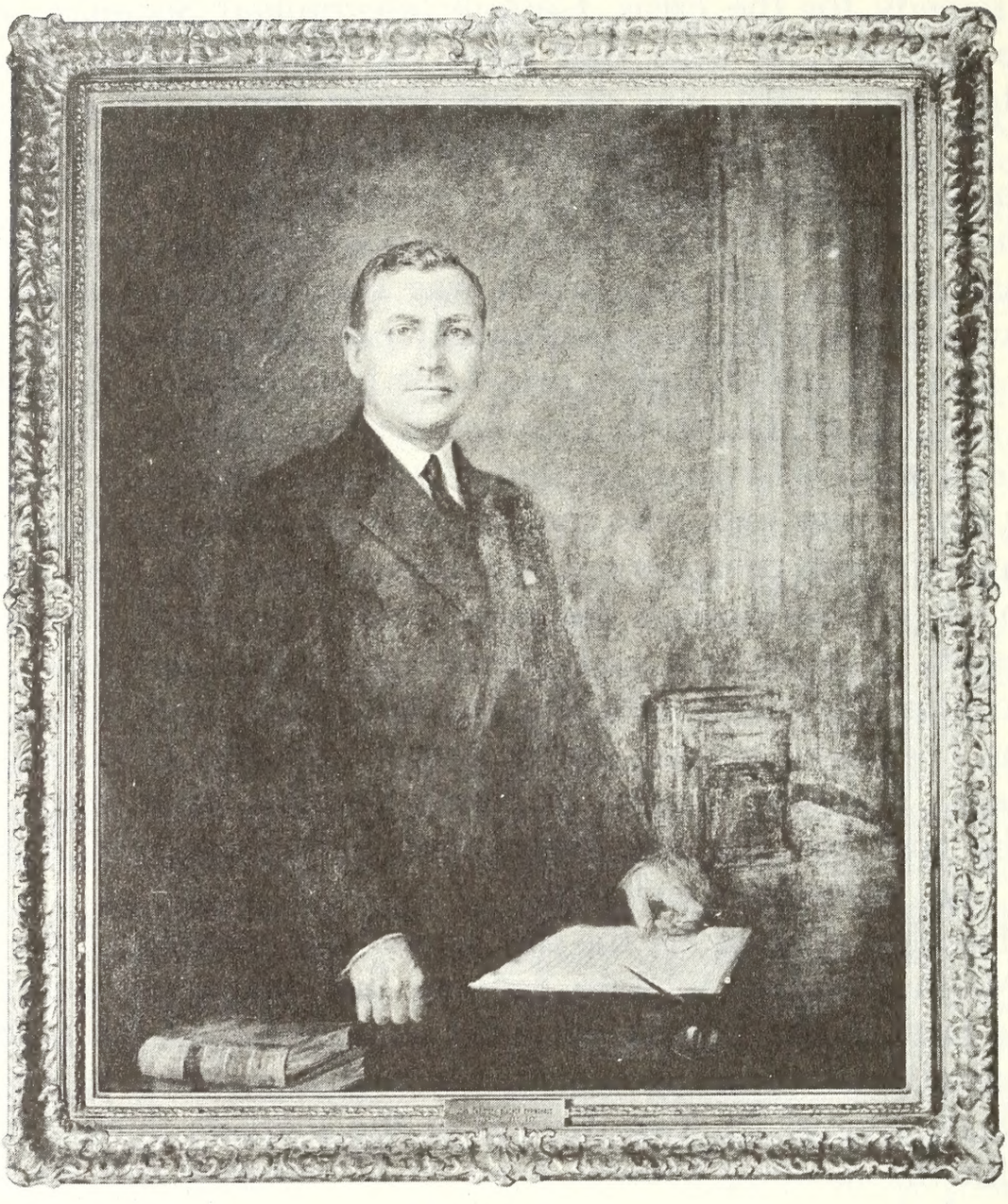
ing a remedy for the crisis, Gasque telegraphed Secretary of Agriculture Wallace "to urge that steps be taken to close warehouses and stop sales until you can investigate cause for extreme low prices." [12] Though Secretary Wallace lacked the authority to close the tobacco markets, the plea found receptive ears in North Carolina.

Tarheel leaders were not hesitant to point out that one chief cause for dissatisfaction with the prices was the continuing prosperity of the manufacturers. Farmers continually pointed to the manufacturers' profits and demanded higher prices for their tobacco. A week prior to the opening of the North Carolina Eastern Tobacco Belt markets, *The News and Observer* reiterated this dissatisfaction in an editorial, stating that "every man who touches tobacco from the buyer through the manufacturers prospers out of tobacco except the man who tends it from virgin bed through the most careful curing of the crop." Yet the burden of organizing and preventing such exploitation, the editorial continued, rested with the farmers. They must act quickly or else the chance of getting parity prices[13] for the 1933 crop would disappear. "Tobacco farmers in North Carolina must learn that not only the gods but also the government help those who help themselves," the editorial concluded.[14]

By Tuesday, August 29, the day set for the opening of the Eastern Belt, North Carolina tobacco farmers had taken no action. Their fatuous faith in the buyers persisted as they hoped for high prices. More skeptical growers, however, planned a meeting to be held in Raleigh on August 31, two days after the markets opened.[15] Enthusiasm for the meeting became keen as on opening day the farmers, who needed money to pay debts and buy necessities, flooded the market with their tobacco. Immediately, as sales began, it became evident that prices would be low. Crowds milled about the markets asking questions and comparing prices. Dissatisfaction mounted as on Tuesday and Wednesday the prices averaged from ten to twelve cents per pound.[16]

Conservatism which for centuries had characterized the action of tobacco farmers gave way in the face of the price situation in 1933. Pride in their independence gave way to practicality as farmers met in Raleigh on August 31. In a surprise move the growers called upon Governor Ehringhaus to close the markets, stating that such action would force the government and the manufacturers to negotiate a

[12] *The News and Observer*, August 25, 1933.
[13] See footnote 3, above.
[14] *The News and Observer*, August 22, 1933.
[15] *The News and Observer*, August 29, 1933.
[16] *The News and Observer*, August 30, 1933.



Portrait of J. C. B. Ehringhaus, by Irene Price, which was presented to the State on December 16, 1960. Photographed by Mrs. Madlin Futrell, State Department of Archives and History.

marketing agreement. The resolution passed at the meeting also requested the Governor to "keep them [the markets] closed until the Federal government has time to put into effect measures that will raise the prices of tobacco to a level of a twenty cents average or more, or until the tobacco companies agree of their own accord to raise the prices to that level." [17]

Governor Ehringhaus, to whom the resolution was addressed, was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Atlantic Collegiate Institution and in 1903 had received the LL.B. degree from the University of North

[17] J. Y. Joyner to John C. B. Ehringhaus, August 31, 1933, John Christoph Blucher Ehringhaus Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Ehringhaus Papers.

Carolina. Since 1905, when he was elected to the North Carolina House of Representatives, he had been active in Tarheel politics. From 1910 to 1922 he was solicitor of the First Judicial District.[18]

Believing that an emergency existed which could best be handled by government intervention, Ehringhaus responded swiftly and favorably to the resolution and called a "voluntary marketing holiday." The holiday would continue "until further proclamation in order to provide reasonable opportunity for action by the Federal government. . . . " The Governor pleaded for co-operation from "farmers, warehousemen, and all good citizens. . . . " He asked them "to co-operate in this marketing holiday and during its continuance to refrain from selling or offering tobacco for sale upon the warehouse floors of North Carolina." [19]

After closing the markets, Ehringhaus received a barrage of editorial comments, letters, telephone calls, and telegrams. *The News and Observer* stated that "no Governor in recent years has accepted leadership with more vigor or courage than Governor Ehringhaus demonstrated last night." [20] Though most of the reaction favored Ehringhaus' action, there was dissent. A letter sent by C. S. Clark, a tobacco grower, stated that the situation was not as serious as most people seemed to think; that "the professional agitator, irresponsible Blah Blahs and political aspirants have amassed a picture entirely too blue." Clark added that he himself was enjoying prosperity on his farm and that prices would increase normally.[21] A New York lawyer, Jacob Seymour Linett, advocated "a co-operative manufacturing of tobacco . . . under the supervision of the State or Federal authority." [22]

Ehringhaus realized that the burden of a solution to the problem rested with him. Although manufacturers' representatives, tobacco growers, and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration had begun meetings on July 27, they could report no appreciable progress. Sacrificing his Labor Day vacation, Ehringhaus decided to go to Washington in person in an attempt to expedite the settlement.[23] He led a delegation consisting of G. W. Koiner of Virginia and Ashton

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[18] Albert Nelson Marquis and Others (eds.), *Who's Who in America: A Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women* (Chicago, Illinois: The A. N. Marquis Company, 1899—[annually]), XVIII, 786.

[19] David Leroy Corbitt (ed.), *Addresses, Letters and Papers of John Christoph Blucher Ehringhaus, Governor of North Carolina, 1933-1937* (Raleigh: Council of State, 1950), 71.

[20] *The News and Observer*, September 1, 1933.

[21] C. S. Clark to John C. B. Ehringhaus, September 2, 1933, Ehringhaus Papers.

[22] J. S. Linett to John C. B. Ehringhaus, September 1, 1933, Ehringhaus Papers.

[23] *The News and Observer*, September 3, 1933.

Williams of South Carolina.[24] Other Tarheel leaders already in Washington would join the Governor's group and seek some method of raising the price of tobacco.

The delegation which met in Washington on Monday, September 4, faced a crucial problem. The farmers had to promise to cut acreage before the manufacturers would consider raising prices. The manufacturers could not buy the tremendous 1933 crop at high prices if the same overproduction were to be repeated in 1934. How to poll the farmers and obtain a promise of reducing acreage in the future presented the key problem. Also, because of the austere conditions in rural areas, a rapid program was essential.[25]

Congressman Lindsay C. Warren from Washington, North Carolina, resolved the dilemma. He suggested that the growers be asked to sign a tentative contract promising to reduce acreage for the next year. On Tuesday morning, Governor Ehringhaus, Ashton Williams, and G. W. Koiner accepted Warren's plan.[26]

Having worked out the details, the delegates rushed to Raleigh in order to present the proposal at a meeting of people interested in the tobacco situation, scheduled to convene on September 6, in the Raleigh Memorial Auditorium. The delegates at the meeting unanimously approved the preliminary acreage reduction contracts, and they requested that mass meetings be held immediately in order to achieve a hasty sign up. Governor Ehringhaus then expressed the hope that all farmers would be as receptive to acreage reduction as were those at the Raleigh meeting. He went so far as to add that he hoped "to see the day when the farmer who sulks and refused to do his part in this great co-operative program will be looked upon with scorn by his neighbors."[27]

The day following the Raleigh meeting Ehringhaus inaugurated a campaign directed toward achieving an overwhelming endorsement in North Carolina. By signing the preliminary contracts the tobacco farmers would insure reduced acreage for the next season, thereby making it possible for the manufacturers to sign a marketing agreement.[28] *The News and Observer* called for co-operation in the campaign:

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[24] *The News and Observer*, September 5, 1933. Governors John G. Pollard of Virginia and Ibra C. Blackwood of South Carolina joined with Ehringhaus in proclaiming a marketing holiday.

[25] On September 4, 1933, *The News and Observer* urged haste in face of unemployment caused by the marketing holiday.

[26] *The News and Observer*, September 5, 1933.

[27] *The News and Observer*, September 7, 1933.

[28] *The News and Observer*, September 7, 1933. Dean I. O. Schaub, tobacco extension specialist from North Carolina State College was appointed to head the sign-up campaign.

Sign-up
Sign-up early
Sign-up thoroughly[29]

The farmers demonstrated their confidence in Governor Ehringhaus as they overwhelmingly accepted the acreage reduction contracts. On Wednesday, September 13, Governor Ehringhaus reported that farmers in the eastern part of the State had signed contracts at a rate representing 95 to 98 per cent of the tobacco acreage.[30] Despite the overwhelming acceptance, there were, nevertheless, those who balked at the idea of acreage reduction. In a letter sent directly to J. B. Hutson, Chief of the Tobacco Section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, John G. McRae, a Tarheel tobacco farmer, said that he wished "to vehemently protest the proposed method of controlling tobacco prices. . . ."[31]

Critics such as McRae failed to halt the sign-up landslide, and as it became apparent that the campaign was a success, farmers urged that the tobacco markets reopen. Many farmers believed that the successful sign-up alone guaranteed higher prices in the warehouses. Despite the growing unrest, Ehringhaus refused to set an opening date for tobacco markets as he kept close watch on the campaign. On Saturday, September 16, the *Winston-Salem Journal* reported that Ehringhaus appeared to keep the markets closed with a tenacity which resembled blackmail.[32]

Governor Ehringhaus realized that the pledged co-operation of the farmers was only the first step in obtaining higher prices. Actually he balked at reopening the markets because the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the tobacco manufacturers had failed to reach a marketing agreement. He recommended that such an agreement should be operable prior to the reopening of the markets. Otherwise there would be no assurance of higher prices. Convinced that the North Carolina farmers had co-operated sufficiently and expecting a marketing agreement momentarily, Ehringhaus set the reopening date for September 25.[33]

The second phase of Governor Ehringhaus' program concerned agreements by the tobacco manufacturers, and they soon indicated their disapproval. Negotiations had been underway since July 27,

[29] *The News and Observer,* September 11, 1933. A copy of the reduction contract appeared in *The News and Observer,* September 9, 1933.
[30] *Winston-Salem Journal,* September 14, 1933.
[31] John G. McRae to J. B. Hutson, September 13, 1933, Ehringhaus Papers.
[32] *Winston-Salem Journal,* September 16, 1933.
[33] *Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel* (Sunday), September 17, 1933.

when the Agricultural Adjustment Administration asked the tobacco manufacturers to draw up a plan which would raise the price of tobacco. Long before the markets had opened in North Carolina, it had become apparent that a statement by growers that they would reduce acreage was the *sine qua non* to any agreement on higher prices.[34] The low prices should have been anticipated as North Carolina markets opened because there had been no guarantee to manufacturers that the disastrous overproduction would cease. While the markets were closed, meetings were held periodically; but by mid-September, when the date approached for the markets to reopen, scant progress had been made.[35]

As the negotiations progressed, the manufacturers had discovered several points which were completely unacceptable to them. First, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration insisted that all the remaining unsold tobacco purchased should be bought for a minimum price of seventeen cents per pound. Thus no manufacturer was *required* to purchase tobacco, but if they did purchase tobacco they must pay the minimum price. Second, an objection arose over a provision to assess the manufacturers in order to pay the price established by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration for all tobacco which did not sell for the established minimum price. The buyers argued that no company could buy freely during the marketing season with the threat of having to pay even more at the end of the season. Third, manufacturers complained that any restrictions on raising the price of cigarettes could cause disaster in the cigarette industry. Finally, they opposed the right of the government to inspect the books and records of the cigarette industry.[36] Neither the Agricultural Adjustment Administration nor the tobacco manufacturers appeared to be prepared to yield as the date neared for reopening the markets in North Carolina.

A final effort to resolve the differences between the manufacturers and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was planned for September 22, only three days prior to the scheduled reopening of the North Carolina tobacco markets. The manufacturers' representatives, the AAA, and the representatives of the tobacco farmers convened in Washington, D.C., to seek a solution to their differences.

[34] Edwin G. Nourse, *Marketing Agreements Under the AAA* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1935), 79, hereinafter cited as Nourse, *Marketing Agreements Under the AAA.*

[35] For a more complete description of the marketing agreement negotiations, see Nourse, *Marketing Agreements Under the AAA*, 79.

[36] Harold B. Rowe, *Tobacco Under the AAA* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1935), 110-111, hereinafter cited as Rowe, *Tobacco Under the AAA.*

The meeting soon became a debate between Governor Ehringhaus and Clay Williams, president of R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. Williams, pointing out the folly of the AAA proposal on purchasing tobacco, suggested that the manufacturers buy an amount of tobacco at least equivalent to the number of pounds bought during the 1932 marketing season. He promised that the manufacturers would pay a seventeen-cent average for that much tobacco.

As each side debated Williams' suggestion, Ehringhaus became impatient. Speaking to Williams, he demanded bluntly, "What we are interested in is what are you going to give us for tobacco." Williams replied briefly, "We are going to give you 17 cents a pound." The problem at this point of the debate centered around the quantity of tobacco which manufacturers would purchase at the seventeen-cent price. Governor Ehringhaus demanded that manufacturers buy the entire 1933 crop at this price and Williams insisted that buyers purchase only as much as they had in 1932. Ehringhaus accused the manufacturers of having "lived sumptuously and made fine profits." He further stated that the tobacco growers had "not received anything but wages of a peon and slave."[37] As the conference ended, no united plan of action appeared forthcoming.

Though no agreement had been reached, Governor Ehringhaus allowed the tobacco markets to reopen on September 25. There was great anticipation throughout the Tarheel State as people awaited the news of prices paid for tobacco. After the first day sales the reaction was a "mixed chorus of satisfaction and disappointment." Prices remained within two or three cents of the pre-holiday prices. Though the growers were not satisfied, they were encouraged by what seemed to be a rising trend.[38] Many farmers stated that prices would improve when tobacco, damaged by mold or rot during the holiday, was sold.[39]

By the end of the week the reaction took a definite pattern. Farmers became dissatisfied with the prices they received from their tobacco. *The News and Observer,* pointing out the successful sign-up campaign, demanded action with the following editorial comment: "The farmers fulfilled their bargain, they are waiting for the government to fulfill its part as well."[40] The following day *The News and Observer* reiterated its plea, urging the government to "exercise the powers it possesses to the limit by issuing a decree where agreement

[37] *Winston-Salem Journal,* September 23, 1933.
[38] *The News and Observer,* September 26, 1933.
[39] A riot occurred at Wendell as farmers protested the low prices. *The News and Observer,* September 26, 27, 28, 1933.
[40] *The News and Observer,* September 28, 1933.

could not be obtained." Specifically this meant the employment of the licensing provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. "The manufacturers have waited ten years to pay a decent price," the editorial concluded, "and they seem quite willing to wait ten years more." [41]

Governor Ehringhaus became more alarmed as prices remained low. To prevent a large volume of tobacco from being sold before a marketing agreement could be signed, Ehringhaus suggested that the selling hours in warehouses be reduced from seven hours to five hours.[42] He also sent a telegram to President Franklin D. Roosevelt offering, if necessary, to come to Washington personally. He then advised Roosevelt of the situation in North Carolina. He said that the "growers feel that the government promised parity in return for reduction contracts, and unless parity is achieved the administration will suffer a terrific loss in prestige in a territory where it has most friends." [43]

In Washington, the AAA began to draft an agreement based on its licensing powers in order to get the co-operation of the buyers. The manufacturers stubbornly held out for autonomy from government regulation. The government refused to negotiate further unless the companies submitted to AAA supervision of the proposed marketing agreement. The talks ceased for several days, and the AAA continued to draw up a licensing program which would fine the manufacturers if they failed to abide by the AAA regulations. The licensing papers were almost ready to be signed when the manufacturers agreed to resume negotiations. By October 12 Secretary Henry A. Wallace signed the agreement which then became official.[44]

The signatories of the tobacco manufacturing industry were the American Tobacco Company, Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, P. Lorillard Company, Philip Morris and Company, Ltd., Inc., Larus and Brother Company, and Brown and Williamson Tobacco Corporation. These manufacturers processed approximately 90 per cent of all flue-cured tobacco consumed in the United States.[45] Sixty per cent of the flue-cured tobacco was exported. Though the exporting companies did not sign the

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[41] *The News and Observer*, September 29, 1933.
[42] *Winston-Salem Journal*, September 29, 1933.
[43] *The News and Observer*, October 1, 1933.
[44] Rowe, *Tobacco Under the AAA*, 113-114.
[45] For a complete copy of the "Marketing Agreement for Flue-cured Tobacco," see Rowe, *Tobacco Under the AAA*, 213-217.

marketing agreement, they agreed to abide by the spirit of the act and to raise prices as the domestic companies did.[46]

In its final form, the marketing agreement was a compromise between government and business. The agreement embodied the suggestion of Williams that the manufacturers buy only a certain amount of tobacco at a seventeen-cent per pound average. On the other hand, the AAA received the power to inspect the records of the tobacco companies.[47]

Immediately following the signing of the agreement the prices rose to the seventeen-cent parity price. Throughout October the prices fluctuated from fourteen to eighteen cents per pound.[48] During November and December prices rose even higher. Some markets reported daily sales at over twenty-four cents per pound.[49] The marketing agreement required the buyers to purchase 250,000,000 pounds of tobacco at a seventeen-cent per pound average. Actually the 285,000,000 pounds purchased after the agreement averaged a quarter of a cent more per pound. The farmers, by and large, were extremely well pleased with their income from the 1933 crop.[50]

The successful 1933 prices amply rewarded the efforts of Governor Ehringhaus. The agreements reached during the marketing crisis continued to affect agricultural programs. The foundation laid by the 1933 acreage reduction agreement made acceptable the Kerr Tobacco Act of the 1934 which coerced non-co-operating growers. The Department of Agriculture continually sought to improve the program designed to keep the supply of tobacco more nearly in line with the demand.[51]

A desperation born of depression had produced permanent change in the tobacco industry, and the growers gave credit to their governor. Ehringhaus gambled his popularity by declaring the marketing holiday, and he won the gamble and became one of the most popular governors to be elected in North Carolina. For the first time, tobacco farmers found a leader whom they were willing to follow. Ehringhaus united the farmers and vigorously sought an answer to the perennial problem of overproduction. Though previous efforts to

[46] *Winston-Salem Journal*, October 13, 1933.
[47] Rowe, *Tobacco Under the AAA*, 213-217.
[48] *Winston-Salem Journal, passim.* Prices were reported daily on the Winston-Salem markets and other markets throughout the State.
[49] *Winston-Salem Journal*, December 5, 1933.
[50] United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, *Agricultural Adjustment in 1934* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1935), 146.
[51] See R. Charles Brooks and J. C. Williams, Jr., *Flue-Cured Tobacco Programs, 1933-1958* (Raleigh: Department of Agricultural Economics, North Carolina State College, 1958), *passim.*

reduce acreage had failed, he rallied public opinion and persuaded the farmers that only by such a plan could their plight be resolved. The prosperity of the tobacco farmers in the years after 1933 confirmed their confidence in Governor Ehringhaus was well founded.

BOOK REVIEWS

The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590, with Drawings of European and Oriental Subjects. By Paul Hulton and David Beers Quinn. Volume I: A Catalogue Raisonné and a Study of the Artist, with Contributions by W. C. Sturtevant, C. E. Raven, R. A. Skelton, and Louis B. Wright (Preface by Edward Croft-Murray). Volume II: Reproductions of the Originals in Colour Facsimile and of Derivatives in Monochrome (London and Chapel Hill: The Trustees of the British Museum and the University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Volume I, Pp. v, 179; Volume II, Pp. v, Plates 160. Advance price, $225.00.)

The British Museum and the University of North Carolina Press jointly have made publishing history with the production of this magnificent work in a limited edition (600 copies).

No reviewer can hope to do justice to these two fine volumes; this reviewer will not dare attempt it. Even the history-barren mind cannot fail to be excited by Volume II which contains the reproductions of John White's drawings. But for the historian Volume I offers an equally satisfying fare, for there, masterfully told, is the intriguing story of the great artist's life and contributions as well as the unravelling of what formerly was a mystery of the original drawings and their copies over a period of almost 400 years.

John White, an artist-draftsman on earlier voyages to the New World and governor of the ill-fated "Lost Colony" of 1587, emerges through the pages of the publication under review as the artist-historian that he was—a significant figure whose work, copied by others to whom unwarranted credit has been given, affords not only the most graphic but possibly the most authentic story of the life of aboriginal America. The sparkling text brings to life John White the man just as his drawings bring to life the visual history of early Carolina.

Though many of the White drawings have been reproduced with varying degrees of faithfulness on several occasions, they have heretofore received neither the scholarly nor artistic attention that they deserved. The reproductions now published, says the Preface, "are approximately original size and have been executed in collotype and *pochoir* (stencil). The color-printed collotype, bringing the reproductions to the stage of comparative fidelity, is the basis for the plates; these are then finished by using finely cut metal foil stencils, through

which water color is brushed on by hand—a combination of processes which has for a long time been employed with success in France." The original drawings, after having languished unrecognized for their true value for almost three centuries, narrowly escaped destruction by fire in a London auction house in 1865. They then were acquired by the American, Henry Stevens, who the following year sold them to the British Museum for 200 guineas after the American collector, James Lenox, to whom they were offered, expressed little interest in them.

Here, then, is not only the reproduction of the classic artistry of John White but also the fascinating story of the artist and his contributions to history. Included also are his drawings of European and Oriental subjects.

It is appropriate that this significant venture was undertaken jointly by agencies of Great Britain and the United States, and not least among the individuals who played an important role were two North Carolinians—Mr. Lambert Davis, Director of the University of North Carolina Press, and Mr. William S. Powell, Librarian of the North Carolina Collection of the University of North Carolina Library, the former of whom served as joint publisher and the latter of whom was a member of the John White Committee. They—indeed all historians —can be proud of the results of these joint efforts.

H. G. Jones

State Department of Archives and History

Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography. By Harry Roy Merrens. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. xv, 293. $7.50.)

The author describes this book as a survey of the changing geography of colonial North Carolina and as a study in the field of historical geography. It is intended as the first contribution toward a larger study of the colonial geography of the whole South Atlantic region. Thus it is an analysis of a segment.

Part I, the colonial setting, describes the Atlantic seaboard as it was in 1750, reviews the organization of North Carolina under the Proprietors and the Crown, and discusses the differences between the image of the land as held by writers and even by Tidewater colonists

in contrast to what the land actually was. Part II is concerned with the influx of settlers and demographic changes, including accounts of the distribution of Scotch-Irish, Scottish Highland, and German elements. Part III, on the changing economic geography, describes utilization of the forests, commercial farming, urban settlements, and decentralized trade. Two appendixes discuss the relation of fire to open land and give significant information as to the techniques and sources of the data employed.

It is the distinctiveness of the colony which is the principal subject of the book. To place its unique qualities in an appropriate perspective, the author points out national and racial elements, majorities and minorities, the groupings of settlement and government units including the unusual Granville District, the waves of migration and variety of means and places of entrance, the changing bases of economy from forest products to agrarian, differences in Albemarle and Cape Fear agriculture in size of farms and form of soil and crops, and several other kinds of regional distinctiveness. Not the least of the last is the curious combination of movement and topography which have made western North Carolina urban and industrial, and the eastern, earliest-settled portion, rural and even "frontier."

The author cautions frequently as to the vagueness of the bases of his statistics and the lack of finality in his conclusions. In other words, his conclusions as to patterns of movement, of numbers and of origins of individual settlers, of the exact nature of the terrain (forest or cleared land), are tentative. In addition to scattered surviving figures and statistical accounts, he employed diaries, letters, and other "literary" records as bases for these conclusions. Presumably he has exhausted statistical information. But one feels that more of the pertinent literary materials exist inside and outside North Carolina and should be employed as the author goes into his larger study of the whole colonial South. The skeletal outline he has presented is reasonably clear, but even for North Carolina alone it can be fleshed, brought alive, after further investigation in surviving manuscripts. As it is, clues to an understanding of the variations in economic, social, and religious outlook within present-day North Carolina are frequent. It is a most useful preliminary investigation.

Richard Beale Davis

The University of Tennessee

Ashe County: A History. By Arthur L. Fletcher. (Jefferson: Ashe County Research Association, Inc. 1963. Illustrations, appendixes, and index. Pp. xiv, 403. $5.00.)

The recently burgeoning interest shown by local historical associations in the publication of municipal and county histories is viewed with enthusiasm by historians and students of North Carolina; and the success of Colonel Arthur L. Fletcher's most recent volume, an effort of the Ashe County Research Association and an outgrowth of that of the Ashe County Historical Society, should give encouragement to other county historical groups within the State. It is often, perhaps usually, the case that financial considerations dictate that the writer serve with little or no pay; and subscriptions in advance of publication are frequently required before a printing contract can be negotiated. *Ashe County: A History* was no exception to this, and it is therefore a pleasure to note that a second printing has been ordered to satisfy the demands of buyers.

The publishers were fortunate to have in Colonel Fletcher both an experienced writer and a man who has known the County of which he writes for half of its existence. In addition to his personal familiarity with Ashe County, the author has made appropriately liberal use of the records and facilities of the State Department of Archives and History, the State Library, and the collections at the University in Chapel Hill and Raleigh, and those at Duke University.

The work has been arranged in a topical fashion: the discovery and early history, boundaries and changes, population, geography and climate, courts and county officers, the County at war, religion, education, agriculture, transportation, and welfare are each dealt with in their separate sections or chapters. The exigencies of time and circumstance have probably demanded this arrangement; and while it facilitates the use of this volume as a reference source, it does not make it any more interesting. The reader who desires a narrative account of the County's history from its establishment in 1799 will not find it easily. He will have to cope with several narratives at once. In this sense, the title of the volume is something of a misnomer.

Unfortunately, the author has chosen to publish his story without notes or bibliography. In many cases, though not all, sources are mentioned in the text, and an occasional page reference is given. There are useful lists of Ashe County soldiers and land entries in the Appendixes and other lists of early settlers and officials in the text; and an Index, which is not comprehensive, has been included.

The volume is handsomely printed, the binding is both attractive and substantial, and the price is reasonable.

C. F. W. Coker

State Department of Archives and History

In Quest of Freedom. By Virgil C. Stroud. (Dallas, Texas: Royal Publishing Company. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xvi, 202. $4.50.)

In time the State Department of Archives and History will erect a historical marker in Greensboro commemorating the place, the date—February 1, 1960—and the students who took part in the first sit-in demonstrations. As a social scientist, Dr. Virgil C. Stroud is aware that some years will pass before this will be done, and so he has written *In Quest of Freedom* as a "living monument to the A. and T. College [Greensboro] students who initiated and followed through a movement, with eventual repercussions around the world, with all the courage, fortitude and dignity that man can possess." For a teacher to prepare such a tribute to his students for such an undertaking is admirable.

Unfortunately, or so it seems to this reviewer, Dr. Stroud has not restricted his study to Greensboro or North Carolina or even to the one phase of the civil rights movement for which his students were responsible. As a teacher in the Department of Social Sciences at A. and T., he had the opportunity to witness and hence to describe and document the sit-ins, certainly one of the most significant of the techniques used in the student nonviolent struggle for human dignity. Instead of concentrating on this single phase of the movement, Dr. Stroud has chosen to cover the entire civil rights struggle. The result is that his tribute is not as fitting as it might have been; for if better histories of the over-all movement have not been written, they soon will be. It is unlikely, however, that anyone better qualified than Dr. Stroud will ever tell the story of the A. and T. students and the tradition-shattering movement they initiated.

Dr. Stroud's method is to quote extensively from those who either took part in, or covered for the press, the various phases of the civil rights movement; and this is an effective technique that makes for interesting reading.

In Quest of Freedom is one of the first of what will undoubtedly be a long list of books on the student nonviolent struggle for human rights. Even though it will not, this reviewer thinks, be regarded as one of the best books on the subject—in part because of the poor editorial work—it will be of particular interest to North Carolinians because it was in this State that the sit-in movement had its beginnings.

Cyrus B. King

North Carolina State of the
University of North Carolina
at Raleigh

Abel Parker Upshur: Conservative Virginian, 1790-1844. By Claude H. Hall. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. v, 271. $5.50.)

A biography of Abel Parker Upshur is instructive not because of exceptional personal qualities or outstanding achievements of the subject but because of the useful light which it throws on the life and the mind of Virginia in the years between the prominence of the State's leadership in the early republic and Virginia's participation in the tragedy of civil conflict. Upshur represents that generation of Virginians who witnessed and shared in the hardening defense of slavery in a period when outside the South the forces of change were mounting. Professor Hall writes that "Upshur reflected rather than molded the thinking of his section. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a single idea or argument that had not appeared earlier or that had not been better said by a more influential Southerner." Yet Upshur was important; he was a politically-active jurist and a prodigious writer of political tracts, pieces for the newspapers, and one essay that turned into a full-length book on *The True Nature and Character of Our Federal Government.* He was a member of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830, where he opposed efforts at reform; and, though he was not a member of the legislature of 1832 which debated the issue of slavery, he joined in the ardent defense of the institution. Upshur supported nullification in South Carolina and was outspoken in opposing Jackson's response to the crisis. Although he supported the Whigs in Virginia in opposition to Jackson and campaigned in 1840 for the Harrison-Tyler ticket, he was essentially a political independent.

Upshur was a great admirer of John Tyler and the State Rights views which he advocated; and after Tyler succeeded to the presidency, Upshur became Secretary of the Navy in October, 1841. In this post, despite his previous record of opposition to change, he became a champion of naval reform and of the development of a powerful modern navy that might be used as an instrument for expanding American political and economic influence. In the summer of 1843, Upshur became Secretary of State and devoted most of his tenure to efforts to arrange and obtain Senate ratification of a treaty to annex Texas. Before this could be accomplished, Upshur was killed by a gun explosion aboard the new warship "Princeton," February 28, 1844.

Professor Hall's judicious and unembellished biography is a useful addition to the historical literature of the period.

Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.

University of Richmond

The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689-1776. By Jack P. Greene. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture [Williamsburg, Virginia]. *ca.* 1963. Appendixes, bibliographical essay, and index. Pp. xvi, 528. $8.50.)

Kindness can kill. It can destroy either its recipient or its donor. Great Britain learned the latter lesson in the eighteenth century. As early as 1650 the Crown committed itself to the policy of establishing representative legislatures in all British colonies in the New World. Within thirteen decades thirteen of those colonies sought their independence. In each the lower, representative house of its legislature had become the principal training ground of the rebels. Bodies that were intended to remain subordinate to the colonial governors and councils and to the government in the Mother Country had gradually become predominant. The British empire of 1775 was disrupted. And by 1850, as the result of corresponding developments in Canada and elsewhere, what was left of the empire was transformed into a commonwealth of nations.

An understanding of the process that has led to such influential changes in the modern world is obviously desirable. For several years Professor Greene has been producing scholarly articles that have been

providing insights into portions or episodes of that process. Now he has examined and analyzed and displayed the whole of it in four rather similar but quite distinguishable colonies, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. His industrious, meticulous, and cogent explanation of how and why an enlightened, liberal policy boomeranged should stand as a major interpretation of the colonial period.

For so microscopic a monograph, there is remarkable clarity in the author's solution to the problem of organizing the multitudinous details within his subject. He approaches it neither chronologically nor geographically but topically. He shows successively how the Assemblies gained control over finance, government employees, legislative proceedings, and many executive matters. Each topical development is considered comparatively, colony by colony, without inexplicable imbalances as to any theme, period, or place. This method largely precludes a build-up to a climax in the manner of a narrative; but its impact in the piling up of comparisons and contrasts (chiefly comparisons) affords adequate compensations to serious readers.

If any reader should find himself too impatient to swim through the broad heart of the treatise, at least he should not deny himself the considerable rewards to be found in wading through the two introductory chapters and the four concluding ones. These provide more than 100 pages of new framework for understanding the causes of the American Revolution.

Aside from the merits of this book that are attributable to its inclusiveness and to the incisiveness of the author's mind, what makes it authoritative is the comprehensiveness of his research. He gleaned his materials from manuscript and printed sources on both sides of the Atlantic. Such thoroughness is prerequisite to a presentation so able. But even that did not guarantee that the presentation would be so admirable.

W. Edwin Hemphill

South Carolina Archives Department

The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762. By Howard H. Peckham. (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press. 1964. Illustrations and index. Pp. [xvi], 232. $5.00.)

Professor Peckham of the History Department and Director of the Clements Library at the University of Michigan has written another careful account of early American frontier history in keeping with

the pattern set by his other works in this field. As the twenty-second title in the Chicago History of American Civilization, it is his second contribution to that series.

A tremendous amount of information is packed into this study of the colonial wars which went on almost continually for nearly seventy-five years. English and French colonists and their Indian friends and enemies in America took varying parts in the four European wars: King William's War (1689-1697); Queen Anne's War (1702-1713); King George's War (1744-1748); and The French and Indian War (1755-1762). The role played by Americans in battle is the theme running through this history and it is adequately discussed in such chapters as "American Troops under British and American Officers," "Militia and the Royal Navy," and "French Militia vs. Virginia Militia." The whole treatment is chronological, but frequently the author pauses to summarize and to stress the significance of certain events. A concluding chapter very succinctly explains the results of the colonial wars.

By way of an appendix there is a useful list of Important Dates and a briefly annotated list of books, articles, and dissertations for Suggested Reading. Two maps drawn especially for this book and a dozen illustrations, mainly from contemporary sources, add interest to the account. The Index is selective and with the exception of two subject entries (Casualties and Intercolonial co-operation) it is one of proper names only.

The author has written a number of books for children and young people and something of his style for that age group seems to have been carried over into this book. Throughout the book short simple sentences seem to drill into the reader's mind one brief fact after another:

> Three of the anchored ships burned after a shell hit the powder magazine in one of them. Building after building was knocked apart or pulled down. One of the bastions was destroyed, but Drucour hung on. Then Boscawen sent boats into the harbor and took two ships. Only four cannon were still working on the ramparts. On July 25 Drucour raised a white flag.

William S. Powell

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

The American Revolution. By Hugh F. Rankin. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Chronological table, maps, glossary of eighteenth-century military terms, sources, and index, Pp. 382. $5.95.)

Hugh F. Rankin's name is well known to readers of *The North Carolina Historical Review,* which has published many of his articles relating to North Carolina in the colonial and revolutionary eras. Currently he is Associate Professor at Tulane University and is writing a comprehensive history of the American Revolution, which will also be published by Putnam's.

Many documentary histories of the American Revolution have been published in recent years, including the excellent large two-volume *The Spirit of Seventy-Six* by Commager and Morris. Many more documentaries of our "most literate war" will likely appear in the next two decades as this nation prepares for and celebrates the bicentennial of the War for Independence. It is unlikely that there will be another book which in such small compass portrays so vividly the stirring events from 1773 to 1783. Using the same technique which he and George Scheer employed in *Rebels and Redcoats,* Rankin has made a careful selection of documents to illustrate various events and facets of the American Revolution and with brief passages of lucid commentary has skillfully woven these first-hand accounts of the War into a lively, dramatic, and highly readable narrative. This is "history written by those who were there."

From letters, journals, diaries, reminiscences, and many other kinds of contemporary sources, Rankin has brought together the individual eye-witness accounts of officers—British, French, American, and even Hessian—statesmen, government officials, poets, editors, ministers, doctors, and just plain folk, to recreate the story of the Revolution, beginning with the Boston Tea Party and coming down to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Among the most interesting documents are: Paul Revere's own account of his since famous "Midnight ride," Sylvanus Wood's description of the Battle at Lexington (forty-nine years after the event); Corporal Amos Barrett's account of the Battle at Concord Bridge; Dr. Isaac Senter's colorful story of the Arnold expedition to Canada, as well as part of Ethan Allen's "Narrative" of this ill-fated expedition; John Adams' explanation why Jefferson was selected to draft the Declaration of Independence; Sergeant Ezra Lee's account of how "he became the crew" of Bushnell's "American Turtle," America's first submarine; Janet Schaw's description of a militia muster at Wilmington; extracts from Surgeon Albigence Waldo's diary at Valley Forge; sixteen-year-old private Thomas Young's

description of the Battle of Kings Mountain, and Captain Tarleton Brown's description of the maneuvers of Francis Marion.

Most histories of the American Revolution are rather thin on the "Southern Campaign." More than one-third of this volume is devoted to the War in the South, including chapters on the Fall of Charleston; "Green Peaches, Green Corn and Molasses"—Camden; "The Bull Dog on the Mountain"—King's Mountain; The War in North Carolina; The War in South Carolina; The Beginning of the End; Yorktown; "O God! It is all over."

This is a book which can be read with profit and pleasure by the student and layman alike. It should be required reading for college courses in the American Revolution.

Hugh T. Lefler

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

The Galvanized Yankees. By D. Alexander Brown. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. 243. $5.50.)

This is a vivid account of the 6,000 Americans who were recruited as United States Volunteers for outpost duty in the American West from 1864 to 1866. They were unusual soldiers, former Confederates dubbed "Galvanized Yankees," recruited mostly from Union prison pens to form six divisions.

It is a story that fills a gap in the history of the period. D. Alexander Brown, agriculture librarian at the University of Illinois, has documented the record of these lusty men, dishonored by their former associates, as they went about defending the railroads, stagecoach routes, fighting Indians, and manning lonely outposts. While they were serving the forces they formerly sought to destroy, their desertion rate was low. They accepted service in the new uniform on the condition that they would not be required to take up arms against the Confederacy. Brown notes that there were a few hundred Galvanized Confederates, but the official Confederate view was that "the Yankees are not to be trusted so far, or at all."

One of the most famous Galvanized Yankees was Henry M. Stanley, born an Englishman, who served with the Confederacy before he pledged allegiance to the Union and later went on to a notable journalistic career and found time to locate Dr. David Livingstone in Africa.

At Fort Leavenworth on November 13, 1866, the last of the Galvanized Yankees became civilians again. Many of the unsung men put $8.00 on the line for their revolvers. They needed them in the rough Plains country where many remained, changed their names and lives, and along with most of the country forgot the stormy past.

D. Alexander Brown is no novice on the history of the American West and the Civil War. His most recent book has come at a time when the nation is commemorating the Centennial of the War Between the States and persons interested in the period will want to read this book.

T. Harry Gatton

Raleigh

The Everlasting South. By Francis Butler Simkins. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1963. Pp. xv, 102. $3.50.)

These five essays, by the author of such well-known books as *South Carolina During Reconstruction* (Robert H. Woody, co-author, 1932), *Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian* (1944), and *A History of the South* (1963), will be read and appreciated by the general reader and professional historian alike. All the essays have appeared previously either in journals or as chapters in collaborative works, but the light they shed on the character of the region and their challenging interpretations of the South amply justify the reprint. One of the essays, first published in 1939, established Professor Simkins as a pioneer in revising the "Dunning School" interpretation of the Reconstruction Era, but the central theme of the group of essays is that the South was from the beginning and continues to be different from the rest of the nation. It is a conservative theme and Professor Simkins urges his fellow Southerners to "Take pride . . . in the South as it is today without assuming that the land of slavery and nullification had no justification for existence."

The author develops his theme around four major ideas. *First,* the South was settled largely by Anglo-Saxons, developed an agrarian economy based on Negro slave labor, never attracted many immigrants of diverse national origins, retained its rural psychology, and has remained free from the cosmopolitanism which characterizes the North. *Second,* the South never fully accepted the national creed of democracy and equality envisioned in the Declaration of Indepen-

dence and implemented by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Hence the South maintains a caste system, aside from racial prejudice, which is fixed and rigid. The whites who are socially and economically inferior know their place and keep it. *Third,* Southerners early accepted and have retained faith in an "Old-time Religion" which is second in importance only to racial attitudes in setting the South apart from the North. Their religion is conservative; church membership fits into the pattern of their social order; and religion exerts a dynamic influence in maintaining regional identity. *Fourth,* and most important in keeping the South different is the problem of race relations. Professor Simkins reviews the attempt of the North during Reconstruction "to make the Negro equal to the Caucasian" and concludes that this effort deepened southern support of white superiority; hence, when southern whites regained control of their State governments they adopted their "Jim Crow" legislation. And in mid-twentieth century, they resisted Federal efforts to force integration in schools by legal action, force, and violence. Professor Simkins recognizes that the South has failed to stem the tide, but he maintains that it has yielded token integration only. He concludes that "the uniformity to the section with the nation turns out to be more a physical than a psychological reality," and that the changing South is still *The South.*

Professor Simkins has presented an interesting thesis but this reviewer would question his general hypothesis and some of his interpretations. Do Southerners maintain and consciously support a more rigid and fixed caste system, aside from race prejudice, than do Northerners? This reviewer does not believe the evidence supports this view. Does the "Old-time Religion" of the South differentiate the two sections as pictured by the author? Supporting evidence is needed here. Have not modern developments, scientific, technological, and cultural, wiped out many of the earlier differences in the social, economic, and cultural life of the people North and South? This reviewer thinks so. Even in the area of greatest tension, it seems that the trend since 1954 has been decidedly toward greater unity of North and South. The North has come to recognize that it too has things to do; the South has awakened to a greater sense of justice and equality for the Negro. And in most of the southern States there is a fairly large minority, in some communities a majority, of whites working toward equality of the races. This does not deny that there is a large group, often led by politicians motivated by selfish aims, which will fight to the bitter end, but some believe this group knows that its

battle is already lost. Certainly this reviewer is confident that the South has gone far down the road that means psychological rather than mere physical unity with the rest of the nation.

Fletcher M. Green

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

The Papers of James Madison. Volume 3—3 March 1781-31 December 1781. Edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press. 1963. Maps, illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xxv, 381. $10.00.)

The third volume of *The Papers of James Madison* continues the exhaustingly thorough documentation of Madison through his letters, congressional papers (he was a delegate through all of 1781), and documents of even incidental association. The proliferation of documents and editorial comments makes *The Papers* invaluable for the person seeking information on even the most insignificant matter relating to Madison, but the multiplicity of references makes easy access to key information difficult. By such projects as this the fascinatingly detailed background of the early national history of the United States is made accessible.

The year 1781 was an important one for James Madison. Rising to leadership in the Confederation Congress he was concerned with such problems as the Northwest Territory, negotiations with Spain, the interpretation of the Articles of Confederation, and hopefully viewing the war for some sign of American victory. Before the year ended the Americans won at Yorktown and Madison believed that "it seems scarcely possible for them much longer to shut their ears against the voice of peace."

Meanwhile, the day to day events of Congress demanded his attention. The 1781 portion of the struggle to prevent land speculators from profiting from the cession of Virginia's western lands to the central government is recorded by a series of letters, motions, and protests by Madison. He desired the utilization of these lands for the benefit of the entire nation and seems (though at times primarily a Virginian) to have seen the necessity for strong national government. Recognizing that the newly adopted Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union created a weak government at best, he spoke of the

"variety of publick embarrassments" which plagued Congress and stated that "if the States will not enable their representatives to fulfill their engagements, it is not to be expected that individuals either in Europe & [or] America will confide in them."

In trying to enhance the power of the government under the Articles Madison expressed the vitally important idea that an "implied power is vested in the United States in Congress assembled" but seeing this idea denied pinned his hopes on additional support from the States. Massachusetts and Rhode Island prevented the passage of a 5 per cent duty on trade, however, and as the year ended even Madison's native Virginia suspended its approval of the duty until all 12 of the other States had accepted it. This foreshadowed the failure of all attempts to give real power to the government under the Articles and Madison came to lead the movement to create the Constitution of 1787. The succeeding volumes of *The Papers of James Madison* should tell with thoroughness Madison's part in creating a nation from the 13 former British colonies in North America.

J. Edwin Hendricks

Wake Forest College

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. Harry S. Truman. Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, January 1 to December 31, 1947. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, for the National Archives, 1963. Pp. xxxi, 613. $5.25.)

This handsome volume, technically a special edition of the *Federal Register,* contains the significant public pronouncements of President Harry S. Truman for 1947. It is part of a continuing series of "Presidential writings and utterances of a public nature" begun in 1957 upon the recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. Ably edited by Warren R. Reid, this volume is the third in the series to deal with the Truman era; others covering 1945 and 1946 have already been published. The materials in this work include messages, addresses, statements, and letters as well as transcripts of President Truman's press conferences for 1947. These documents are arranged in chronological sequence, but a comprehensive subject index fulfills the need for a classified arrangement. Lists of all White House releases for the year and all documents required by law to be

printed in the *Federal Register* and *Federal Code* appear in the appendixes.

The 243 items in the text reflect President Truman's preoccupation with the momentous problems of domestic "reconversion" and international adjustments that followed in the wake of World War II. Of particular significance are the various Presidential messages, both annual and special, which include official views of national conditions and statements of the administration's policies, recommendations, and reactions. These documents provide much valuable data on such domestic issues as taxes, housing, rent controls, medical care, selective service, displaced persons, civil rights, education, administrative reorganization, internal security, and labor legislation. The records pertaining to such issues clearly indicate the extraordinary degree to which the President must play the role of Chief Economist of the nation. The reaction of the Truman administration to the Soviet threat dominates the material on foreign relations; the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan in particular are highlighted. President Truman's pronouncements on domestic and international problems are themselves commentaries on the extraordinarily diverse and complex responsibilities of a modern American chief of state.

Of primary interest to the historian are the verbatim transcripts of President Truman's news conferences which appear in this volume. His impromptu discussions of various issues in the relatively informal atmosphere of such occasions significantly complement the carefully prepared treatments of the same issues in official documents. For example, the President's candid remarks about the Taft-Hartley Act and several tax measures considerably augment his official messages on these topics. Equally significant, however, is what the transcripts reveal about Truman the man. By their very nature the news conferences allow adequate opportunity for the presidential personality to manifest itself. These records, considered collectively, depict President Truman as a forceful, energetic, and at times disarmingly frank individual, gifted in the art of repartee and endowed with a rare sense of humor. The frequent exchanges between him and Ernest B. Vaccaro of the Associated Press and his deferential treatment of Mrs. May Craig of the Portland *Press Herald* point up his attractive personal qualities. The President's discourse on cats and the possibility of a National Cat Week which took place at his news conference on February 1, 1947, provides a choice bit of Truman humor.

By a skillful job of editing, noted especially for its wise solutions to problems of arrangement, indexing, and notes, Mr. Reid has produced a highly valuable reference work in recent American history.

Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.

The University of Georgia

Buying the Wind. By Richard M. Dorson. (Chicago, Illinois, and London, England: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. 574. $7.95.)

In his highly informative and entertaining introduction to this collection of regional folklore, Richard Dorson says: "This is a volume of texts. A text, in the parlance of the folklorist, represents the basic source, the pure stream, the inviolable document of oral tradition. It comes from the lips of a speaker or singer and and is set down with word for word exactness by a collector, using the method of handwritten dictation or mechanical recording. What the state paper is to the historian and creative work to the literary scholar, the oral traditional text is—or should be—to the student of folklore." With the diligence of the dedicated enthusiast and the discipline of the trained scholar, Professor Dorson has sought out the folklore of seven distinctive regions of the United States and brought together in this volume authentic texts of songs, riddles, superstitions, tales, proverbs, or customs of each region. The result is a book which may be read by professional folklorist or casual layman with pleasure and profit.

After sharing some of his insights and experiences in firsthand collecting, the author examines these folk: Maine Down-Easters, Pennsylvania Dutchmen, Southern Mountaineers, Louisiana Cajuns, Illinois Egyptians, Southwest Mexicans, and Utah Mormons. Each group is introduced with a summary giving its geographic setting, historical background, sources of the items included in this volume, and other pertinent data. Professor Dorson is to be commended for his decision to keep the number of song texts to a minimum (chiefly those illustrating historical themes, as in the Mormon "The Mountain Meadows Massacre") and include in his collection less generally familiar items of folk beliefs, medicine, games, legends, proverbs, and drama. Much of the value of this collection lies in its freshness and in its variety. Both the humor and horror that characterize opposite but related poles of American folklore find full expression in the brags and boasts, the witches and ghosts, that are in these pages. Of that southern triangle in Illinois called Egypt, the author says, "This self-awareness

of a regional identity may indicate the existence of a regional culture more surely than any markings on the physiographic or population map." It is this quality of self-awareness which brings vitality to the folklore of America, making it at once distinctive and representative of worldwide "kinfolk," as it were.

As a companion to Dorson's *American Folklore,* published in 1959, *Buying the Wind* could hardly be surpassed. Together they form a valuable and authentic contribution to our knowledge of "the folk," collected by an authority in the field whose approach is neither precious nor pedantic, whose presentation is no less vigorous than his subject matter.

Wilma Dykeman

Asheville and Newport, Tennessee

Old New England Churches. By Elise Lathrop. Illustrated by H. T. Welsh. (Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Co. 1963. Notes. Pp. 171. $5.00.)

The author, a South Carolina native and member of the U.D.C., has presented attractively in word and picture an important phase of early New England life. This is a reprint of her book which first appeared twenty-six years ago, and which is said to have "amply proved itself to be a book of enduring value." The reader is apt to agree if it is conceded that the "history of the staunch New Englander and that of his church is inseparable," and that "one cannot really know New England unless he knows its churches." The author's representative coverage of the six States pictures and describes an engaging list most of which respectively have two centuries of history or more.

The Old North Church in Boston, for instance, spans more than three centuries; built in 1650 the British burned it for fuel in 1775. It divided doctrinally in 1659, originating the Old South Church, the mother group declaring such establishment as "detrimental to the public peace." Here at Old South Benjamin Franklin was baptized in 1706; the Boston Tea Party rallied here. In the occupation General John Burgoyne "kept pigs in one of its pews." Conservative religionist, Judge Sewall of Old South, refused to sell his lot on Cotton Hill to the Anglicans, pontificating that he "would not set up that which the people came from England to avoid."

Primitive conditions are intriguingly narrated. At Duxbury, Massachusetts, in 1720 a duty for the meetinghouse janitor was "to clear ye

dogs out of ye house every Sabbath." The itinerant parson, Nathan Perkins, in 1789, at Middletown, Connecticut, "put up at a kind man's house but had wretched fare—wretched bed—eat up with fleas—no hay—my horse starving." And at New Haven, Vermont, he had "nothing but brook water to drink—All alone among log huts—miserable cooks. All sadly parsimonious." But there he preached to "a very serious attentive people mostly Congregational Separatists." Much more of this entertaining Americana is given.

A list of "Authorities" is given which to some extent is a bibliography. There is no index to serve the needs of ready reference. Not treated is the Old South Church at Newburyport, Massachusetts, where George Whitefield is buried; nor is the quaint, historic Sandemanian Church at Danbury, Connecticut, included. The volume as a whole is well written and handsomely illustrated, and should be a welcome addition to a regional study of the pioneering American church.

C. C. Ware

Carolina Discipliana Library
Wilson

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

West Virginia Civil War Literature: An Annotated Bibliography, by Charles Shetler, was recently received by the Department. Published by the West Virginia University Library in 1963, the bibliography includes books, pamphlets, articles, maps, and broadsides. Theses and dissertations are also noted. The 184-page book is illustrated and indexed. A clothbound copy is $7.00; a copy bound in paper is $5.00. Orders may be sent to the publisher in Morgantown, West Virginia.

McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., has published *Sources of Our Liberties: English and American Documents from Magna Carta to the Bill of Rights.* The paper-back book was edited for the American Bar Foundation by Richard L. Perry. It is priced at $3.45. There are 32 documents, including the North Carolina Constitution of 1776. An index and selected bibliography add to the value of this reference work.

The Falkner Feuds is by Thomas Felix Hickerson, Kenan Professor Emeritus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The 32-page booklet tells of the famous feud between Colonel W. C. Falkner, great-grandfather of the novelist William Faulkner, and his business partner, Richard J. Thurmond. The feud ended when Falkner was killed by Thurmond. The purpose of the booklet, as explained by the author, "is to vindicate Thurmond on the basis of all the authentic records available, and, incidentally to present a brief historical background of life in a hectic section of our past." Copies are available from the publishers and sales agents, The Colonial Press, Inc., Chapel Hill, for $1.00.

Two recent publications of the National Archives are *List of Cartographic Records of the General Land Office* (Record Group 49), compiled by Laura E. Kelsay; and Number 159 in the *Preliminary Inventories* series, entitled *United States Government Documents Having General Legal Effect,* compiled by Ralph E. Huss. Of particular interest is the inclusion in the former of a listing of manuscript and annotated maps and a listing of published maps relating to North Carolina. A detailed index adds to the usefulness of the publication. The latter booklet describes briefly several types of papers: the Constitution papers, laws of the United States, international treaties and agreements, Indian treaties, electoral papers, presidential documents, materials relating to the Great Seal of the United States, and rules and regulations of federal agencies. Both the 202-page *List of Cartographic Records* and Number 159 of *Preliminary Inventories* (16 pages) may be ordered from The National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington 25, D.C.

A biography of W. R. Cullom, called *The Cullom Lantern,* by James H. Blackmore, will be welcomed by many graduates of Wake Forest College in particular and by North Carolinians in general. A professor of Bible at Wake Forest as early as 1896, Dr. Cullom influenced generations of students during the years of his tenure at the College. On October 20, 1963, at the age of ninety-six, Dr. Cullom died leaving a record which will be an inspiration for the future. His influence on the lives of Wake Forest College students and on the Baptists of North Carolina through his lectures, his sermons, his writings, and his personal contacts is clearly demonstrated throughout this biography. There is an Introduction by Dr. Olin T. Binkley. The author, Dr. Blackmore, is now Director of Public Relations for Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Wake Forest. The lack of an index

is an obvious weakness of the biography. The book may be ordered from Edwards and Broughton Company, Raleigh, for $6.25.

The State Department of Archives and History has published three new pamphlets, each available from the Division of Publications of the Department for 25¢. *North Carolina's Role In World War II,* by Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, is a 69-page booklet containing numerous illustrations from the war years. The part of the State in the over-all activities of wartime, the life of civilians, the government of North Carolina during the 1940's, and the time of victory are all discussed in a concise yet interesting style.

Higher Education in North Carolina, by William S. Powell, is the second recent publication. A brief history of higher education in the State opens the pamphlet. A chapter is devoted to short histories of each extant college and university in North Carolina and another chapter tells of institutions of higher learning no longer in existence. Sixteen illustrations plus pictures on both front and back covers make the history exceptionally fascinating. The pamphlet is 61 pages in length.

North Carolina's Signers: Brief Sketches of the Men Who Signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, by Memory F. Mitchell, gives a biographical sketch of each man who signed the Declaration of Independence and each representative in the Constitutional Convention from North Carolina. Full-page pictures of each delegate are included. The texts of the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution are included in the 61-page booklet.

The Department also recently received the April 5 edition of *The Gastonia Gazette,* the biggest edition (172 pages) ever printed by that newspaper. Featuring Gastonia, "All-America City," and Gaston County and its several communities, the paper contains articles and pictures of interest and usefulness to the historian as well as the general reader. Copies are available for 50¢ by mail from the publishers.

Abstracts of Early Records of Nash County, North Carolina, 1777-1859, by Joseph W. Watson, is a gold mine of information for genealogists. The book contains abstracts of hundreds of items of historical and genealogical interest. Part I contains Nash County Petitions, including petitions for year's support, for dower, for division of land, for

roads and bridges, and many others; Part II, Inventories, Sales and Current Accounts of Estates; Part III, Nash County Guardian Bonds and Returns. The entries in each category are alphabetically arranged; this grouping of the abstracts plus introductory explanations of the several types of records and an Index make the book valuable to the researcher. Published by Dixie Letter Service, Rocky Mount, the 404-page book is available for $12.50.

Historian's Handbook, by Wood Gray and Others, is subtitled *A Key to the Study and Writing of History.* This second edition is a manual which gives instruction in the ways of research, including note taking, criticism, construction, and communication. Within those broad areas is information on bibliographical and footnote form and other technical matters. In his introductory statements, the author says that the "*Handbook* is intended to be studied and followed as you would the directions in a cookbook or a laboratory manual, in which inattention is likely to result in an embarrassing failure, or even an explosion. *Don't skim!*" Though bibliographical entries and footnote citations vary in form so far as detail is concerned, the basic principles hold true throughout the scholarly world. The *Handbook* will prove of value to students of history interested in doing research and in writing.

A History of the Alabama Academy of Science, edited by Clyde H. Cantrell, Paul C. Bailey, and S. B. Barker, has been issued by the Alabama Academy of Science in Auburn, Alabama. An organization in existence since 1924, the Academy has added various sections through the years until its membership encompasses persons interested in a broad range of subjects. Biological sciences, chemistry, geology and anthropology, forestry and geography, physics and mathematics, industry and economics, science education, social sciences, and medical sciences are now included as sections of the Academy. The accomplishments of the group, as revealed in its history, are indicative of progress in Alabama; these achievements will be of interest not only to scientists but to historians of the South. Copies of the 126-page booklet are available for $2.00 from the Archivist, Alabama Academy of Science, Auburn University Library, Auburn, Alabama.

The Buncombe County Confederate Centennial Committee, with Colonel Paul A. Rockwell as Chairman, has published *Battle of Ashe-*

ville, a 14-page booklet by George W. McCoy. The author, who edited *The Citizen* prior to his death, originally published the material in newspaper form. The brochure will assure wider circulation of the information than was possible heretofore; copies are available for 50c from Colonel Paul A. Rockwell, 142 Hillside Street, Asheville.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Executive Board

In Memoriam, Daniel Jay Whitener

Daniel Jay Whitener died at his home in Boone on March 23, 1964. Born in Catawba County, on August 17, 1898, he received his undergraduate and graduate instruction at the University of North Carolina, where he was awarded successively the A.B., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees. For five years, 1923-1928, he served as a high school principal, and he was acting head of the history department of Lenoir-Rhyne College, 1928-1929. Since 1932 he had been at Appalachian State Teachers College, as Chairman of the Social Studies Department and Professor of History and Government, 1932-1957, and as Dean of the College, 1955-1964. In 1958-1959 he was President of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, and since 1958 he had been an interested and active member of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History. He was the author of a number of publications, including *History of Prohibition in North Carolina, 1715-1945; History of Watauga County and Appalachian State Teachers College; Public Education in North Carolina During Reconstruction, 1865-1876; Local History: How to Find and Write It; North Carolina History;* and various magazine articles. He leaves a wife and one son. Dean Whitener made a real contribution to history and historical activities in North Carolina, and his constant and unfailingly level-headed advice and guidance will be sorely missed.*

On May 18 Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, representing the State Department of Archives and History, presented the Library of Appalachian State Teachers College with 28 volumes inscribed with a special bookplate, which acknowledged the services of Dr. Whitener as a member of the Executive Board and his contributions to the teaching of history in North Carolina. The books were accepted by Mrs. Whitener and Dr. W. H. Plemmons, President of the College.

Governor Terry Sanford has appointed Dr. Robert F. Durden, Professor of History at Duke University to fill out the term for which Dr. Whitener was appointed, ending March 31, 1965. Dr. Durden received the B.A. and M.A. degrees from Emory University and the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Princeton. After teaching at Princeton until 1952, he joined the faculty at Duke. He is the author of numerous articles and two books, the most recent being *Reconstruction Bonds and Twentieth-Century Politics: South Dakota v. North Carolina.*

The Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History met in the Assembly Room of the Department on March 19. Before the

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meeting began Mr. H. G. Jones called to the attention of those present that the meeting was being recorded. Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman, presided at the meeting. Those present, in addition to Mr. Lewis, were Board members Dr. Gertrude S. Carraway, Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Dr. Edward W. Phifer, and Dean D. J. Whitener; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department; Mrs. Watson L. Burts, Administrative Assistant; Miss Mary B. Cornick, Budget Officer and Administrative Assistant; Mr. Jones, State Archivist; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator; Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor; Mrs. Mattie E. Parker, Editor of the Colonial Records Project; and Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission. The "A" Budget request for the fiscal year 1965-1967 was approved; Dr. Crittenden stated that "B" and "C" Budget requests would be completed at a later date. The plans for the new Archives and History-State Library Building and the site for the Building were also items of business. Division heads made reports on the work of the various divisions of the Department and Mr. Larson and Mrs. Parker also gave reports.

Colonial Records Project

The inventory of North Carolina colonial records in Charleston, South Carolina, is nearing completion. The Charleston work is being conducted by Mrs. Granville T. Prior, Archivist of the South Carolina Historical Society.

The inventory was recently extended to Virginia. Dr. William J. Van Schreeven, State Archivist of Virginia, has had a list of the North Carolina colonial records that are in the Virginia State Archives prepared by members of his staff. Microfilm copies of these documents have been ordered. Mrs. Sara Teeter, a graduate student at the University of Richmond, has been employed to inventory the documents related to colonial North Carolina that are in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society and other Richmond depositories. Arrangements are being made for employing researchers in Charlottesville and Williamsburg.

The members of the Raleigh staff are continuing the inventory of colonial court records in the State Department of Archives and History. Since the beginning of this year, they have examined and reported on more than 15,000 documents, consisting of approximately 22,000 manuscript pages. These documents include civil and criminal papers and various types of dockets of the General Court, the assize courts, and the district superior courts. The staff recently began work on the civil action papers of Chowan County.

Miss Irene Peirson joined the staff in March, replacing Mrs. Florence Eubank, who had resigned.

Confederate Centennial Commission

Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary, met on February 18 with the Drama Committee of the Andrew Johnson-Bennett Place Memorial Committee at the Hope Valley Country Club, Durham, to discuss plans for the proposed drama to be presented on the hundredth anniversary of the

surrender of Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston to Union General William T. Sherman. On April 3 he attended a meeting of the Executive Committee at the Bennett Place. On February 20 and April 10 Mr. Larson met with the New Hanover County Centennial Committee to plan for the 1965 centennial observance at Fort Fisher State Historic Site. He was present at the Aiken, South Carolina, meeting of the Confederate States Centennial Conference Committee on February 29 and March 1. Those present planned the co-ordination of the end of the Civil War programs. Mr. Larson on March 4 spoke at a Fayetteville meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. His subject was "Sherman's March through the Carolinas." He spoke to the Burlington Kiwanis Club on March 5 on the salvaging of blockade-runners. Accompanied by Mr. Robert W. Jones, Mr. Larson attended the Confederate States Centennial Conference on March 12-15 in Jacksonville, Florida.

Mr. Larson, on March 23, met with members of the staff of the Division of Historic Sites to discuss the proposed Bennett Place Museum. He and Mr. Jones assisted the Tryon Palace Commission with a fireworks pageant in New Bern from March 31 through April 3. On April 8 Mr. Larson spoke to students at the Needham Broughton High School in Raleigh and on April 9 attended a meeting of the Fort Branch Preservation Committee to discuss future plans for the development of Fort Branch. Mr. Larson and others interested in the project met with publishers to plan for the issuance of the history of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment, being prepared by Mr. Richard Iobst.

Officials of WTVD Television Station, Durham, met with Mr. Larson on April 10 to discuss the showing of "Durham Station," written by Betty Smith of Chapel Hill. The play was presented on May 29.

Mr. Jones and Mr. Larson were in Bath on April 7, 14-17, to plan for and direct "Portrait of Bath Town," the television drama sponsored jointly by WITN-TV Station, Washington, and the State Department of Archives and History.

Mr. Larson addressed the Johnston County Historical Society on April 19, and on April 25 he spoke to the North Carolina Chapter of the Children of the Confederacy, meeting at the Bennett Place State Historic Site in Durham.

Mr. Jones spoke on the Gettysburg centennial observance to members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Southern Pines, March 11.

Director's Office

On February 11 Dr. Christopher Crittenden attended the meeting of the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission to make plans for the 1965 centennial commemoration of the end of the War Between the States. He attended the meeting of the legislative committee headed by the Hon. James B. Vogler, member of the House of Representatives from Mecklenburg County, which is to erect a plaque for the General Assembly of North Carolina, commemorating the first and last legislative meetings held in the State Capitol and the first meeting held in the new State Legislative Building.

On February 14 Dr. Crittenden met with the State Legislative Council to discuss the proposal that the future sessions of the General Assembly be tape recorded. He and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, met with the same Council on April 17 to consider historic site zoning. Dr. Crittenden met with the North Carolina Coastal Historyland Association on February 18. Former State Senator P. D. Midgett of Englehard is Chairman of the Association, which has made extensive plans to attract tourists to coastal North Carolina to visit the lesser-known historic sites.

On March 17 Dr. Crittenden, who serves as adviser, attended the meeting of the Raleigh Historic Sites Commission. Members of the Commission who attended the meeting as luncheon guests of North Hills, Inc., were Chairman W. H. Trentman, Mrs. Bruce Carter, Mrs. Raymond L. Murray, Mrs. Roy Wilder, Mr. William Henry Deitrick, Mrs. Sam Beard, Mr. Henry Haywood, Mr. Ben F. Williams, Miss Beth Crabtree, Secretary, and Mr. A. C. Hall, Jr., also an adviser, and Mrs. Meredith Council of the staff of *The News and Observer*. Mr. Williams reported that the brochure of the Commission would be printed in two colors since the Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century has contributed funds to help defray publication expenses. Items of business considered included a discussion of additional signs along the Capital City Trail, the report of the "Minute Man" committee on the status of historic houses to be preserved, and the possibility of making the Lassiter's Mill property into a park. Dr. Crittenden informed the group that the Olivia Raney Library Board wished to establish a Raleigh-Wake County Room in the Library. The Commission voted to endorse the suggestion. Mr. Deitrick made a brief talk on architecture.

At the April 21 meeting it was reported that the Oakwood Garden Club has contributed $25.00 for the second year to be used at the City Cemetery. Members present were Advisers Dr. Crittenden and Mr. Hall, Mr. Williams, Mrs. Beard, Mrs. Murray, Mr. Haywood, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Wilder, Miss Crabtree, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Mr. Banks Talley, Mr. Robert L. McMillan, Mrs. Dallas Holoman, Mr. F. Carter Williams, and Mr. Herbert O'Keef. Mrs. Beard presided in the absence of Chairman Trentman. Mrs. Murray reported on the Mordecai House and Miss Crabtree reported on the Joel Lane House; the Commission is interested in both houses. Mrs. Wilder suggested a tour of historic houses in Raleigh in the fall of 1964 and Mr. Tarlton spoke briefly on possibilities of preserving Yates' Pond.

Dr. Crittenden and other interested persons met on February 25 to make plans for the commemoration of the Halifax Resolves on April 12. On the latter date he attended the all-day program and introduced the speaker, Major General Robert York.

The Carolina Charter Corporation Executive Board met on February 28 with the Honorable Francis E. Winslow presiding. Those present voted to invite other interested persons to join the Corporation. Letters have been sent to a number of persons asking them to join. Mrs. Mattie E. Edwards Parker, Editor of the Colonial Records Project, attended the meeting and was elected Secretary of the Corporation.

Dr. Crittenden attended the banquet and other ceremonies in honor of Miss Tiny Broadwick on March 5. He was present at the March 10 meeting of the Wake County Historical Society and on March 15 attended the dinner meeting of the Travel Council of North Carolina at which the

Honorable George Hartzog, Director of the National Park Service, spoke.

On March 13 the Historic Sites Advisory Committee met in Raleigh, with Chairman James A. Stenhouse of Charlotte, presiding. Present were Mr. Stenhouse and Mrs. P. P. McCain, appointed members of the Committee; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Secretary; and Mr. G. Andrew Jones and Mr. R. L. Stallings, all ex officio members; Mr. Hiram Casebolt for Mr. Stallings; and Miss Mary B. Cornick, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, and Mr. Walter R. Wootten, all staff members of the Department of Archives and History. They were joined later by Mr. James McClure Clarke, Committee member, and Dean Henry L. Kamphoefner, Committee member ex officio. Also present were Dr. Wade Sowers, Mr. Paul Glenn Stoner, and several members of the Daniel Boone Association. The Advisory Committee reviewed the history concerning the Daniel Boone homeplace and decided to make a further detailed study of the site. The Committee then approved the Museum of the Albemarle as a Historic Site, with the understanding that this is a unique situation of State-wide significance and that no precedent is established. The General Assembly of 1963 appropriated $43,600 for the Elizabeth City museum.

Among those in the Department who attended the ceremonies connected with the dedication of the Kellenberger Garden on April 12 were Dr. Crittenden, Miss Mary B. Cornick, and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan. The Garden is part of the Tryon Palace restoration in New Bern, one of the most popular historic sites in North Carolina.

On April 3 Dr. Crittenden met with the Andrew Johnson-Bennett Place Committee, which is planning the centennial ceremonies for 1965, commemorating the signing of peace in North Carolina, which ended the Civil War.

Dr. Crittenden attended the ceremonies on April 7 in Washington, D. C., when a copy of *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590,* was presented to the White House. Dean of the Graduate School of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Dr. C. Hugh Holman, presented the two-volume book; Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, wife of the President of the United States, accepted the gift. Most of the North Carolina Congressional delegation, as well as other North Carolinians prominent in the Federal Government, attended the presentation ceremonies.

The Historic Bath Commission met in Bath on April 13 and 14 to hear reports on the restoration of North Carolina's oldest town and to make plans for continuing the restoration projects. Dr. Crittenden attended the meetings, at which Mr. Edmund L. Harding, Commission Chairman, presided.

Dr. Crittenden was present for the business session and the luncheon meeting of the Roanoke Island Historical Association in Raleigh on April 17. On April 24 he met with the North Carolina Planning Association of the Institute of Government in Chapel Hill to discuss historical zoning, and on April 26 made the tour of Durham, sponsored by the Durham-Orange Historical Commission, the Hillsborough Historical Society, the Andrew Johnson-Bennett Place Committee, and the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians. Those present were luncheon guests of the Honorable R. O. Everett, Chairman of the Bennett Place Commis-

sion, at the Bennett Place, and were guests at a tea in Hillsboro, given by the Historical Society.

On May 14 students of the School of Design of North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh exhibited drawings of the colonial town of Beaufort. Houses and buildings to be preserved and restored were surveyed in co-operation with Historical Beaufort, Inc.

Dr. Crittenden brought greetings from the Department at the May 23 observance at Moores Creek National Military Park on "George B. Hartzog Day." Mr. Hartzog is the first Director of the National Park Service to visit the Pender County Revolutionary battle site. The Honorable J. Vivian Whitfield presided at the program which followed a picnic lunch; Congressman David N. Henderson introduced Mr. Hartzog, who gave the principal address. A number of other persons, representing patriotic and historical organizations, brought greetings, including President of the State Senate Clarence Stone and State Representative Ashley M. Murphy of Pender County.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, made the following talks during the February-May reporting period: Edenton Street Methodist Men's Club, Raleigh, on March 9; Statesville Women's Club on April 2; East Carolina College Historical Society, Greenville, on May 7; and the Raleigh Kiwanis Club on May 22. He also attended a Council meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina in Chapel Hill on March 21 and the semi-annual meeting of that society on April 17 at Greensboro; and a Council meeting of the Society of American Archivists and the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Cleveland, Ohio, April 30-May 1.

Two Meredith College students, Misses Gera-Lu Shervette and Charlotte Burgess, completed a one-semester internship course in archives and records management in January. Dr. Charles E. Lee, Director of the South Carolina Archives Department, and Mr. John Turnbull and Mr. Cecil Mills of Columbia were visitors on May 12.

Five Ecuadorians, accompanied by two interpreters, received intensive training in records management in the Department, February 26-28, under sponsorship of the United States Department of State.

In the Archives, the manuscript for a new *Guide to Private Collections* has been readied for the printer and publication is expected in the fall. Work continued on a *Guide to Civil War Records*. Processing work continued on the Black Mountain College records, the inventorying of legislative papers, and the records of World Wars I and II. Mr. John R. Woodard, Jr., Archivist I, resigned effective April 30 to accept appointment as head of the Baptist Collection at Wake Forest College. He was replaced on June 1 by Mr. Donald Ray Lennon, who holds a master's degree in history from East Carolina College. Visitors in the Search Room during the quarter ending March 31 totaled 701 and 1,050 letters were answered, not including those handled directly by the staff without reference to the Search Room.

In the Newspaper Microfilm Project, the following papers were filmed: *Tobacco Plant* (Durham), 1872-1889, 4 reels; *Wilmington Daily Review*,

1875-1895, 28 reels; *Truth, Truth Index,* and *Globe* (Salisbury), 1887-1905, 7 reels; and all Statesville newspapers to 1900, totaling 13 reels, which had not previously been filmed.

In technical services, 123,475 linear feet of negative microfilm and 54,800 linear feet of positive microfilm were produced, making a total for the quarter of 178,275 feet. Pages of records restored by lamination totaled 25,166, plus 1,932 pages laminated for individuals and institutions. Mr. Donald E. Horton, head of the microfilm processing laboratory, attended the annual meeting of the National Microfilm Association in Philadelphia, April 28-30.

The permanently valuable records of Wilkes and Nash counties have been microfilmed by Local Records Section camera operators, and those of Alamance by a county operator. Thirty-eight counties have been completed and work is now in progress by Section operators in Jones and Lincoln, and by county operators in Cleveland, Guilford, and Mecklenburg counties.

The following original records have been received for permanent preservation in the State Archives:

Cleveland County: County Court minutes (1841-1867), miscellaneous County Court dockets (1841-1868), miscellaneous Superior Court dockets (1841-1868), miscellaneous county and estate papers and index thereto (1841-1905), indenture bonds (1869-1888), procession returns (1841-1859), marriage register (1905-1917), minutes of the wardens of the poor (1847-1868), and election book (1878-1908).

Wilkes County: County Court minutes (1798-1838, 1845-1868), miscellaneous County Court dockets (1780-1859), equity minutes (1813-1857), Superior Court minutes (1819-1962), administrator, apprentice, bastardy, and guardian bonds (1871-1921), estates papers (1868-1900), and merchant's ledgers (1883-1886, 1901-1902).

The following groups of county records (papers) have been arranged and made available to the public:

Alamance County: 30 document cases of civil papers, deeds, estates papers, and guardian bonds (1793-1957).

Chowan County: 237 document cases of civil and criminal papers, deeds and other land records; apprentice, bastardy, official, and fiduciary bonds; estates records; wills, marriage and divorce records; records pertaining to roads, bridges, ferries, mills, and taverns; merchant shipping papers, and others (1700-1915).

Guilford County: 37 document cases of wills (1771-1925).

Positive microfilm copies of permanently valuable records of the counties, municipalities, and churches listed below were processed and filed in the Search Room:

Counties: Martin and Surry deeds, estates records, wills, court minutes, orders and decrees and special proceedings, marriage records, indexes to vital statistics, armed forces discharges, minutes of county boards, and others.

Municipalities: Minutes of governing bodies of Ahoskie, Ayden, Edenton, Elizabeth City, Fayetteville, Greenville, High Point, Hillsboro, Mount Airy, New Bern, Oxford, Raleigh, Salisbury, Scotland Neck, Smithfield, South-

port, Tarboro, Wadesboro, Washington, Williamston, Wilmington, and Winston.

Churches: Minutes and other records of Brown Marsh Presbyterian Church, Bladen County; St. Johns Parish (Episcopal), Beaufort; South Fork Charge (Reformed), Catawba County; Church of the Advent (Episcopal), and First Christian, Williamston; St. Martin's Parish (Episcopal), Hamilton; Rountree Christian and 8th Street Christian, Ayden; Bethel Methodist, Bethel; Falkland Presbyterian, Falkland; Fountain Presbyterian, Fountain; Immanual Baptist, Greenville; St. Johns Episcopal, Grifton; Red Banks Primitive Baptist Church, Pitt County; Salem Methodist, Simpson; Bethany Free Will Baptist and Grace Free Will Baptist, Winterville; Trinity Episcopal and Salem Fork Church of Christ, Mount Airy; First Baptist and First Presbyterian, Raleigh.

Mr. Thelbert D. Gupton was employed in the Local Records Section on a temporary basis beginning February 10.

In the State Records Section, schedules for the Board of Elections, Insurance Department, and Merit System Council have been approved; and schedules for the Rural Electrification Authority and State Auditor are awaiting agency approval. The "Proposed Standard for the Disposition of Fiscal Records" has been circulated to various State officials for review and comment.

Because of suggestions received from the Advisory Committee on College and University Records and several college and university archivists, the proposed *College and University Records Manual* has been revised to a standard for the retention and disposition of records in State-supported institutions. The revised schedule has again been circulated to the members of the Advisory Committee for comment and suggestions.

A name index has been installed in the Privilege License Division, Department of Revenue. Procedural studies in the Board of Cosmetic Art Examiners, Board of Pharmacy, Industrial Commission, and Personnel Division of the State Highway Commission have been completed.

In the State Records Center, 3,320 cubic feet of records were received during the quarter ending March 31, and 851 cubic feet were disposed of. The net gain of 2,469 cubic feet brought the total holdings of the Records Center to 31,195 cubic feet. The Records Center staff performed 13,104 reference services during the same quarter; 77 visitors from 15 State agencies and one agency of the Federal Government visited the Records Center to consult records.

In the State Records microfilm project, 154 reels containing 239,456 images were filmed during the quarter; 122 reels of film containing checks and ledger sheets were processed for the State Treasurer.

Mr. Leonard Alston was promoted from Janitor-Messenger to Clerk-Messenger effective February 1, 1964.

Historic Sites Division

The Historic Sites Division has moved from offices in the Education Building and at 121 Halifax Street to offices on the first floor of the Archives and History Annex at the northeast corner of Lane and McDowell Streets. The Division staff will remain at this new location until

the new building for the Department is constructed. The Personnel Department has authorized changes in the professional staff of the Division as follows: Operations Manager, Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr.; Archaeologist, Mr. Stanley A. South; Staff Historian, Mr. Noble J. Tolbert; Restoration Specialist, Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr.; Curator of Arts and Crafts, Mr. James H. Craig; Curator of Interpretive Exhibits, Mr. Frank E. Walsh; and Historic Site Specialist, Western North Carolina, Mr. Robert O. Conway. All except Mr. South and Mr. Conway have headquarters in Raleigh.

Recently a Confederate electric torpedo was discovered on the beach at Fort Fisher. It has been placed on exhibit in the temporary museum on Battle Acre. It will later be exhibited in the new visitor center-museum, soon to be constructed. The Confederates placed a number of such torpedos or land mines along the beach and across land approaches to the Fort, rigging them to be fired from a central location by a battery-powered electric mechanism. Mr. Lionel Forrest of Philadelphia has completed a diorama of the storming of Fort Fisher by Federal troops in January, 1865, which will be exhibited in the new visitor center-museum. Confederate Memorial Day was celebrated at Fort Fisher by a program presented by the Fort Fisher Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Mr. Stanley South, Archaeologist, has continued to supervise the excavation of the early Moravian town site at Bethabara. Currently the eighteenth-century Potter's pottery site is being excavated, uncovering numerous specimens and fragments of early Moravian pottery. The Bethabara project will continue until the autumn. At Alamance Battleground the Battle of Alamance Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on May 8 dedicated United States and North Carolina flags in the lobby of the Visitor Center-Museum. On May 24 the Carolina Regional Antique Automobile Club of America sponsored a calvacade of antique automobiles from Burlington to the Battleground.

The Confederate Ram "Neuse" has been moved to a permanent location on the Caswell Memorial property near Kinston. For the purpose, it was necessary to cut the hull into three sections and move the pieces separately. Funds are available to construct a permanent support for the hull and to apply preservation treatment to the timbers. Later it is expected that a building will be erected to shelter the entire hull. Mr. Raymond Sawyer, architect of Raleigh, is preparing plans for such a building and for a museum building in which to house artifacts taken from the boat during salvage operations.

The architectural firm of Holloway-Reeves, Inc., Raleigh, is preparing plans and specifications for a visitor center-museum to be constructed at the Bennett Place. It is hoped that funds will be raised privately and that the building will be ready for the centennial program in April, 1965.

At Bentonville, the Visitor Center-Museum is nearing completion. Exhibits for the building are being prepared in the Museums Division workshop in Raleigh. When completed, they will be taken to Bentonville and placed in the museum. Mr. Richard W. Iobst was the main speaker at a memorial service at Bentonville Battleground held on Confederate Me-

morial Day and sponsored by the Bentonville Battleground Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

An agreement has been made with the owners for the sale of 21 acres at the President James K. Polk Birthplace in Mecklenburg County. Development plans call for an archaeological investigation of the site, the preparation of restoration drawings, the planning of a visitor center-museum, and other improvements.

Mr. Noble J. Tolbert joined the Historic Sites Division staff on April 1 as Staff Historian. He will do the research and related work on the Historical Highway Marker Program and conduct special research projects on historic sites. In reviving the Marker Program, procedures are being worked out which call for two meetings of the Advisory Committee on historical markers, one meeting in the fall and the other in the spring. By having two set meetings a year, it is hoped that the requests for markers may be acted upon more promptly than in the past.

A Typist II position has been established in the Historic Sites Division and Miss Freda Corbett has been appointed to the position. Miss Corbett formerly worked with the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in Dr. Christopher Crittenden's office.

At Historic Bath the reception center has been improved and the exhibits have been reworked by Mr. Frank E. Walsh, Curator of Interpretive Exhibits. The Ruth McLeod Smith Memorial Garden is nearly complete and is open to the public. Television Station WITN of Washington, in cooperation with the Department of Archives and History, has produced a TV program on Historic Bath. Presented over WUNC-TV on May 28, the program will be shown throughout North Carolina over television stations as an educational service to the public. The Washington, D.C., Committee for Historic Bath, headed by Mrs. Fred W. Morrison, recently contributed $750 for the purchase of an early gateleg table for the Palmer-Marsh House. Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Archaeologist of the Research Laboratory of Anthropology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, recently surveyed the Indian sites around Bath in an effort to locate the site of the early town of Secotan and has rendered a report on his work.

The Division has assisted a number of local and special historic site projects, including the Joseph Bell House at Beaufort, "Harmony Hall" near Elizabethtown, the "Keyhole House" at Lenoir, the Cupola House at Edenton, and the Hezekiah Alexander House at Charlotte.

Division of Museums

During Heritage Week, March 3-7, tours were conducted through the Hall of History for members of the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs. On March 7 over 100 box lunches were served to the women.

The Tiny Broadwick Exhibit opened officially on March 5; and Miss Broadwick, who was the first person to parachute from an airplane, was honored at a dinner at the Hotel Sir Walter on that date. She presented the Hall of History with one of her original parachutes. Mr. Philip Hopkins, Director of the National Air Museum at the Smithsonian Institution, was the main speaker at the event.

An exhibit of ladies' accessories was placed in the Memorial Auditorium on March 3-5 in conjunction with the Antique Show sponsored by the Raleigh Woman's Club.

On March 12 staff members attended the meeting of the North Carolina Museums Council at the Mint Museum in Charlotte. The Museums Administrator, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Council. The next meeting was held at Tryon Palace on June 26.

Members of the Education staff and Mrs. Jordan were in Bath on April 16-17 for the filming of a television documentary, "A Portrait of Bath Town."

Mr. John Amari served as temporary Driver-Curator of the Mobile Museum from January 27 until March 20. Mr. Ben West began training at the North Carolina Trucking School on February 24 and assumed the permanent position of Driver-Curator of the Mobile Museum on March 23. Mr. Charles Deaton, a bacteriologist with the State Laboratory of Hygiene for the past five years, an Air Force veteran, and a 1954 graduate of Wake Forest College, reported for duty on February 17 as Preservationist at the laboratory at Fort Fisher. Mr. John Miller resigned his position there effective April 13.

Division of Publications

The offices of the Division of Publications were moved in April from the Education Building to the first floor of the building in which the Records Center of the Department is housed, at the corner of West Lane and North McDowell Streets.

Storage facilities prior to the move had been extremely inadequate, and books and pamphlets had been stored in various areas in Raleigh; all materials have been moved to the new location. A limited number of copies of Volume II of the Hodges Letter Book have been found and with the remaining copies of Volume III are available upon request to persons who failed to get their copies of these two books.

During the months of June, July, and August, the Department is offering the first two volumes of *The Papers of John Gray Blount,* the four volumes of *The Papers of William Alexander Graham,* and the five volumes of *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* at a special sale price of $1.00 per volume, plus a handling charge of 10¢ on mail orders of $2.00 or less, and 25¢ on orders over $2.00.

A new sales desk, operated jointly with the Division of Museums, has meant a dramatic increase in receipts. For March the total receipts were $2,065 as compared with $1,444 for March, 1963. The total receipts for the first quarter were $5,915, with $4,764 being retained by the Department and $1,151 being turned over to the Literary and Historical Association. During this period the following publications were distributed: 101 documentary volumes; 30 copies of the *Index* to *The Review;* 2,239 letter books of governors; 328 small books; 11,994 pamphlets, charts, and maps; 57,925 leaflets and brochures; and 6,550 copies of the list of publications. The total of 79,167 does not include 2,203 copies of the Spring, 1964, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review,* and 2,195 copies of

the January and 2,171 copies of the March issues of *Carolina Comments*. There were 126 new subscriptions and 247 renewals to *The Review*.

The list of publications of the Department was revised completely. Copies are available without charge upon request to the Division of Publications. Previous lists are obsolete and persons interested in ordering books and pamphlets should obtain a copy of the new list before writing for materials. A handling charge of 10¢ on mail orders of $2.00 and under, including orders for free materials, and 25¢ on orders of more than $2.00 has been added because of rising postage rates and the increased costs of envelopes and wrapping materials.

A new pamphlet, priced at 25¢, plus the handling charge, is *Higher Education in North Carolina* by William S. Powell. A brief history of each college and university in the State, whether in existence or not, is included. Reprints of *North Carolina Historical Almanack* and *North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground* have also been delivered by the printer.

Volume IX of *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, 1838-1847*, is expected by early summer. This volume will be $3.00, plus the handling charge of 25¢. Orders will be filled when books are delivered by the printer.

A statement or guide to be used by persons interested in writing county histories suitable for school children has been prepared by the Department. Copies are available without charge from the Division of Publications.

Mr. Noble J. Tolbert, Editorial Assistant I, transferred to the Division of Historic Sites on April 1. Miss Barbara J. Radford, a 1964 Meredith College graduate, who worked on a part-time basis during the latter part of the spring, replaced Mr. Tolbert on June 1.

Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor, served as chairman of a committee to work with representatives of the Department of Public Instruction on matters of mutual concern to that agency and the State Department of Archives and History. She attended a meeting of the Confederate Centennial Commission's Roster Committee on March 10, and the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 30-May 2.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The Department of History of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill announces the following staff changes. Appointments include that of Dr. Enno Kraehe of the University of Kentucky as Professor; Dr. John Headley of the University of British Columbia as Assistant Professor; Dr. Michael McVaugh of Princeton University as Assistant Professor; and Dr. Earl Edmundson of Duke University as Instructor. Dr. George B. Tindall and Dr. Elisha P. Douglass were promoted from Associate Professor to Professor and Dr. Joel R. Williamson was promoted to Assistant Professor. The following faculty members have been granted leaves of absence: Dr. John K. Nelson, for the academic year 1964-1965, to teach at Northwestern University; Dr. Douglass, for the fall semester, 1964, to complete a manuscript; and Dr. Stephen B. Baxter, for the spring semester, 1965, to complete a manuscript.

Dr. Albert Diket of the Department of History of East Carolina College spoke to the Pitt County Historical Society in Greenville on April 23 on the subject, "The Idea of the Noble Savage in Southern Colonial Literature." Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., Director of the Department, spoke to the James Iredell Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, April 8, on "Indians of Eastern North Carolina," and he attended the meeting of the Historic Bath Commission in Bath on April 14. Dr. Lawrence F. Brewster, Dr. Joseph F. Steelman, and Dr. Paschal attended the spring meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina at Greensboro College on April 17. Dr. Charles L. Price of the faculty of the History Department was elected to membership in the Society on that date. Dr. David Thomas, Dr. Steelman, and Dr. Price attended the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Cleveland, Ohio, April 30-May 2. The History Department has established the *East Carolina Publications in History*. It is edited by a board from the Department, with the first issue published in June. Dr. Betty Congleton had an article, "*The Louisville Journal*: Its Origins and Early Years," in *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, LXII (April, 1964). Dr. Richard C. Todd on May 15 was awarded the Outstanding Service Key, 1963-1964, presented by the Phi Sigma Pi National Honorary and Professional Fraternity.

Dr. Julian C. Yoder, Chairman of the Department of Social Studies at Appalachian State Teachers College, reports that Dr. Ina W. Van Noppen is serving as Chairman of the Committee on Faculty Publications. Mr. William J. Moffett, who will return to Duke University in September to continue work toward his Ph.D. degree, has an article in the bulletin, "The Use of Historical Imagination in Samuel Morison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*." Dr. Yoder, Dr. W. H. Plemmons, President of the College, Mr. H. R. Eggers, Dr. Wiley F. Smith, and Mr. John Lett participated in a memorial service on March 25 for D. J. Whitener, former Dean of the College. The Department is assisting the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians in making plans for a tour of Watauga County on August 9.

Dr. Abraham Holtzman of the Department of History and Political Science at North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh spoke in February to the Farm Press, Radio and Television Institute on "Public Policy—How It Is Made." In April Dr. Holtzman spoke to the B'Nai B'Rith Lodge on "The Supreme Court as a Political Innovator." Dr. Burton F. Beers spoke to the Woman's Club of Smithfield on February 25 on "Labor in Red China." Dr. Stanley Suval was promoted to Assistant Professor on July 1.

Dr. Willard B. Gatewood, Associate Professor and Chairman of the Department of History at North Carolina Wesleyan College, accepted the position as Associate Professor of History at the University of Georgia on June 1. Dr. Gatewood recently received a research grant from the American Philosophical Society.

Dr. Norris Watson Preyer, Chairman of the Department of History at Queens College, served as Commentator at a session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 1.

Dr. William B. Hamilton of the Department of History at Duke University addressed the Canadian Historical Association, June 12, in Charlottstown, P. E. Island, Canada, on "Political and Constitutional Reflections on the Dismissal of the Grenville Ministry, 1807." Dr. I. B. Holley, Jr., was a discussant at the session on "U. S. Military Policy" on November 7 at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Asheville. Dr. Warren Lerner spoke on "The Origin and Development of the Soviet Doctrine of Peaceful Co-existence" to the Association of American Law Schools in February. The Association met with the Duke University Law School. Dr. William E. Scott gave a series of public lectures on "The Origins of the Second World War" at Duke University on April 28 and 29 and May 1. Dr. Robert F. Durden had an article, "The Establishment of Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church for Negroes in Charleston," in *The South Carolina Historical Magazine,* Volume 65, 1964. Dr. Anne Firor Scott's article, "A Progressive Wind from the South," was published in *The Journal of Southern History,* XXIX (February, 1963) and *The New England Quarterly,* XXXVII (March, 1964), had an article, "Louisbourg, 1745," by Dr. Robert E. Wall, Jr.

Dr. Joel Colton has been appointed to serve on the national supervising committee for the Advanced Placement Program in European History and Dr. Anne F. Scott was appointed on October 12 to serve as Chairman of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

On April 11 the fourth annual tour of historic houses and buildings in Wilmington was held. The tour began as usual at Thalian Hall, a historic local theater. Mr. R. V. Asbury, Jr., served as chairman and the following group served as joint sponsors: the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, the North Carolina Sorosis, the Junior Sorosis, the New Hanover County Garden Council, the George Davis Chapter of the Children of the Confederacy, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Business and Professional Women's Club. Points of interest included the Cornwallis House, St. John's Art Gallery, the Hathaway-Boney House, and the Bellamy House. The *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., Bulletin* for May, 1964, contained the President's message, which included a report on the Society-owned Latimer House; a list of gifts; an article on artist James Claypoole; and a roster of new members. The Society met on May 29 for the first time in the Latimer House.

The Yancey County Historical Association met on April 6 at the Town Hall in Burnsville. In the absence of President Z. B. Byrd, Mr. R. W. Wilson presided. Mrs. Hobart Ray is Recording Secretary of the group, which is scheduled to meet the first Monday night of each month. Members

are planning to hold a number of meetings to study the writing of local history.

The Yancey Association met again on May 4 in Burnsville, at which time Mr. Oscar Wilson and Mr. R. W. Wilson were selected to work on the writing of a history of the County. Mrs. Fred Proffitt discussed the manual on the writing of local history, prepared by the late D. J. Whitener. Mr. R. W. Wilson read a paper on "The Geological Formation of Yancey County."

The Mitchell County Historical Society, which was reorganized in December, met on April 15. Dr. Jason B. Deyton is President and Mr. A. George is Secretary. The main objective of the Society for 1964 is to collect information to be used in a projected history of the County.

Mrs. Eliza Boggs was installed as President of the Onslow County Historical Society, which met in Jacksonville on April 1. Other officers are Mrs. K. B. Hurst, General Secretary; Mrs. Ruth Mills, Corresponding Secretary; and Mr. K. B. Hurst, Treasurer. A report was given on the restoration work on the Louis Pelletier home, now owned by the Society. The Society met again on April 15 and continued its study of old residences and the problems of restoration.

The Wake County Historical Society met in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History on March 10 with Mrs. J. B. Bilisoly of Wendell, retiring President, presiding. The following officers were elected for the coming year: Mr. Charles R. Holloman, President; Mrs. A. W. Hoffman, Secretary; Mr. Richard Walser, Vice-President; and Mr. O. T. Naef, Treasurer. Members voted to accept a new constitution and bylaws presented by Mr. Richard Gamble, chairman of that committee. A slide-lecture was given by Mr. and Mrs. George Daniel of Chapel Hill on furniture; they are the owners of Gooseneck Antique Shop. At the April 7 meeting Mrs. Alfred G. Engstrom, President of the Hillsborough Historical Society, and Mr. Tucker R. Littleton of the Swansboro Historical Society spoke on the work of their members in the field of historical preservation.

The Executive Board of the Roanoke Island Historical Association met in Raleigh on April 17. Following the business meeting Mrs. L. Y. Ballentine, Membership Chairman, presided at the luncheon which she gave for those present. Mrs. Fred W. Morrison of Washington, D.C., and Kill Devil Hills presided at the business session and Mr. John W. Fox, General Manager, submitted a budget for the 1964 operation of Paul Green's outdoor drama, *The Lost Colony*. This production has been sponsored by the Association since 1937. Mr. William S. Powell of the North Carolina Collection of the University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill, who is Historian of the Association, spoke at the luncheon. In addition to Mrs. Morrison, who spoke briefly, Mrs. Ed M. Anderson of West Jefferson, Ashe County newspaper editor and publisher, made a short address.

Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson of Rocky Mount and Raleigh, in his capacity as Chairman of Historical Halifax, on April 12 presented the first Halifax Resolves Awards to the Tryon Palace Commission, Historic Bath Commission, and Old Salem, Inc. The Awards, plaques of walnut and sterling silver, will be presented annually to persons or organizations making the greatest achievement in restoration work at historic sites. Commemoration of the one hundred eighty-eighth anniversary of the passage of the Halifax Resolves was highlighted by an address by Major General Robert York of the 82nd Airborne Division of Fort Bragg. The Dutch Colonial House, recently restored and furnished in the pre-Revolutionary period, was opened for the first time to the public. All of the historic houses in Halifax will be open each Sunday from 2:00 until 5:00 P.M. during the summer of 1964. The Association is sponsoring the tours for which there is no charge.

Miss Cordelia Camp, Secretary-Treasurer of the Western North Carolina Historical Association, was recently presented the silver Historian's Cup, given annually for either written history or specific services in the preservation of the history of the area. Admiral Ligon B. Ard, chairman of the awards committee, presented the award to Miss Camp for her two books — *Zebulon B. Vance* and *David Lowry Swain* — and for her contributions to the teaching of North Carolina history in the public schools. Mr. Frank L. Fitz Simons spoke on steamboating on the French Broad River and Mrs. Albert Lathrop spoke on "North Carolina Legends."

Mr. Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock, program chairman of the Association, was presented the Columbia University's Fiftieth Anniversary Distinguished Alumni Award at ceremonies on April 22 at Asheville-Biltmore College. Dr. Orville W. Taylor of the College presided and Miss Cordelia Camp introduced Mr. Tucker. The recipient, a 1915 graduate of Columbia, has written three prize-winning books and wrote *Front Rank,* the story of North Carolina's role in the Civil War for the Confederate Centennial Commission. He is a former member of the Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review.*

The old schoolhouse of Parson Daniel Earl, formerly located at "Bandon Plantation," has been moved by barge to the foot of Broad Street in Edenton. It will be moved in the near future to the James Iredell House property. The schoolhouse, which survived the 1963 fire which destroyed the home of Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, was presented to Edenton by Southern Properties, Inc., purchasers of "Bandon." The Edenton Tea Party Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution is accepting contributions for the estimated $1,500 required for the move. Donations may be mailed to Mrs. J. T. Ricks, Regent, Post Office Box 508, Edenton.

The New Bern Historical Society met at the Attmore-Oliver House on April 23. Mr. David Minton Warren of Edenton, President of the Cupola House Association, was the speaker.

The Cupola House Association of Edenton has purchased the W. D. Holmes property on South Broad Street, extending its line to Water Street. At a future date the Association plans to remove the building now on the property and restore the Cupola House Gardens, according to a 1769 plan now in possession of the Association.

The Chatham County Historical Association met on April 13 in the County Courthouse in Pittsboro. Mrs. Edward Holmes, President, was in charge of the meeting at which Mrs. Fred Jerome spoke on the early history of Pittsboro. Mrs. Harry P. Horton discussed plans for writing a history of Chatham County. Mrs. Esther Pendergrass spoke on the history of the Town of Moncure, and Mrs. H. O. Kelly spoke on the early settlers in the eastern section of Chatham. Officers of the group are Mrs. J. B. Carroll, Vice-President; Miss Eliza Bynum, Secretary; Mr. John London, Treasurer; and Mr. William Morgan, Historian. The Association meets four times yearly; dues are $1.00.

Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris of Seaboard spoke on "Attitudes" to the members of the Bertie County Historical Association in Windsor on April 24. Miss Stella Phelps, President, appointed a nominating committee to secure a slate of officers to be installed at the October meeting. Dr. W. P. Jacocks of Chapel Hill spoke briefly and expressed his appreciation for the initiation of the Jacocks Award during the Bertie Tercentenary Celebration last fall. The Award will be given annually to the person contributing most to the preservation of history in Bertie County.

The Carteret County Historical Society voted to make a $50 contribution for the restoration work in Beaufort at its meeting on April 28 in Morehead City. President J. R. Gibson was in charge of the meeting at which copies of a paper by Mr. F. C. Salisbury on eighteenth-century Carteret County were distributed. The Society plans to furnish copies of the paper to each school and library in the County. The Reverend Tucker R. Littleton discussed the Indians of White Oak River and displayed artifacts found in the area. The next meeting will be the annual watermelon feast at Cedar Point with Mr. John Jones as host.

More than 175 persons paid tribute to the late Dr. John C. Terrell at the May 13 meeting of the Person County Historical Society. Former pupils and teachers of the 28 Terrell schools were honored, as County School Superintendent R. B. Griffin and Mrs. A. F. Nichols praised the gift of Terrell in the early 1900's. Miss Annie Bell Crowder, President of the Society, suggested that the new County high school be named for Dr. Terrell.

Fayetteville Postmaster George B. Herndon is the new President of the Cumberland County Historical Society. Former President Herman Bishop presided at the May 11 meeting at which writer Malcolm Ross was the featured speaker. Mr. Ross discussed his new book, *The Cape Fear: The Rediscovery of a River,* one of the *Rivers of America* series. He is also the

author of the article, "Dixie Dynamo," about North Carolina, which appeared in the *National Geographic* magazine in 1963. The meeting was one of the events scheduled for the two-week Festival of the Arts. Another outstanding event was the walking tour held on May 10, which included the Kyle House, St. John's Church, the First Presbyterian Church, Liberty Point, the home of Mrs. E. R. McKethan (site of an early tavern), and Cross Creek Cemetery. At the Cemetery members of the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry dedicated a marker to Isaac Hammond, a Negro, who was the first fifer of the Company and who is buried at Cross Creek. The speaker was Mayor Wilbur Clark; others participating were Mr. Crawford B. McKethan, Mr. George S. Quillin, Mr. Stedman Bryan, and Mr. Robert L. Gray, Jr. Sponsors were the J. E. B. Stuart and Lula Biggs McKethan Chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Mr. Richard Abernethy addressed the Catawba County Historical Society on April 29. He was introduced by Dr. J. E. Hodges. A short business session preceded the address.

The directors of the Rowan Museum, Inc., approved plans, at the May 6 meeting, to purchase the land opposite the Old Stone House, which includes the Michael Braun graveyard. Museum President Ernest L. Hardin reported on the progress made on restoring the Old Stone House. Mr. Frank Horton of Old Salem is in charge of the restoration.

The Mecklenburg County Historical Association met on May 19 at the Sugaw Creek Presbyterian Church. Mr. Thomas A. Lockhart spoke on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The film, "Voice in the Wilderness," by LeGette Blythe was also presented.

The Pasquotank Historical Society met on May 19. Mr. David R. Dear, President of the Albemarle Area Development Association, was in charge of the program.

The fifth annual Old Home's Tour, sponsored by the Woman's Club and the Historical Association, will be held in Beaufort on June 26 and 27 (rain dates are July 3 and 4). An antique show will be held with a minimum charge. Houses to be shown are among those being restored by the Beaufort Restoration, Inc.

"Some Gardens of Old Hillsborough" was the theme of the Hillsborough Historical Society's third annual spring dinner meeting on May 15, at the Colonial Inn. Mrs. Charles H. Blake, chairman of the horticulture committee, presented an after-dinner program of some 90 slides of old gardens and garden plants with an accompanying commentary. Colonel and Mrs. Jacob R. Moon entertained the guests with a group of traditional folk songs, using an antique Irish harp, a dulcimer, and a guitar.

The Society published in June a new walking tour leaflet to enable summer tourists to visit Hillsboro satisfactorily without a guide. It is assisting the Orange County Historical Museum with the publication of Miss Annie S. Cameron's booklet for seventh and eighth grade children, *Hillsborough and the Regulators,* also scheduled for publication this summer. The Projects Committee has completed rebuilding the dry walls in the Old Town Cemetery (1757), resetting toppling tombstones, and planting new boxwood. A bronze plaque is being placed at the Tryon Street entrance to the Cemetery by the Durham-Orange Committee of Colonial Dames.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW
EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent States. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this State, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for *The Review*, but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, and style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for *The North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook*, which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for *The Review*. Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

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The North Carolina Historical Review

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Autumn 1964

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is $3.00 per year. Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., for which the annual dues are $5.00, receive this publication without further payment. Back numbers still in print are available for $.75 per number. Out-of-print numbers may be obtained on microfilm from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Persons desiring to quote from this publication may do so without special permission from the editors provided full credit is given to The North Carolina Historical Review. The Review is published quarterly by the State Department of Archives and History, Education Building, Corner of Edenton and Salisbury Streets, Raleigh. Second class postage paid at Raleigh, North Carolina.

COVER—Shown on the left is a drawing of the rare *Shortia galacifolia* T. & G., sought by Asa Gray; on the right is a reproduction of *Helianthus occidentalis Dowellianus* (Curtis) T. & G., named for Silas McDowell. For an article on McDowell, see pages 425 to 435. The drawing was done by Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn.

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SILAS McDOWELL AND THE EARLY BOTANICAL EXPLORATION OF WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

By Gary S. Dunbar*

Silas McDowell (1795-1879) was a gentle genius whose name, although not widely known today, keeps coming up in a number of places. Tailor, farmer, court clerk, scientific observer, and man of letters, he has left an indelible, though unobtrusive, mark on the western North Carolina mountains, his adopted home. His best-known contribution is probably the "thermal belt" concept which he originated in 1858, but present-day North Carolinians are unaware of its inventor.[1] Professor C. O. Cathey has said that McDowell was "the outstanding apple producer in the state," [2] and James Wood Davidson in *The Living Writers of the South* (1869) praised his prose landscape sketches extravagantly.[3] Largely self-taught, McDowell was compared by his friends with Benjamin Franklin, and one eulogist claimed that his contributions were greater than those of another tailor, President Andrew Johnson, who, incidentally, as a young man was briefly acquainted with Silas McDowell.[4] In this century some writers have singled out McDowell as an outstanding representative of

* Dr. Dunbar is Associate Professor and Chairman of the Department of Geography at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville. This study was aided by a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society and by Professor Joseph Ewan of Tulane University, who made many helpful suggestions.

[1] The author intends to make this topic the subject of another paper. He would like to express thanks to Mrs. Albert E. Skaggs, Sr., of Portland, Oregon, Silas McDowell's only living grandchild, who permitted the use of the McDowell manuscripts in her possession. Most of these manuscripts have been placed in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. They will be cited hereinafter as McDowell Papers.

[2] C. O. Cathey, *Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1783-1860* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume XXXVIII of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1956), 152.

[3] J. W. Davidson, *The Living Writers of the South* (New York: Carleton, 1869), 357-359, hereinafter cited as J. W. Davidson, *Living Writers*.

[4] Thomas F. Glenn, "Reminiscences of Silas McDowell," *The Holston Methodist* (Knoxville, Tennessee), March 6, 1880, reprinted in part in Theodore F. Davidson, "The Carolina Mountaineer—The Highest Type of American Character," *First Annual Transactions of the Pen and and Plate Club* (Asheville, 1905), 89, hereinafter cited as T. F. Davidson, "The Carolina Mountaineer." In an undated letter (probably 1865) to Franklin Perin, Silas McDowell said, "Forty five years ago I knew the present President of the U. S. and he was then a youth of less mental promise than yourself." McDowell to Perin, McDowell Papers. This statement is hardly fair to Johnson, who was born in 1808.

the mountain region.[5] In *Human Geography of the South,* Rupert Vance, in a section on "Mountain Culture," says: "One likes to think of Silar McDonald [*sic*] . . . as a native product of this culture."[6] Surely this is a man worth knowing!

Silas McDowell was born May 16, 1795, in York District, South Carolina. He was raised mostly by his grandfather, "Pacolet William" McDowell, a cousin of General Charles McDowell and a distant relative of Major Joseph "Pleasant Gardens" McDowell. From about 1805 to 1812 young Silas lived with his grandfather in Rutherford County, and in 1812 he went to Asheville and completed his formal education at the famous Newton Academy. He was an apprentice tailor in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1814 to 1816, after which he practiced his trade in Morganton for ten years. In 1826 he moved again to Asheville, married in 1828, and then in 1830 took his wife and child to the farm in Macon County which he had purchased ten years earlier. To a naturalist this is an area of exceeding richness, but it was for another reason that Silas McDowell settled there. As he told the historian Lyman C. Draper n 1873, he had "resolved to buy the Hiddintown [*sic*] in the Cullasajah Valley . . . when a romantic youth in school [in Asheville]." His landlord, Daniel Smith, who had apparently taken part in the Rutherford expedition against the Cherokee in 1776, "was rich in Indian legend and tradition," and he told the impressionable young McDowell about the beauty of that secluded spot in the little valley of the Cullasaja River. Silas was able to buy some land there in 1820, after the Cherokee cession of 1819. After 1830 he was to live out his years in Macon County, mostly on his Cullasaja farm. From about 1830 to 1846 he served as Clerk of the Superior Court of Macon County while continuing his trade as tailor and building up his large apple orchard. Although he was a pioneer landholder in the County he seemed to lose, rather than to gain, in land transactions over the years. In the 1850's he earned some money from the sale of apples, apple tree graftings, and rhododendrons to individuals and nurseries in North Carolina and Georgia, and apparently he traveled as far as Asheville to graft trees. After the Civil War, in the face of advancing age and declining fortunes, he gave up his lands and businesses and

[5] T. F. Davidson, "The Carolina Mountaineer," 87-92; T. F. Davidson, *Reminiscences and Traditions of Western North Carolina* (Asheville: Service Printing Company [1928]), 19-21, hereinafter cited as T. F. Davidson, *Reminiscences;* T. Cary Johnson, *Scientific Interests in the Old South* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1936), 184.

[6] Rupert Bayless Vance, *Human Geography of the South: A Study in Regional Resources and Human Adequacy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1932), 247.

devoted his remaining years to writing historical and autobiographical pieces, romances built upon events in his youth, and sketches and poems illustrating the local landscape, and to carrying on a large correspondence. He died of a heart attack on July 14, 1879.[7]

The first botanist whom Silas McDowell met in the mountains was the ill-fated John Lyon.[8] Lyon was a British botanist who had spent several years in North America, first in charge of the gardens at the Woodlands, near Philadelphia, and then in plant exploration in the South. Thomas Nuttall named the genus *Lyonia* for him. Silas McDowell apparently first met Lyon in 1812, went on some collecting trips with him, and was with Lyon at his death in September, 1814. Here is McDowell's description of Lyon and their first meeting:

> My personal knowledge of John Lyon commenced in June, 1812, while I was at school at the Newton Academy, near Asheville, then in my 17th year. I first saw him at the home of George Swain, Esqr., engaged in pressing and drying plants, and placing them in his Herbarium. I shall never forget my astonishment at seeing this learned Englishman devoteing [*sic*] so much time, care and attention in pressing, labelling and arranging in his Herbarium what was to my view nothing but *homely weeds!* I, at that time, did not know that there was such a science as "Botany"! But the Englishmans keen gray eyes, with an intellectual play upon his not fine, but manly features forced my respect, and he soon became my *model man,* though in person he was not more than 5 feet 5 inches in hight [*sic*]; but remarkably muscular and compact in build. Subsequent to this, for the next two years, I occasionally saw Lyon during Summer at Asheville —he spent the winters at the North.[9]

[7] This brief biographical sketch was composed from information given by Mrs. Skaggs and from incidental bits scattered through McDowell's writings. Also useful were McDowell's letters to Lyman C. Draper in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Draper Manuscript Collection, North Carolina Papers, Silas McDowell Papers, hereinafter cited as Draper Manuscript Collection. Draper's letters to McDowell are in the McDowell Papers, Southern Historical Collection. Some biographical data on McDowell may be found in J. W. Davidson, *Living Writers*; T. F. Davidson, "The Carolina Mountaineer"; T. F. Davidson, *Reminiscences*; John P. Arthur, *Western North Carolina: A History (From 1730 to 1913)* (Asheville: The Edward Buncombe Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1914), 427; and *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 6 volumes, 1887-1889), IV, 112.

[8] See especially Joseph and Nesta Ewan, "John Lyon, Nurseryman and Plant Hunter, and His Journal, 1799-1814," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* New Series, LIII, Part 2 (May, 1963). Brief notices of Lyon's life and work are found in Asa Gray, "Notes of a Botanical Excursion to the Mountains of North Carolina," *American Journal of Science and Arts,* XLII (1841), 10, hereinafter cited as Gray, "Notes of a Botanical Excursion"; Moses Ashley Curtis, *Geological and Natural History Survey of North Carolina,* Part III, *Botany: Containing a Catalogue of the Plants of the State, With Descriptions and History of the Trees, Shrubs, and Woody Vines* (Raleigh: W. W. Holden, 1860), xiii, hereinafter cited as Curtis, *Woody Plants*; Charles S. Sargent, *The Silva of North America* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 14 volumes, 1891-1902), V. 80*n.*

[9] Silas McDowell, "John Lyon," undated (probably 1874) six-page manuscript, McDowell Papers, hereinafter cited as McDowell, "John Lyon." Lyon was actually born in Scotland, not England.

In a letter which was said to have been written September 2, 1814 (and coped in 1878), McDowell described an expedition with Lyon.

> I, this day, resume my studies, after spending a vacation, roughing it among some of the highest and wildest mountains in the State, pursuing my studies all the while, to wit Botany and Geology, with an Englishman named John Lyon. We examined the plants and rocks of the Black, the Yellow, the Roan and Grandfather mountains, and from the latter directed our course South, to examine the Linville Ravine.[10]

The date of the letter may be incorrect, because McDowell at another time described the events of that first week in September, 1814, rather differently.

> At that time I was forced to procure cheap boarding in the country, and in the first week in Sept. 1814, Johnston [James Johnston, a blacksmith] called on me and excitedly addressed me thus—"McDowell, you must move your boarding to town for a while—I will pay your boarding. That Englishman Lyon, has come in from the mountains with a high fever, and no physician this side of Morganton, and it will take the closest attention to save his life. . . ." On reaching Lyon's sick room in the hotel, I found him completely prostrated by typhoid fever. . . .[11]

Lyon died at sunset on September 14, and McDowell was there to hear his dying words. Sixty years later McDowell wrote down his reminiscences of John Lyon and, at the urging of Lyman Draper, sent the manuscript to the *American Journal of Science*. The paper was rejected because, as McDowell explained to Draper, ". . . it belongs more properly to the Biographical, than to the scientific department of literature."[12] Lyon's herbarium and manuscript notes were kept by the Swain family. The specimens became scattered and lost, and the notes passed from David Lowry Swain to Elisha Mitchell, who in turn gave them to Moses Ashley Curtis, and they are now with the Curtis Papers in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.[13]

McDowell's real introduction to the world of professional botany, however, came in 1839 when he met the learned "priest-scientist," Moses Ashley Curtis, who was then on an extended botanizing jaunt through the mountains.[14] McDowell already enjoyed a reputation as

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[10] Silas McDowell, "The Linville Canön [*sic*] in Burke N. C.," September, 1878, Manuscript, McDowell Papers.

[11] McDowell, "John Lyon."

[12] Draper Manuscript Collection, May 10, 1874.

[13] Moses Ashley Curtis Papers, Volume I, Southern Historical Collection. See especially Curtis' note (1845) on the flyleaf.

[14] William S. Powell, *Moses Ashley Curtis, 1808-1872: Teacher-Priest-Scientist* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Library, 1958), 20.

an able mountain guide, and Curtis was especially interested in meeting him because McDowell was the storyteller who had been the source of much of Senator Robert Strange's novel *Eoneguski,* which had just appeared. In his "Introduction" Strange had presented McDowell in light disguise as "Mr. McDonald . . . a scholar, a gentleman, and one deeply versed in the legendary lore of the country." [15] Curtis and McDowell met in Franklin in late August, 1839, and the former described the meeting in a letter to his wife on September 2.

> I was rather ragged when I got here, being largely out at the elbows, & partly out at the knees. I therefore called upon McDowell (*McDonald*) who is a tailor, & showed him my rags, at the same time proposing to him a contract for refitting me. He is Clerk of the Court for this county, & has his office and shop in the Court House, while his family & plantation are at Sugar Town [Cullasaja]. I very easily put myself on good terms with him, & he threw down goose & thimble to lead me on a wild jaunt through the Mts, from which we returned this day, having been absent four nights. We went to the Whiteside Mt., or Devil's Court House, an imposing rocky mountain, about 22 miles from here. . . . The Mt. presents the most imposing mass of rock I have ever seen. . . . The Falls of Sugar Town Creek are very imposing, & the scenery about them very wild. They do not at all compare with Linville, as the stream is much smaller, but they are nearly as high. I find friend McDowell a very hospitable & clever man, & withal quite intelligent.[16]

This was apparently the only meeting of the two men, although they corresponded for several years afterward. Incidentally, Curtis went away with "a pair of Satinett pants. . . . made by McDonald [*sic*] himself, the whole cost of which was $5.65." [17]

Later Curtis sent McDowell a copy of an early edition of Eaton's *Botany,*[18] gave him detailed instructions on the preparation of herbarium specimens, and even named a new sunflower, *Helianthus Dowellianus,* after him.[19] McDowell introduced Curtis to the Mountain

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[15] Robert Strange, *Eoneguski, or the Cherokee Chief* (Washington, D. C.: Franck Taylor, 2 volumes, 1839), I, iv. This work was reprinted in 1960 by McNally of Charlotte. See Richard Walser's Foreword to the 1960 reprint and also his paper, "Senator Strange's Indian Novel," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXVI (January, 1949), 1-27.

[16] Moses Ashley Curtis to his wife, September 2, 1839, Curtis Papers.

[17] Moses Ashley Curtis to his wife, September 8, 1839, Curtis Papers.

[18] Amos Eaton, *Manual of Botany for the Northern States* (Albany, New York: Webster and Skinner, 1817). This book went through eight editions and several name changes from 1817 to 1840. It is not known which edition Curtis gave to McDowell. Eaton had been Curtis' mentor at Williams College. Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928-1958), IV, 617-618; V, 605-606.

[19] *Helianthus Dowellianus* M. A. Curtis is now often cited as *Helianthus occidentalis Dowellianus* (Curtis) T. & G. M. A. Curtis, "An Account of Some New and Rare Plants of North Carolina," *American Journal of Science,* XLIV (1842), 82, herein-

St. John's-wort, and Curtis originally named it *Hypericum Dowellianum* but changed the name prior to publication to *Hypericum Buckleii* to honor S. B. Buckley, a botanist whom Curtis had introduced to McDowell.[20]

Under Curtis' patient tutelage, Silas McDowell became a useful plant collector and guide to visiting botanists. As Curtis said to McDowell in a letter dated July 11, 1842:

> You begin to write quite like a Botanist. The little association you may have with Buckley will be of much service to you, in explaining to you some of the obscurities of Botany, & directing you to a correct analysis of plants. I hope you will find the study a pleasing recreation from severer toils, which is all the science is worth to a man of business, with which it should never interfere. It will be well for you to collect as many plants as you can (no matter how common the species may be, or how ugly, for a Botanist desires to know every plant,), so that Buckley may name them for you when he visits you again. This will give you a fine start. You can study the same plants afterwards, by carefully comparing them with the descriptions in your book. After Buckley has gone, I can help you, as far as you give me opportunity.[21]

Curtis gave McDowell specific instruction in taxonomic procedure and commissioned him to send back certain plants. He sent McDowell some herbarium specimens to serve as guides. On February 23, 1843, Curtis wrote to McDowell to make known his wishes for the collecting season ahead.

> I was much in hope that I should receive the roots last Fall, which Buckley left with you for me. I am very eager to get my Thermopsis into cultivation. You will have to keep them now till next Fall, unless you can send them early this Spring by a conveyance that will not delay long on the road.
>
> I hope you will find time to collect plants the coming season, & that you can secure a goodly number of some that I much want. The Thermopsis, Hypericum Buckleii, Helianthus Dowellianus, & Spiraea lobata, are desired in any quantity. . . . Be careful to collect every sort of plant, & let nothing escape you. I hope you will be able to pick up something new.[22]

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after cited as Curtis, "New and Rare Plants"; Asa Gray, *Synoptical Flora of North America* (New York: American Book Company and other publishers [Imprint varies], 3 volumes, 1878-1897), I, Part 2 (Published by the Smithsonian Institution), 275; Nathaniel L. Britton, *Manual of the Flora of the United States and Canada* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1901), 992; Elba E. Watson, "Contributions to a Monograph of the Genus Helianthus," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, IX (1929 [for 1928]), 370-371; John K. Small, *Manual of the Southeastern Flora* (New York: Privately printed, 1933), 1,439, hereinafter cited as Small, *Manual*.

[20] Now cited as *Hypericum Buckleyi* M. A. Curtis. Curtis, "New and Rare Plants," 80; Small, *Manual*, 873; M. A. Curtis to Silas McDowell, July 11, 1842, McDowell Papers.

[21] M. A. Curtis to Silas McDowell, July 11, 1842, McDowell Papers.

Curtis lived in Society Hill, South Carolina, in the period 1847-1856, but after his return to Hillsboro, McDowell received word of him indirectly through Buckley. Apparently Curtis sent McDowell a copy of his book, *Woody Plants,*[23] when it was published in 1860, for a letter of that year from McDowell to Curtis acknowledges receipt of the book and goes on to describe the "thermal belt" concept.[24] Theodore Davidson has reprinted a letter from McDowell to Curtis concerning John Lyon dated October, 1877, and, if the date is correct, this shows that McDowell was unaware of Curtis' death in 1872.[25]

Curtis also put McDowell in touch with Asa Gray of Harvard University, the most celebrated American botanist of the nineteenth century. Gray had hoped to visit McDowell in Macon County, but his plans went awry and the two never met. Gray wrote to McDowell for live specimens of some mountain plants that he was interested in. He was particularly interested in *Thermopsis Caroliniana, Helianthus Dowellianus, Vaccinium hirsutum,* and *Rhododendron Catawbiense.*[26] He gave McDowell special instructions for the shipment of plants.

> Either now, or very early next spring is the best season to take up roots—the fall is preferable. If packed in merely damp moss (peat-moss is best) in a close box, and sent by waggon to Augusta, Georgia—which I suppose may readily be done from your place—addressed to the care of Dr. Wray of that place, I dare say they will reach me safely at Cambridge. If I can do any thing for you in the way of ornamental or useful plants, please give me your commands as freely as I have now ventured to trouble you.[27]

Gray's interest in the North Carolina mountains is well known, especially his obsessive desire to rediscover the lost *Shortia galacifolia.* In 1839 Gray had examined the collections of André Michaux in the Jardin des Plantes in Paris and encountered this interesting plant which Michaux had vaguely labeled as having been found in the "Hautes montagnes de Carolinie." Gray named it *Shortia* after his Kentucky friend Charles Short, with whom he corresponded but whom he never met, and in 1841 set out to find the plant for himself in North Carolina. *Shortia* was not rediscovered until May, 1877, when young George Hyams found it on the banks of the Catawba River near Marion, Mc-

[22] M. A. Curtis to Silas McDowell, February 23, 1843, McDowell Papers.
[23] Curtis, *Woody Plants.*
[24] Silas McDowell to M. A. Curtis, undated seven-page letter (draft ?), McDowell Papers.
[25] T. F. Davidson, "The Carolina Mountaineer," 89-92, and T. F. Davidson, *Reminiscences,* 20-21.
[26] Asa Gray to Silas McDowell, October 18, 1843 and August 29 (?), McDowell Papers.
[27] Asa Gray to Silas McDowell, October 18, 1843, McDowell Papers.

Dowell County, North Carolina, and the news of the discovery did not reach Gray until almost a year and a half later.[28]

In 1874 Silas McDowell gave Lyman Draper a twisted account of the *Shortia* quest.

> During the 18th century a French Botanist by the name of *Micheaux* [*sic*], amongst his discoveries, found a new grass on Grandfather mountain in Western N. Carolina; after which that *grass* became a special object of search by all Botanists who visited our mountains, but for perhaps, an half century had eluded their closest search. At the commencement of the 19th century *John Lyon* commenced hunting for the *new* grass but hunted 14 years without finding it. I do not know how many other Botanists searched for it before *Curtise* [*sic*], *Buckley* and *Reinheardt* [Reinhardt] did; but I know that they all failed to re-discover it. If I remember correctly, it was about the year 1838 *Asa Gray's* patience gave way, and he resolved that the lost *Grass* should be found:—that what a Frenchman had done, he also could and would do. He wrote to me his purpose, and that I might expect him at my house.—He started, but never reached me; but sent a letter instead, anounsing [*sic*] the greatest triumph of his life—he had found the lost grass!—and turned back. So, you see, I never had the pleasure of meeting *Asa Gray*.[29]

Shortia could not be considered even remotely grasslike, and it is probable that McDowell had confused the stories of the quest for *Shortia* and for *Cymophyllus Fraseri,* another elusive plant which Gray was seeking at the same time. This plant has broad grasslike leaves, and Gray was successful in rediscovering it in North Carolina in 1841.[30]

In the 1840's and 1850's McDowell collected rhododendrons for sale to individuals and nurseries, and he stubbornly believed that he had found a new species but was told by Curtis and others that it was the already-known *Rhododendron Catawbiense.* A new species would, of course, command a higher price. In 1858 S. B. Buckley wrote McDowell that he was coming through Macon County collecting plants for Harvard University and a Long Island nursery.

> I wish you would . . . let me know whether I can get plenty of your new Rhododendron at your place. . . . By its being plenty I mean that I wish to get one thousand or more. Gray & Curtis say it is the R. Catawbiense & I reckon it is.[31]

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[28] Charles F. Jenkins, "Asa Gray and His Quest for Shortia Galacifolia," *Arnoldia,* II (1942), 13-28; A. Hunter Dupree, *Asa Gray, 1810-1888* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), 86, 96, 408-409; Asa Gray, "Shortia galacifolia Re-discovered," *American Journal of Science,* XVI (1878), 483-485.

[29] Silas McDowell to Lyman C. Draper, May 10, 1874, Draper Manuscript Collection.

[30] Asa Gray, "Notes of a Botanical Excursion," 31. Gray called this plant *Carex Fraseriana,* but it is properly *Carex Fraseri* or, today, *Cymophyllus Fraseri* (Andr.) Mackenzie. The writer is indebted to Professor Joseph Ewan for this interpretation.

[31] S. B. Buckley to Silas McDowell, April 8, 1858, McDowell Papers.

Buckley at that time was also interested in enlisting McDowell's aid against T. L. Clingman in the Clingman-Mitchell controversy then raging. McDowell's support was not forthcoming, because he had long been a friend of Clingman, and, although he did not know Mitchell personally, he admired him and wrote a poem in his memory.[32]

McDowell described his new rhododendron to the kindly Dr. Malthus A. Ward of Athens, Georgia, former professor of natural history in the University of Georgia, who, with the aid of President Alonzo Church, made a thorough search of the botanical literature but was unable to find a rhododendron which conformed exactly to McDowell's description. In his reply of March 3, 1855, Ward admitted his failure, but added that "if we could not find your plant described the probability is the greater that it is *undescribed*. . . . I certainly wish you all success in the sale of it, but am unable to give you any reliable advice as to the price you should hold it at." [33]

McDowell's friend J. Van Buren, an eminent nurseryman in Clarksville, Georgia, also encouraged him to believe that he had found new species of rhododendron. In a letter of July 30, 1855, Van Buren stated: "My own opinion is, that yours are all new and undescribed varieties." [34] Later that year he again confirmed his faith in McDowell and also gave his opinion of Curtis and other botanists.

> I received a letter a few days since from Dr Curtis who still persists in calling it R Catawbiense. I sent him a leaf of the one you sent me last winter, he thinks that but a variety of R Maximum. I shall give him a hard fall with that, for it is no more a variety of that, than of a cabbage, he is pretty cautious however & puts in a saving clause.
>
> I also rec[d] a letter from Mr Reagles who thinks the drawing I sent him a variety of R Catawbiense, but will write me soon again, after he has submitted the leaves I sent him to some of the knowing ones in New York. Should either of them prove to be new you can get your own price for them, for Rhododendrons are all the rage now.[35]

In the 1840's and 1850's Silas McDowell was well known in horticultural circles in North Carolina and Georgia for his large apple orchard (600 trees in 1858) and for his development of new varieties of winter apples—late-ripening apples which keep well through the

[32] S. B. Buckley to Silas McDowell, November 19, 21, and December 17, 1858, McDowell Papers; S. B. Buckley, "T. L. Clingman and Mountain Measurements," *The Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register*, November 10, 1858; Charles Phillips, "Dr. Mitchell, Mr. Clingman and the Black Mountain," *The Semi-Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), December 30, 1857, hereinafter cited as *The Semi-Weekly Standard*; and T. L. Clingman, "Mr. Clingman and Professor Phillips," *The Semi-Weekly Standard*, January 16, February 17, 1858.

[33] Malthus A. Ward to Silas McDowell, March 3, 1855, McDowell Papers.

[34] J. Van Buren to Silas McDowell, July 30, 1855, McDowell Papers.

[35] J. Van Buren to Silas McDowell, November 16, 1855, McDowell Papers.

winter. He apparently started this orchard in 1833 or 1834,[36] but late in life he claimed that his first apple seedlings actually descended from some which his wife's relatives, the Swains, had brought from Massachusetts in the late eighteenth century.

> In the year 1798, George Swain, Esq., father of the late Governor Swain, planted the very first apple orchard in Western Carolina. This orchard was planted on Beaverdam Creek, six miles North of Asheville, and was selected from the very latest varieties of apples in Massachusetts, Swain's native State. But to his astonishment, when his trees bore fruit, though their quality was fine as Autumn fruit, yet there was not the first variety of winter keeping apples among them; hence, Swain concluded that the latitude was too far South for winter apples, and gave up the object. My wife was a step-grand-daughter of Mr. Swain, and when we moved to Macon in 1830, our first baby's cradle was filled with small apple trees from Swain's orchard.[37]

McDowell experienced no great success until the winter of 1846-1847 when James Camak of Athens, Georgia, Editor of *Southern Cultivator*, advised him to graft his trees with native seedlings.

> I immediately acted upon Mr. Camack's [*sic*] suggestion, and amongst old Cherokee seedling Apple-trees—(the Cherokee Indians propagated trees no other way than by planting the seed,) as well as other Southern seedlings, I have succeeded in conferring on Southern Pomology a list of names of Winter Apples, which both as to their highly aromatic taste, as well as late winter keeping qualities, cannot be excelled by as many varieties of Winter Apples in the United States.
>
> My new varieties, as I dragged them from their secret abodes, I wrote out the history of each, and gave it a name, generally the name of the stream on which it originated; but sometimes the name of the Indian who was the occupant of the old field where it grew. . . .[38]

McDowell propagated and named about 15 new apple varieties—Cullasaja, Nickajack, Ellijay, Chestooah, and others—and these were publicized through the pages of *The North-Carolina Planter* and *Southern Cultivator*.[39]

McDowell claimed that the freeze of April 28, 1858, ruined his apple crop for that year,[40] and from that time on, he was more interested in viticulture than in apple-growing. Apparently he started

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[36] *The North-Carolina Planter*, I (1858), 125, 158.

[37] Silas McDowell, "How I Raise Apples," *North Carolina Citizen* (Asheville), May 21, 1874, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Citizen*.

[38] *The North-Carolina Planter*, I (1858), 126.

[39] *The North-Carolina Planter*, I (1858), 126; *Southern Cultivator*, V (1847), 12-13; XVI (1858), 28; XVII (1859), 284. See also, William N. White, *Gardening for the South* (New York: Orange Judd and Company, 1868), 349, 351-352.

raising grapes on his farm in the 1830's. In a note to *The North-Carolina Planter* in 1858, he said that the grapevine should be planted beneath the Balm of Gilead tree, which "is fatal to all the enemies of the vine."[41] In a letter to Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian Institution in 1860, McDowell enthusiastically proclaimed the Southern Appalachians to be "the favourite home of the Vine" and went on to tell of his recent activity in promoting viticulture.

> I have devoted the last two Autumns to a search, of the fine varieties of Native grapes, & in that time have found, & examined 77 varieties. . . . During some part of last Autumn the Hon. T. L. Clingman of the U States Senate devoted some time to a grape-hunt and succeeded in finding two new Varieties of Native Grapes one of which he thinks the best he has ever before seen—He has had the kindness to pass them over to myself for bringing them into cultivation.[42]

For the rest of his life McDowell wrote mostly about his two pet topics of thermal belts and viticulture. After the Civil War he retired from farming and devoted most of his attention to writing. He carried on a large correspondence, wrote numerous historical and agricultural notes for newspapers, and wrote several long essays, most of which have never been published. In his last years he promoted sheep-raising, supplemental irrigation, fish culture, and the resort possibilities of the nearby Highlands area.[43]

Silas McDowell was not a scientist but he did contribute to the scientific—especially the botanical—exploration of western North Carolina. He was an impeccably honest man, but he was often more concerned with telling a story well than in reporting the facts exactly. He rendered valuable assistance to botanists, and others who sought to interpret the scenery of the mountain region. As a man with a large family and modest means living in a remote area, his accomplishments seem truly remarkable.

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[40] *The North-Carolina Planter*, I (1858), 261-263.
[41] *The North-Carolina Planter*, I (1858), 326.
[42] Silas McDowell to Joseph Henry, December 23, 1860, in a volume entitled "Meteorological Letters. Received. 1860," in the National Archives Record Group 27: Records of the Weather Bureau, Meteorological Records of the Smithsonian Institution.
[43] *North Carolina Citizen*, June 26, 1873, July 23, 1874, March 4, April 22, 1875.

JONATHAN ELWOOD COX AND NORTH CAROLINA'S GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1908

By Joseph F. Steelman*

At the height of the campaign for ratification of the suffrage amendment Charles B. Aycock predicted that "the conclusive establishment of white supremacy on a permanent constitutional basis" would afford "a larger political freedom and a greater toleration of opinion" for all the people of the State. Both Democrats and Republicans maintained that a meaningful division along economic and ideological lines would improve the caliber of party activity. "The Republican party will be freed from the stigma of being called the 'Negro Party,'" Aycock observed, "and unfettering itself from the rule of cliques and factions will greatly gain in character and will have somewhat more of influence in making and shaping a wholesome public opinion. Discussion of policies and principles will take the place of heated declamation and partisan abuse."[1] In retrospect the evidence indicates that both parties failed to achieve the healthy division on issues that Aycock envisaged. Factional differences racked the Democratic Party and oftentimes alienated its leadership and undermined its program. In many ways the feuds among Republicans were even more illogical and disastrous to the Party's growth and influence in State politics.

Republicans, being in the minority, were singularly preoccupied with two questions: First, what kept the Party small and what prevented its growth and second, who should control and dispense the patronage made available under a Republican administration? It is ironic that factional leaders, office brokers, influence peddlers, and appointive and elective officials all expressed agreement that the reason the Party did not increase its membership significantly was due to its narrow-minded emphasis upon control and distribution of patronage. The reason the Party was small, they concluded, was because the office-seeking element did not want it to grow and preferred instead

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[1] *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), June 18, 1899, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer.*

to bestow the spoils upon a small, privileged clique. Regardless of the many avowals of genuine interest in expanding the influence of the Party in North Carolina, the conclusion is inescapable that Republicans were concerned primarily with the question of patronage. This observation is abundantly revealed in the private correspondence of officeholders and rival factional spokesmen, in the bitter and vindictive editorials of contesting Republican newspapers, and in the squabbles that raged in Party conventions.[2]

Personal rivalries among Republicans occasionally led to charges of bribery, fraudulent practice before federal agencies, slander, libel, concealment and misuse of public funds, not to mention Party perfidy and disloyalty to the president. These charges were accompanied by lawsuits, criminal indictments, actions for civil damages, and the employment of detectives to ferret information.[3] The *opéra bouffe* aspect of intraparty bickering drove the more intelligent and sophisticated members to distraction. William Preston Bynum, Jr., observed that "if the federal office-holders continue in control, then no self-respecting man can or will be induced to take part in Republican politics in this state."[4] The constant procession of factional leaders to President Theodore Roosevelt's office reportedly led him to exclaim in the presence of Edmond Spencer Blackburn: "I wish there were not a federal office in the southern states to be filled by a Republican. It would help the Republican party," he concluded, as he banged the desk with his fist.[5] Blackburn's struggle with party chairman Thomas S. Rollins over distribution of federal patronage in North Carolina prompted Senator Joseph M. Dixon of Montana to advise State Republicans that the Party's principal weakness had been exposed in the fight for federal offices.[6] The factional row waged by Congressman Blackburn through the columns of his *Weekly Tar Heel* against "organization" Republicans led by Rollins, Spencer Bell Adams, and Marion Butler, whose organ was the *Daily Industrial News* of Greensboro, brought a stern rebuke from Secretary of War, William Howard Taft, obviously

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[2] For a brief survey of Republican Party activity during this period, see Joseph F. Steelman, "The Progressive Era in North Carolina, 1884-1917" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1955), 399-439.

[3] *The News and Observer*, May 11, July 6, 1907; *Statesville Landmark*, May 14, 1907; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, May 12, 1907.

[4] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, May 19, 1904.

[5] *The News and Observer*, January 6, 1906, quoting *The Richmond Times-Dispatch*.

[6] *The Union Republican* (Winston), March 30, 1905, hereinafter cited as *The Union Republican*.

with Roosevelt's backing and approval.[7] Addressing the Republican State Convention of 1906 in Greensboro, Taft declared:

> There is no Republican party in the South. There is a little coterie of politicians who devote themselves solely to the selection of delegates to national conventions, who devote no time and energy whatever to elections, and whose whole object is the securing of federal patronage. The candidates named, if they be named, are not worthy of our suffrages. The truth is, the election is a mere formality.
>
> I submit to you, Republicans of North Carolina, that you can have no prospect of success and do not deserve success unless you show in the nominees of your conventions and in the men whom you put forward to lead you, that you fully recognize the obligations that you are under as a party to give the people of North Carolina an opportunity to choose able, honest and worthy men for public offices.
>
> I do not wish to seem ungracious, but I must be candid. In my judgment the Republican party of North Carolina would be much stronger as a voting party if all the Federal offices were filled by Democrats. . . . The struggle for Federal political office producing, as it does, jealousies and strife and disappointments, paralyzes united effort to make the party strong at the polls and worthy of success. . . . As long, however, as the Republican party in the Southern States shall represent little save a factional chase for federal offices in which business men of substance in the community have no desire to enter and in the result of which they have no interest, we may expect the present political conditions in the South to continue.[8]

Taft's remarks characterized graphically the experience of Republicans from 1900 to 1906 and undoubtedly influenced Party strategy in the campaign of 1908, which Thomas Settle described as "a departure from anything heretofore undertaken in the state. . . ." [9] In the search for new leadership Settle himself proposed to nominate Daniel Augustus Tompkins, prominent Charlotte industrialist and publisher, as the Republican gubernatorial candidate, and he assured Tompkins that the administration would cordially "back up the move." An appeal would then be made to businessmen affiliated with the Democratic Party, a platform would be issued, and the ticket of businessmen candidates would be filled by John W. Fries as congressional candidate in the Fifth District and Jonathan Elwood Cox as legislative candidate

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[7] *The New York Times*, July 12, 1906; see also *Weekly Tar Heel* (Greensboro), December 21, 1905, hereinafter cited as *Weekly Tar Heel*; *Daily Industrial News* (Greensboro), December 15, 1905, hereinafter cited as *Daily Industrial News*; *The Caucasian* (Raleigh), November 9, 1905, hereinafter cited as *The Caucasian*; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, December 15, 1905.

[8] *Weekly Tar Heel*, July 12, 1906.

[9] Thomas Settle to J. Elwood Cox, September 4, 1908, J. Elwood Cox Papers, Manuscripts Division, Duke University Library, Durham, hereinafter cited as Cox Papers.

from Guilford County.[10] Tompkins, when approached by a delegation from the Republican State Convention meeting in Charlotte, refused to allow his name to be placed in nomination.[11]

As the search for a gubernatorial candidate was expanded, Marion Butler submitted that Jeter C. Pritchard resign as United States Circuit Court judge and accept the nomination. It is open to conjecture as to what ideas Butler may have entertained about the judgeship in the event of Pritchard's resignation.[12] Pritchard had a strong following among independent Democrats, prohibitionists, railroad operators, and voters in the western counties who had backed the Democratic gubernatorial aspirant, Locke Craig,[13] but he pointedly refused to consider the nomination.[14]

Other prominent Republicans whose names were mentioned for the nomination included James J. Britt, Romulus Z. Linney, John W. Fries, William P. Bynum, Jr., Spencer B. Adams, Henry E. Starbuck, Cyrus Thompson, Zebulon Vance Walser, and Augustus H. Price.[15] Jonathan Elwood Cox was not prominently mentioned as a candidate because he indicated that he did not seek or want the nomination.[16] Cox's reluctance to participate in the campaign may well have been prompted by his objection to the Republican State Chairman, Spencer B. Adams, and by his awareness of a bitter factional feud then raging between Adams and Marion Butler.[17] The unanimous action of the Republican State Convention in nominating Cox as the gubernatorial candidate was indeed a draft choice which could not well be refused. "This nomination was forced on me unanimously, and I finally agreed to accept it from what I conceived to be my duty," Cox recalled.[18] "I know that it was a sacrifice for you to make and that you did not want it as you told me," William A. Blair commented, but he admonished

[10] Thomas Settle to Daniel A. Tompkins, July 5, 1908, Daniel A. Tompkins Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Tompkins Papers.

[11] *Daily Industrial News*, August 27, 1908.

[12] Marion Butler to J. Elwood Cox, August 5, 1908, Cox Papers; *The Caucasian*, July 9, 1908.

[13] J. S. White to J. Elwood Cox, July 13, 1908; S. Arthur White to J. Elwood Cox, July 13, 1908, Cox Papers.

[14] Jeter C. Pritchard to J. Elwood Cox, July 18, 1908, Cox Papers.

[15] *Daily Industrial News*, July 3, August 25, 1908.

[16] Zebulon Vance Walser to J. Elwood Cox, August 12, 1908; William A. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, August 29, 1908, Cox Papers; *Daily Industrial News*, August 25, 1908.

[17] Robert M. Douglas to J. Elwood Cox, July 30, 1908; David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, August 21, 1908, Cox Papers; Marion Butler to Cyrus Thompson, August 6, 1908, Cyrus Thompson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Thompson Papers; *The Caucasian*, January 2, 28, March 5, April 23, May 7, June 4, August 20, 1908; *The Washington Post*, (D.C.), May 11, 12, 1907, hereinafter cited as *The Washington Post*; *The News and Observer*, March 6, 1908; *Daily Industrial News*, November 4, 1908.

[18] J. Elwood Cox to Allen Jay, September 1, 1908, Cox Papers.

Cox: "We are obliged to do better in North Carolina in the way of political reform." [19] Cox confided to a business associate: "I cannot very conveniently get away until after the election; not that I expect to be elected, or want to be elected as to that matter, but you know my friends and my party might censure me if I quit the campaign just on the eve of the election and my political enemies will say that I ran." [20]

Although Cox appeared to be a reluctant candidate, a combination of circumstances emboldened Republicans of North Carolina to exert more determined efforts than heretofore to elect the governor, congressmen, additional legislators, and to cast the State's electoral vote for William Howard Taft. In spite of factional bitterness Republican candidates had made impressive gains from 1900 to 1906. They could capitalize upon cleavages, apathy, and complacency in the Democratic ranks. The development of industries and the growth of a community of business interests brought many new recruits into the Republican Party. No other southern State could boast of comparable gains in the voting records from 1900 to 1906. Theodore Roosevelt's mounting popularity in the southern States strengthened the Party and his visit to North Carolina in 1905 was well received.[21]

Republican fortunes were affected in a number of ways by the progressive measures enacted by the 1907 legislative session. Governor Robert B. Glenn and Democratic legislators focused attention upon railroad abuses and waged a dramatic fight to secure reductions in passenger rates. Subsequent litigation in the courts and compromises with the railroads in the special legislative session of 1908 left liberal Democrats disillusioned and listless and conservative elements determined to undo measures that jeopardized railroad interests.[22] Republicans charged that railroad construction had been discontinued, that capital was driven from the State, that investors were reluctant to come to North Carolina, and that thousands of laborers were unemployed as a result of business unrest. They were encouraged by the defection of employers and railroad operators from the Democratic ranks.[23]

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[19] William A. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, August 29, 1908, Cox Papers.

[20] J. Elwood Cox to E. M. Allen, October 23, 1908, Cox Papers.

[21] Marion Butler to J. Elwood Cox, August 1, September 12, December 7, 1908; Joseph M. Dixon to J. Elwood Cox, November 9, 1908; Cox Papers; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, December 6, 1908; *New Bern Daily Journal*, January 19, 1905; *Daily Industrial News*, October 20, 1905; *The Union Republican*, March 30, 1905.

[22] *The Union Republican*, January 9, 16, 23, February 6, 1908.

[23] J. E. Williamson to J. Elwood Cox, July 6, 8, 1908; J. S. White to J. Elwood Cox, August 31, 1908, Cox Papers; *The Union Republican*, March 5, August 20, 1908; *Daily Industrial News*, October 29, 1908.

When the Democratic State Convention of 1908 finally nominated William Walton Kitchin as gubernatorial candidate after 61 ballots, it left in its wake the disgruntled supporters of Locke Craig and Ashley Horne. Republicans cleverly exploited the sectional theme to attract voters in Horne's eastern and Craig's western counties and they emphasized Kitchin's radicalism to sway voters in industrial counties of the Piedmont.[24] William Jennings Bryan's nomination for the presidency was opposed by many Democrats in North Carolina; a goodly number who objected to his liberal policies openly and actively supported the candidacy of William Howard Taft.[25]

Republicans therefore made a calculated bid for the support of business interests when they nominated Elwood Cox as their gubernatorial candidate. He was a successful and highly esteemed furniture manufacturer from High Point; his business career closely paralleled the development of the furniture industry in North Carolina. Cox was also active as a railroad builder and president and as a banker and financier. For many years he had served as chairman of the board of trustees of Guilford College; his Quaker background was closely linked with this institution. His father had served as superintendent of the New Garden Boarding School before its name was changed to Guilford College.[26]

Cox was presented to the voters as a businessman candidate and not as a politician contaminated by previous experience. He was advised to wage the campaign from his office and was not expected to do a great deal of speaking.[27] "The people are looking for a business man who is big enough to use his influence to protect property rights," Cox was told.[28] Industrialists and disaffected Democrats throughout the State gave assurances that they would support him.[29] Iredell Meares and Daniel A. Tompkins assumed direction of the publicity campaign calculated to appeal to wavering Democrats; they were

[24] *Statesville Landmark*, February 11, 1908; *Daily Industrial News*, August 28, 1908; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, August 26, 27, 1908; *The Union Republican*, September 3, 1908.

[25] Iredell Meares to J. Elwood Cox, July 27, 1908; George E. Butler to J. Elwood Cox, September 30, 1908, Cox Papers; *The Union Republican*, July 30, 1908.

[26] Samuel A. Ashe and Others (eds.) *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), IV, 89-95.

[27] Tom Harkins to J. Elwood Cox, September 2, 1908, Cox Papers; *The Union Republican*, September 3, 1908.

[28] David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, July 8, 1908, Cox Papers.

[29] Caesar Cone to J. Elwood Cox, August 31, 1908; John D. Cooper to J. Elwood Cox, September 2, 1908; J. E. Williamson to J. Elwood Cox, July 6, 8, 1908; J. S. White to J. Elwood Cox, August 31, 1908, Cox Papers; *Daily Industrial News*, October 3, 1908.

particularly solicitious toward the disappointed supporters of Ashley Horne and Locke Craig.[30]

The need for a businessman in the Capitol was stressed in the Republican State platform and in Cox's published statements. "We ask all thoughtful North Carolinians to consider particularly whether the present Democratic Governor and legislature have dealt wisely or justly with all classes of our citizens in the laws they have recently passed concerning railroads, and the violent measures they have taken to give these laws effect," the platform affirmed. The Party questioned the right of the legislature to fix absolutely the precise rates for passengers and freight on the railroads and declared legislators "had neither the special knowledge nor the right spirit for such an undertaking." Democrats were denounced for unwarranted and uncalled for attacks upon capital which ended in "costly litigation; paralyzed business, drove millions of capital from the state, and sent railroad securities down to less than half their value." [31]

It is of interest to note that Cox in accepting the nomination referred to the Republican Party convention as a body "representing as it does one hundred thousand or more white Republicans, mostly native born. . . ." He promised a "quiet" campaign, conducted in a "dignified manner," on a "high plane" with appeals to the "reason and intelligence and not to the prejudices of our people." [32] Cox presented his case in the following way. He declared "the business men of North Carolina are entitled to more voice in the business affairs of the State, and in the legislation affecting the business interests of the State." But he did not expect to "enter into any elaborate discussion of the political issues of the day." [33]

A part of Cox's "formal statement" on issues was copied verbatim from notes which he received from Daniel A. Tompkins. For example, he used the following suggestion as his own and permitted it to appear over his signature. Tompkins had written: "The fact that there is here a wholesome, sane and forceful Republican party is evidence of the fact that we are further away from old institutions and nearer abreast with modern conditions than any other State in the South." Cox also

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[30] George E. Butler to J. Elwood Cox, September 30, 1908; Thurston T. Hicks to J. Elwood Cox, August 28, 1908; William J. Leary to J. Elwood Cox, September 4, 1908; J. E. Decker to J. Elwood Cox, August 29, 1908; N. W. Dailey to J. Elwood Cox, October 10, 1908; George W. Watts to J. Elwood Cox, August 29, 1908, Cox Papers; *The Union Republican*, July 30, October 29, 1908.

[31] *Republican Literature Issued by the Republican State Committee of North Carolina, 1908* (n.p., n.d.), hereinafter cited as *Republican Literature, 1908.*

[32] *Republican Literature, 1908.*

[33] *Republican Literature, 1908;* see also, *The Caucasian*, September 24, October 15, 1908.

liked and used the statement that the Republican Party was "more in sympathy with the essential elements of modern prosperity than the Democratic party." He copied verbatim Tompkin's suggestion that the people of North Carolina should occupy themselves with economic questions rather than political questions and the struggle for office. Presumably "political questions" involved patronage matters. Tompkins had copied many of his flowery passages from letters he had received from Walter Hines Page and Arthur W. Page.[34]

Further intellectual stimulus was provided by the distinguished American historian and Harvard lecturer, William Garrott Brown. While recuperating in the Biltmore Sanitarium at Asheville, Brown became acquainted with Thomas Settle and through him established contacts with many prominent State Republican leaders. Brown's articles on the rebuilding of the Republican Party in the South had appeared in New York and Boston newspapers and he interpreted the Cox candidacy as an augury of change in Republican Party tactics in the South. He too shared unbounded contempt for the "office broker" concept of Party activity.[35] These strategists all insisted that North Carolina should occupy a more important role in national politics and they concluded that the only way to accomplish this was by and through the Republican Party. "The whole situation there regarding manufacturing interests and the general development of the state," Senator Joseph M. Dixon concluded, "make it a matter of self-interest to the North Carolina people to align themselves with the Republican organization."[36]

The strategy of nominating businessmen candidates for office was strengthened by John Motley Morehead's announcement as Republican congressional candidate in the Fifth District. Cox apparently prevailed upon Morehead to enter the race after the gubernatorial nomination had been decided. Morehead commented that "while I have no stomach for the job, even if elected, I believe a business ticket all around will raise the standard of the party tremendously in the

[34] Daniel A. Tompkins to J. Elwood Cox, September 9, 1908; Daniel A. Tompkins to W. H. Ragan, July 15, 1908; Walter Hines Page to Daniel A. Tompkins, July 28, 1908; Arthur W. Page to Daniel A. Tompkins, July 13, 1908; Daniel A. Tompkins to Arthur W. Page, July 15, 1908, Tompkins Papers.

[35] William Garrott Brown to Thomas Settle, September 1, 1908; Thomas Settle to J. Elwood Cox, September 2, 4, 1908; William Garrott Brown to J. Elwood Cox, September 10, 18, October 16, 1908, Cox Papers; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, September 3, 1908.

[36] Joseph M. Dixon to J. Elwood Cox, November 9, 1908, Cox Papers.

state. . . ." [37] He worked in close association with Cox in recruiting support from manufacturers and the railroad interests.[38]

Republicans hoped to enhance their appeal to the conservative business interests by disclaiming any identity with the Negro voter. The Party had already acquiesced in the suffrage amendment and the "grandfather clause." In 1906 the State convention endorsed a proposal to extend the application of the "grandfather clause" to 1920.[39] Racism in politics was now turned against the Democratic Party. Marion Butler's *Caucasian* charged that William Jennings Bryan and Josephus Daniels solicited the Negro vote.[40] Furthermore, the Republicans frequently alleged that the small numbers of Negroes who registered and voted were mostly schoolteachers who supported the Democratic candidates.[41] The number of Negro officeholders who owed their appointments to the Republican administration was systematically reduced and to all intents and purposes eliminated.[42] Under these circumstances Negroes were reduced to plaintive protest meetings and demonstrations against discrimination by the Republican Party and exclusion from its State and national conventions. Democratic newspapers for obvious reasons highlighted these protest meetings.[43] If the Negro voters had enjoyed any influence in the Republican Party of North Carolina they would have favored Joseph Benson Foraker as the presidential candidate in 1908.[44] Joseph M. Dixon remarked after the election of 1908 that North Carolina contained "more white Republicans than any other state in the South" and he assured Taft that his vote was "99% white." [45]

The advantages of the Republican ticket were offset by a number of untoward circumstances brought to light during the campaign. As a candidate Cox was embarrassed by the lack of support he received from the *Daily Industrial News* of Greensboro. This influential Republican newspaper expressed resentment toward a businessman's ticket, and the consensus of opinion among Cox's friends indicated that it

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[37] John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, August 28, 1908; see also John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, September 11, November 16, 1908; David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, November 10, 1908, Cox Papers; Gilliam Grissom to Benjamin N. Duke, September 29, 1908, Benjamin N. Duke Papers, Manuscripts Division, Duke University Library.

[38] John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, September 21, 1908, Cox Papers.

[39] *Weekly Tar Heel*, July 19, 1906.

[40] *The Caucasian*, July 16, August 13, September 24, October 15, 1908; see also, *Daily Industrial News*, October 10, 31, 1908.

[41] *New Bern Daily Journal*, March 10, 1908.

[42] *Nw Bern Daily Journal*, January 29, 1908.

[43] *The News and Observer*, May 1, 13, 1908; *New Bern Daily Journal*, February 9, April 2, May 1, 13, 1908.

[44] *New Bern Daily Journal*, March 13, 1908.

[45] Joseph M. Dixon to William Howard Taft, December 19, 1908, Cox Papers.

made very little contribution to the campaign. During the early months of 1908 the editorial views of this newspaper obviously discouraged Cox from accepting the gubernatorial nomination.[46] Apparently some elements in the Republican Party believed that with Cox at the helm their services would no longer be needed and for this reason were fighting him.

Of all the incidents of the campaign the bitter feud that raged between Spencer B. Adams and Marion Butler gave the Democrats their greatest satisfaction. "Unless something happens to destroy them both," David H. Blair stated, "I see no hope for us."[47] Butler accused Adams of receiving bribes as a judge of the citizenship court in the Indian Territory. He also charged that Adams raised a fund to be used against the administration in the Republican National Convention of 1908.[48] Butler confided to Cyrus Thompson, "when I supported Adams for chairman he had thoroughly convinced me by repeated visits to my office that he thought the state could be carried Republican if an honest effort was [*sic*] made to do so, and if he was [*sic*] made chairman he would devote his time to that end. He was no sooner elected than he began to build a personal machine."[49] Adams announced that Butler was a "cowardly traitor who has not only betrayed his State but every party and about every person with whom he ever affiliated."[50] Butler retaliated by asserting that the "Adams machine" was "the only thing that stood in the way of complete Republican victory" in North Carolina in 1908.[51] Thus the image of State chairman Adams' patronage machine and his disloyalty to Roosevelt and Taft was kept before the voters throughout the campaign. Whatever dignity Cox and Morehead brought into the campaign was seriously compromised by the clash of personalities among Republican leaders.

Cox's image as a businessman candidate was exploited by the Democrats when they undertook to link his name with the lockout of furniture workers in High Point in 1906. Ten fellow manufacturers from High Point who belonged to the Democratic Party signed a statement asserting that Cox had not been involved in the lockout by the Manu-

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[46] Edward C. Duncan to J. Elwood Cox, August 15, 1908; J. Sam White to J. Elwood Cox, August 21, 1908; Charles D. Benbow to J. Elwood Cox, August 21, 1908; David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, November 19, 1908, Cox Papers.

[47] David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, August 21, 1908; see also, William S. Pearson to J. Elwood Cox, November 16, 1908, Cox Papers.

[48] *The Washington Post*, May 11, 12, 1907; *The Caucasian*, January 28, March 5, 12, April 23, May 7, June 4, August 20, 1908; *The News and Observer*, March 6, 1908.

[49] Marion Butler to Cyrus Thompson, August 6, 1908, Thompson Papers.

[50] *Statesville Landmark*, August 25, 1908.

[51] *The Caucasian*, December 3, 1908.

facturers' Association and that he had acted as a mediator in the labor dispute.[52] Cox declared he had "never discriminated against any laboring man on account of his connection with any organization." [53] Yet the Woodworkers Local 277 of High Point printed and distributed a picture post card depicting forlorn workers under the caption "Remember the lockout." [54] The crowning indignity in this situation, however, involved requests for "monetary considerations" from the secretary of the North Carolina State Federation of Labor, one S. Waldrop. In return he promised to sidetrack and defeat action by local unions throughout the State calculated to reflect upon Cox as a candidate. Cox was advised that the only way to handle his enemies in the local unions was with money, and the State secretary promised that for a "small consideration I can put two Republicans to work at once for you. . . ." As for one intrepid High Point worker who introduced a resolution against Cox the State secretary remarked: "He is a Socialist so will not vote for you nor Kitchin but I am sure for a small sum of money you can enlist him in your defense in this matter." [55] Cox obliged with payments to the secretary of the North Carolina State Federation of Labor.[56] The *quid pro quo* involved services rendered in defeating resolutions offered against Cox as a candidate.[57] The payments to labor union representatives, however, did not forestall a determined campaign against the Republican candidate in the labor press.[58]

Public opinion in 1908 was highly critical of the rate-making policies of the railroads. For this reason Democrats highlighted the fact that Cox for many years had used a free pass on the Southern Railroad. It was also revealed during the campaign that Cox had testified before a congressional committee on May 10, 1905, to the effect that the people of North Carolina were satisfied with the existing schedule of freight rates. When Cox and his managers undertook to clarify these statements they put the candidate in an even more vulnerable position.[59] William P. Bynum, Jr., suggested that since the 1907 General Assembly had failed to take any action in regard to freight rates,

[52] David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, September 11, 1908; Charles M. Ray to J. Elwood Cox, September 8, 1908, Cox Papers; *The High Point Enterprise*, September 9, 1908; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, September 6, 1908.

[53] *The Union Republican*, September 24, 1908.

[54] "A Voter" to J. Elwood Cox, September 7, 1908; see also, William S. Pearson to J. Elwood Cox, September 1, 1908, Cox Papers.

[55] S. Waldrop to J. Elwood Cox, September 20, 1908; see also, Thomas Settle to J. Elwood Cox, September 5, 1908, Cox Papers.

[56] S. Waldrop to J. Elwood Cox, October 8, 1908, Cox Papers.

[57] S. Waldrop to J. Elwood Cox, October 18, 1908, Cox Papers.

[58] *The Labor News* (Greensboro), September 18, 25, October 23, 1908.

[59] Thomas Settle to J. Elwood Cox, September 17, 1908; W. R. Henry to J. Elwood Cox, September 2, 4, 1908; David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, September 11, 1908, Cox Papers.

that its stand would appear to be a tacit approval of Cox's statement of 1905. This strategy did not allay widespread public apprehension that Cox was a tool of the railroad interests.[60]

Even the good intentions of Cox were turned against him in the campaign. He had proposed that the Republicans make no nomination for Superintendent of Public Instruction and that educational interests be separated entirely from politics. This would mean that Republicans should endorse James Yadkin Joyner and his administration of the public school system. Cox buckled, however, under a storm of protests from the Republican leaders and meekly withdrew his resolution. *The News and Observer* thundered: "COX BACKED DOWN. THE BOSSES CONTROLLED COX AT A TIME WHEN THEIR CONTROL IS CONTRARY TO THE INTEREST OF EVERY CHILD IN THE STATE. IF COX WILL BETRAY THE DEAREST INTEREST OF THE CHILDREN AT THE BEHEST OF ADAMS, JIM YOUNG & CO., CAN HE BE TRUSTED TO STAND FIRM AGAINST THESE BOSSES IN ANY OTHER MATTER?" [61]

The outcome of the election of 1908 indicated substantial Republican gains. For the first time in the history of the Party its presidential candidate, William H. Taft, toured the State during the campaign. Taft carried 41 counties to 57 won by Bryan. In the congressional races John Motley Morehead of the Fifth District, Charles H. Cowles of the Eighth District, and John G. Grant of the Tenth District were elected as Republican candidates. Cox carried 27 counties located mostly in the western section of the State. The only counties he carried east of Randolph were Sampson and Brunswick. Only three counties showed a decrease in the Republican vote in 1908. Out of a total gubernatorial vote of 253,175, Kitchin's majority was 37,342. The returns undoubtedly had a sobering effect on Democratic Party tactics and strategy. Cox interpreted the results of the election to mean that the legislature would be discouraged from enacting further radical measures. The determined efforts of Democrats in the campaign of 1910 to recoup losses indicated that the election of 1908 had profoundly influenced the tactics of both parties.

State and national committeemen, officeholders, and office brokers who thrived upon patronage did not co-operate wholeheartedly with the new type of political leadership embodied in the campaigns of Cox and Morehead. The "machine" was begrudging in its support of these men and acceded reluctantly to the infusion of new ideas into the Republican State organization. Furthermore, Cox's inexperience and lack of political acumen, coupled with his defeatist attitude, hampered Republican opportunities in this gubernatorial campaign.

[60] *The News and Observer*, August 28, 29, September 23, 1908.
[61] *The News and Observer*, September 17, 1908.

A YEAR IN HERTFORD COUNTY WITH ELKANAH WATSON

By Thomas C. Parramore*

Elkanah Watson's *Men and Times of the Revolution* was one of the most popular travel books written in the nineteenth century. The author's narrative talents were indifferent, but he had a remarkable flair for stumbling onto adventure in his journeys and the social and intellectual attainments to enable him to meet and mingle with the great men of his day. He just happened to be in Charleston during the great fire there in 1777 and in London when George III recognized the independence of the American Colonies. He spent a month in Paris with Benjamin Franklin and was a guest of George Washington for two memorable nights at "Mount Vernon." Footloose in his early years, he visited all of the original States and from 1786 to 1788 was a planter-merchant in eastern North Carolina.

Mention of Watson's residence in North Carolina is made in his book, but a considerable amount of additional material on the subject may be found in his extensive manuscript journals and in a scrapbook of newspaper articles he wrote during these years on major public issues. The single great issue of the years of his tenure in North Carolina was, of course, that raging around the adoption of the new Constitution. From these primary sources it is clear that Watson played a vigorous role in advocating and defending the position of the Federalists and there can be little doubt that his efforts contributed to overcoming the resistance that position initially met with in the fiercely-independent North Carolina backcountry.

Elkanah Watson was born of Puritan stock at Plymouth, Massachusetts, on January 22, 1758. His formal education was brief but his apprenticeship at the age of fifteen to John Brown of Providence, Rhode Island, brought him into the inner councils of one of the greatest mercantile houses in America.[1] This period of his life was distin-

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[1] For an excellent account of the business life of this family, see James B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952), hereinafter cited as Hedges, *Browns of Providence Plantations*. This

guished by the first of his notable journeys, down the seaboard by sulky to Charleston in the fall of 1777 with $50,000 in funds of the Brown family sewed in the lining of his clothes.[2]

Undoubtedly the impressions gathered on his trip through the Colony of North Carolina were influential in his decision a decade later to become a citizen of the State. At the Gates County plantation of "Col." Josiah Granbury he heard of a great project, strongly endorsed by General Washington, to cut a canal through the Dismal Swamp to Hampton Roads and open up North Carolina's fertile eastern agricultural regions to ocean commerce.[3] At Edenton, a bustling mart by virtue of its sheltered location, he talked at length with Dr. Hugh Williamson, the erudite Pennsylvanian who was just commencing a profitable trade between North Carolina and the West Indies. Williamson assisted the young apprentice in drawing a map of North Carolina to help him find the easiest route to Charleston and talked in terms of the fortunes waiting to be made in this unexploited region.[4]

In 1779, his apprenticeship ended, Watson sailed for France to open a mercantile liaison between the Continent and the great Brown warehouses in Providence, taking with him dispatches to Franklin, then American agent in Paris. After visiting with Franklin, Watson established himself at Nantes and in early 1781 formed a partnership with a well-to-do businessman of Nantes named Francois Cossoul.[5] The arrangement was the foundation of a deep friendship between the partners despite the fact that Elkanah spent most of his time cavorting about the country or studying French at the clerical college in Ancenis. Moreover, the firm of Watson and Cossoul prospered. In 1783 they opened a London branch and Elkanah had his portrait painted in London by the famous artist, John Singleton Copley.[6]

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is the first volume of a projected three-volume study of the enormous Brown manuscript collection at Brown University.

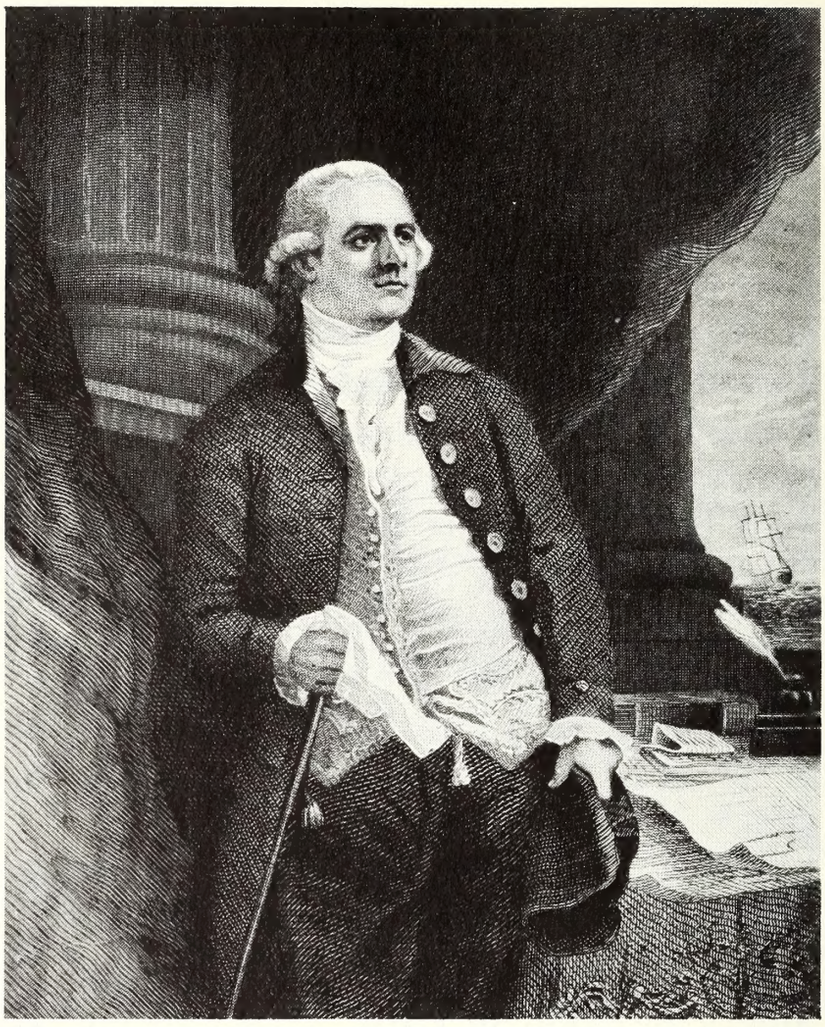
[2] Winslow Cossoul Watson (ed.), *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, including Journals of Travels in Europe and America, from 1777 to 1842 with his Correspondence with Public Men and Reminiscences and Incidents of the Revolution, edited by his son, Winslow C. Watson* (New York: Dana and Company, 1856), 63, hereinafter cited as Watson, *Men and Times.*

[3] Letters and Papers of Elkanah Watson, Journal A, V, 43, New York State Library, Albany, hereinafter cited as Watson's Letters and Papers.

[4] Watson's Letters and Papers, Journal A, V, 42-43.

[5] Hugh Meredith Flick, "Elkanah Watson: Gentleman Promoter, 1758-1842" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1947), 54, hereinafter cited as Flick, "Elkanah Watson."

[6] Arthur Pound, *Native Stock, The Rise of the American Spirit Seen in Six Lives* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), 221. "The Copley picture," wrote Pound, "shows Elkanah as . . . medium height, full, florid countenance, a beautiful and generous mouth, strong round chin, inquiring nose, restless brown eyes, a figure running more to chest than leg, and the whole well turned out, as befits a vigorous, pushing fellow." This portrait is now owned by Princeton University.



Portrait of Elkanah Watson painted by John Singleton Copley, now owned by Princeton University. Reproduced from the Collections of the Library of Congress.



Engraving of Elkanah Watson done by J. W. Paradise. Reproduced from the Collections of the Library of Congress.

Elkanah did well to frolic while he might for the financial panic of 1783 swept away his firm's six merchant ships and 200 seamen like straws before the wind.[7] Watson and Cossoul were left deeply in debt but were determined to pay off what they owed to the last sou. Before returning to the United States in 1784 Watson salved his misfortunes with the balm of a tour of Holland, a trip that was destined to be the subject of a book a few years later. He found Holland short on female beauty but long on a complex of magnificent canals whereon Dutch merchants transported their wares rapidly and for as little as three cents a mile.

Having returned home in the fall of 1784 with a passport to "Mount Vernon" in the form of a gift of books for General Washington sent by a friend in England, Watson visited the future president in December, 1784. He found the General deeply involved in a plan for cutting canals around the falls on the Potomac River and opening up the great Northwest to Atlantic commerce. Coming as it did so soon after his tour of Holland, the visit with Washington made of Elkanah Watson probably the most ardent proponent of canals in the United States. In years to come his persevering promotion would result in the decision to construct New York's Erie Canal.[8]

In the summer of 1785 M. Cossoul arrived in New York and was joined there by Watson.[9] The partners agreed to put in motion plans to recoup their fortunes and repay their debts. Cossoul was to take up residence at Port-au-Prince on the island of Hispaniola and Watson was to move to North Carolina. With Cossoul's contacts in France and Watson's in New England there could be little doubt that they would soon reap handsome profits once more. In January, 1786, Cossoul sailed from Boston in a new vessel of his own bound for the West Indies.[10]

Watson had married Rachel Smith in November but had left her in Massachusetts when he started south the following April.[11] Perhaps the long trip or the difficulties he expected in North Carolina dictated the decision. He arrived at Edenton in late April, made inquiries into

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[7] Hedges, *Browns of Providence Plantations*, 254.

[8] Elkanah Watson, *History of the Rise, Progress, and existing Condition of the Western Canals in the State of New York, From September, 1788, to the Completion of the Middle Section of the Grand Canal in 1819, together with the Rise, Progress, and existing State of Modern Agricultural Societies, on the Berkshire System, from 1807, to the establishment of the Board of Agriculture in the State of New York, January 10, 1820* (Albany, New York: D. Steele, 1820), *passim.*

[9] Flick, "Elkanah Watson," 93.

[10] Flick, "Elkanah Watson," 94.

[11] Flick, "Elkanah Watson," 89. The marriage remained a secret until Watson's return from North Carolina.

the most suitable place to establish himself, and at length chose Nixonton, on Little River, as being the site most convenient both to North Carolina produce and access to ocean transport. Opening business in Nixonton in June with a sloop-load of goods from Rhode Island, Watson soon found it necessary to again leave his affairs in the hands of a confederate and to go in quest of higher country lest the heat of the Albemarle region entirely destroy him. A three-month tour to the western part of the State, punctuated by typically Watsonian adventures, restored his health and Watson returned to Nixonton in November to resume the effort to rescue his fortunes.

An overnight stop on the tour had been "Melrose," the Meherrin River plantation of Major Hardy Murfree, some 50 miles northwest of Edenton. The Major, who fought in the Revolutionary Battle at Stony Point, was a kindred spirit for Elkanah. Not only was Murfree, like Watson, a dedicated Federalist, but he was full of plans to turn his plantation into an important center of commerce.[12] In a long evening's conversation with Watson, Murfree outlined his scheme for applying to the State legislature for a town to be incorporated on his land, the site already being one to which "large quantities of tobacco & other produce [found] its way."[13] In due course Murfree proposed to garner support for the construction of a canal from the falls on Roanoke River 30 miles due east to the Meherrin, and thereby open up vast reaches of western Virginia to direct contact with the Atlantic.[14] The project, including "an inclined Plane" to manage passage down the high banks at Murfree's Landing, would cost $400,000, but Murfree seemed to feel that such an amount could be raised. The new town would thus become the nexus of a great avenue of commerce. Watson listened attentively and liked what he heard.

In April, 1787, Elkanah Watson purchased a beautifully situated plantation at the mouth of Meherrin River where it emptied into the Chowan, within ten miles of Murfreesborough, the newest town in North Carolina.[15] The site was known as "Mount Sion" and it lay

[12] Watson's Letters and Papers, Journal B, VI, 337. Vessels, in the main from New England, had been visiting Murfree's Landing for years but by this time a few New England merchants were finding it more profitable to erect warehouses there than attempt to sell or buy entire cargoes in the course of a visit. The removal to this site of Boston merchant John Hichborn, was the circumstance of the death at Murfreesboro in 1793 of William Hill Brown, Hichborn's brother-in-law and America's first novelist. See Richard Walser, "The North Carolina Sojourn of the First American Novelist," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII (April, 1951), 138-155.

[13] Watson's Letters and Papers, 337-338.

[14] Watson's Letters and Papers, 358.

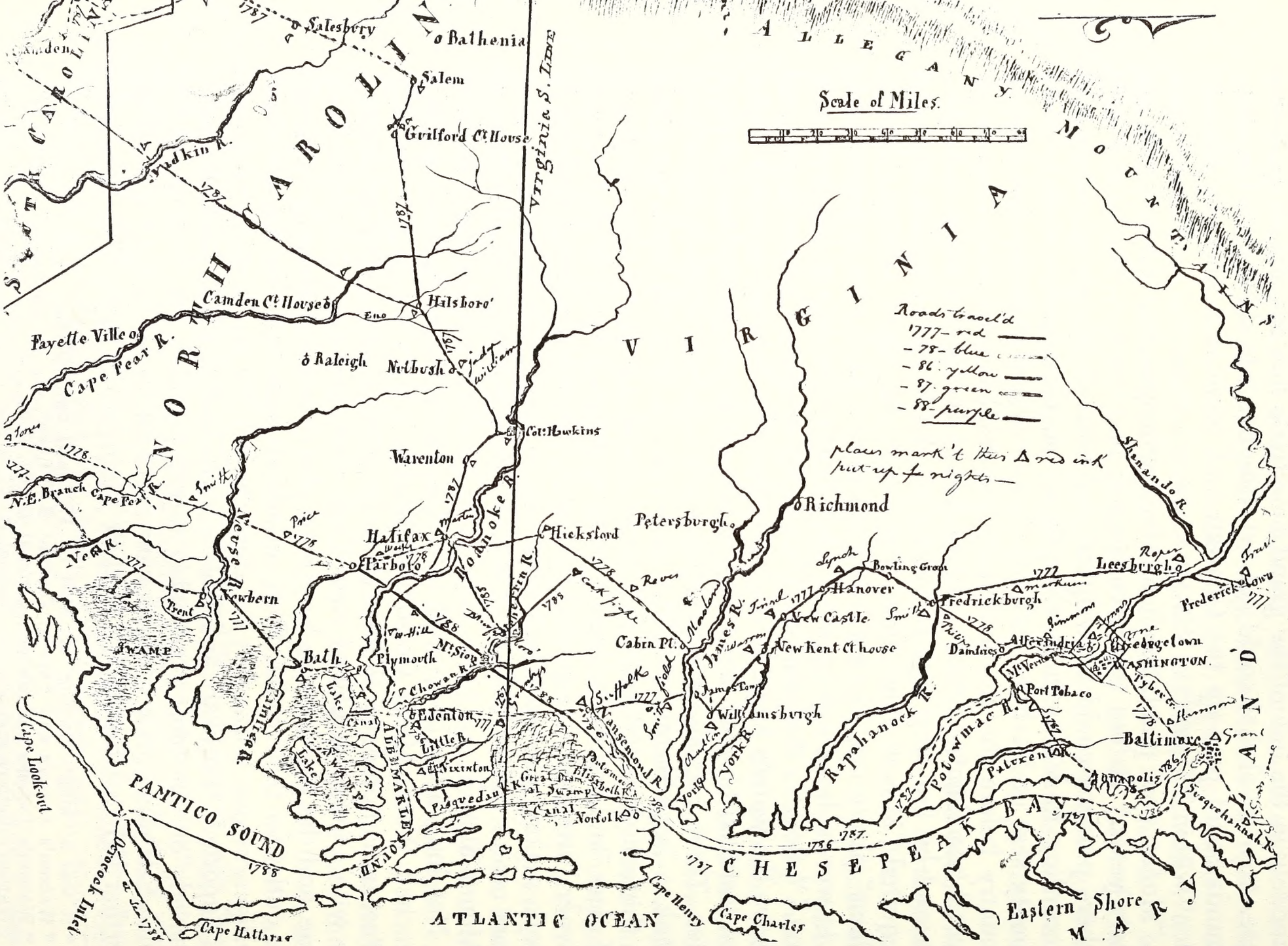
[15] The site is abandoned today but still shows signs of its maritime past, a large quantity of ballast rock lining the water's edge. The rock was also used as a subsurface along the marshy bank, permitting heavy objects to be moved back and forth from ships and warehouse.

precisely in the line of the grand new trade link envisioned by Murfree. Any vessel that could get over the bar into the North Carolina sounds could pass up the Chowan and come to anchor at "Mount Sion" within 300 yards of Watson's new residence.

"Mount Sion" plantation had been a principal river depot for about forty years.[16] Before the Revolution it had been a "king's landing" where produce could be weighed and entered for import or export. According to his journals, the plantation, three miles north of the county seat of Hertford, Winton, "was celebrated in the immediate country before the Revolution by the residence of some importing Scotch merchants." [17] The deed records of Hertford County were destroyed by fire long ago, but there can be little doubt that Watson acquired "Mount Sion" from the Wright family of nearby "Green Plains" plantation. The establishment consisted of 640 acres, most of it in woods, but 50 acres were cleared and "formerly in high cultivation." [18] Besides the plantation house, situated on a hill some 40 feet above the water's edge, a "Negro house" stood nearby in which Watson installed his staff, consisting of three Negroes, a woman and two men. There was also a capacious storehouse and, down by the river bank, a large warehouse. The manor house had not been occupied in thirteen years but was in reasonably good repair with the exception of glass "and was under the imputation of being *haunted.*" [19] The new owner "drove off the spooks" and settled down to a summer of hard work, making necessary improvements on the estate.[20] With no neighbors nearer than a mile, it was to be a rather lonesome summer at "Mount Sion."

Not long after he moved into the manor house in April, a brig reached Watson from Cossoul at Port-au-Prince, bringing a load of West Indian produce. Watson formed a partnership in Hertford County with another displaced New Englander, Bostonian Joseph Vollintine, and the pair seem to have opened a store in Murfreesborough as an outlet for their wares. From an advertisement in *The Edenton Intelligencer* one learns that the store carried "by the original packages as imported, Hardware and Pewter of all kinds," which could be purchased "on the most reasonable terms, for cash tar or tobacco." [21] Such Edenton port records as have survived the ravages of time shed further light on the nature of their business. In July, 1787, they im-

[16] It was a "king's landing" at least by 1764 and until 1770.
[17] Watson's Letters and Papers, Journal B, VI, 358.
[18] Watson's Letters and Papers, Journal B, VI, 358.
[19] Watson's Letters and Papers, Journal B, VI, 358.
[20] Watson's Letters and Papers, Journal B, VI, 358.
[21] *The Edenton Intelligencer,* June 4, 1788.



Map showing travels of Elkanah Watson. From Letters and Papers of Elkanah Watson, New York State Library, Albany.

ported from Boston on the sloop "Friendship" a cargo of tea, loaf sugar, molasses, nails, rum, oil, and dry goods, along with 14,000 bricks.[22] In September and October the sloop "Fancy," arriving from St. Eustatius, and the schooner "Lucy," from Philadelphia, brought in brandy, Geneva and Teneriffe wine, tea, brown sugar, salt, coffee, linens, woolens, and dry goods.[23] On their outward voyages these vessels headed for New York, Martinique and Boston with shingles, barrel staves, naval stores and tobacco.[24]

Watson's commercial fortunes at "Mount Sion" were destined, however, soon to be overshadowed by a major public controversy already dividing North Carolina's citizenry into antagonistic factions. The new Constitution being proposed by the Federalists had been warmly received by States having a large and influential merchant class but the agricultural backcountry of North Carolina was brooding ominously over its centralizing features and old-line Jeffersonians were only too willing to see malevolence in the terms of the document.[25] Watson, of course, was strongly in the Federalist camp and quite prepared to be loudly so, if it would help.

Before the end of 1787, Elkanah was already in print on the subject of the new Constitution. His opening statement on the subject appears to have been in the form of a letter to a North Carolina editor, written from the standpoint of one who had "at length retired to a sequestered retreat free from the bustle of mankind."[26] The writer felt that his country had so far made a "contemptible figure" in the eyes of other nations and "among ourselves."[27] Every thinking man must agree that an efficient government was the only solution and, though each State must be prepared to sacrifice a part of its sovereignty to gain this objective, it was clearly in the interest of all to do so. The new Constitution would, he claimed,

> immediately re-establish us in credit and respect in Europe, and hold out irresistable allurements to emigration from thence; especially in the present convulsed state of Holland, which I have traversed since peace, and am well persuaded that many wealthy people from most parts of that

[22] Customs Reports, 1787-1790, imports of Port Roanoke, July 1, 1787, to December 31, 1787, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Customs Reports.

[23] Customs Reports, 1787-1790, imports of Port Roanoke, July 1, 1787, to December 31, 1787.

[24] Customs Reports, 1787-1790, exports of Port Roanoke, July 1, 1787, to December 31, 1787.

[25] Louise Irby Trenholme, *The Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 143, hereinafter cited as Trenholme, *Ratification of the Constitution.*

[26] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 11.

[27] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 11.

country, would remove with their effects to America, if they saw their property would be secure under an effectual government. The federal revenue arising from importations, would insensibly spunge off our foreign debt. As commerce and agriculture tend naturally to invigorate each other, it will not only contribute to enliven both, but, in its consequence, give a fresh spring to population; admitting our progressive increase to continue doubling once in twenty years to the year 1887, we shall then find within the United States, ninety six million of souls, equal to the population of all Europe.[28]

In terms of such a future it was strange that some "little minds" could not "extend a generous thought beyond the present moment; or perhaps [they] find their particular interest, or the interest of the state they inhabit, affected in some inferior points."[29]

As a merchant shipowner, Watson took comfort that the new Constitution would "revive and enliven our coastal trade" by abolishing duties that the States were at present imposing on trade with one another.[30] "Idle sailors will find employ, and a convenient nursery for new ones [will be] promoted."[31] Ships "now rotting and inactive" would put to sea again.[32] In closing, he observed that

> In framing our constitution the Convention were assiduous to sift out a pure model from the excellencies and defects of different countries, and allowing for our local circumstances. In such an extensive Republic, I will venture to pronounce it the most pure and perfect model to ensure human happiness that was ever invented by the ingenuity of man.[33]

Signed "A Hermit," the letter was framed in tones of a sweet reasonableness rapidly disappearing from public pronouncements on the new Constitution. The debate had become more acrimonious still in early 1788 when Watson, writing over the hopeful *nom de plume*, "A Dispassionate Yankey," addressed *The Edenton Intelligencer* on the same subject.[34] He was still of the opinion that "no modest or sensible man" would presume to invent objections to a document to which Washington, Franklin, and a host of other statesmen and patriots had already given approval.

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[28] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 11.
[29] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 11.
[30] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 11.
[31] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 11.
[32] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 11.
[33] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 11.
[34] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 2. The letter bears a heading addressed to the editor of *The Edenton Intelligencer*. The year 1788 is written on the clipping in ink. A marginal note identifies the letter as having been written by Watson while residing at "Mount Sion."

Some anonymous writers have made the most violent and illiberal attacks upon this constitution; holding it up to the people as fraught with all the horrors of despotism, painting it in the most frightful colours, under a sham mask of patriotism. An Angel descending from heaven, could not model a constitution to suit the caprice of every phlegmatic or designing character: why then are we to expect perfection beyond the limits prescribed to mortals? [35]

Such objections as had been raised could only originate "in the brain of wicked or weak minds." [36] Was it necessary to go on accepting from foreign nations "insults we are obliged to digest with impunity?" [37]

If ever the maturity of this constitution should be realised; America will stand comparatively, like the dazzling SUN in the heavens—centre of light, and the wonder of the admiring world who will feel the influence of its rays: the persecuted will find ease and rest; and tortured virtue and exiled worth will penetrate among us from all the oppressed nations of the earth. Future generations will also mark the time of its adoption, the happy Era in which America became a great, free, and respectable nation.[38]

In February Watson descended to the name-calling level with an assault in *The Edenton Intelligencer* upon an anti-Federalist State convention candidate in Warren County by the name of William Faulkner. In a letter pointedly signed "A True American," Watson undertook to expose Faulkner's allegedly unsavory background and to make a point of the candidate's English origins.[39] Watson's invitation to a public correspondence on the Constitution was not accepted, but in a reply carried by the New Bern paper Faulkner expressed his resentment of an anonymous attack and his intention, if elected, to protect the interests of the people of Warren "by a firm and resolute opposition to every measure that may be obnoxious to their liberties, or destructive of their rights." [40] Faulkner was not elected to the Con-

[35] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 2.
[36] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 2.
[37] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 2.
[38] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 2.
[39] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 2. No copy of this letter has been located. The information about its contents and import is contained in Faulkner's reply, a clipping of which appears in this source. See note 40, below.
[40] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 2. Faulkner's reply appeared in *The State Gazette of North Carolina* (New Bern), March 5-12, 1788. There is a reference to Faulkner in Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 2 volumes, 1857), 242. "A certain Wm. Falkner," says McRee, "a man of evident cultivation, being charged with being a spy in British pay, wrote Mr. Iredell a very touching letter, dated Warrenton, October 5th [1788], praying his interposition and protection; and laying his claim upon his own destitution of friends, being a stranger in North Carolina. Falkner alleged that the sole

vention and Watson's papers contain the remark that the candidate was "nearly tar'd & feather'd at Edenton [in] the Winter of 1787" in consequence of Watson's revelations.[41]

In the heated final days before the members of the Convention were to be elected in March, 1788, the strong feelings nourished during previous months were certain to erupt in sporadic violence. There were articulate spokesmen for the cause of the "Anti's" much nearer "Mount Sion" than Warrenton or Edenton. A few miles to the west lay the residence of Reverend Lemuel Burkitt, whose thin voice was employed in the service of a dynamic attachment to Baptist ideas of personal liberty and State Rights. Burkitt, thirty-eight-year-old native of Chowan County, was not a declared candidate for the Convention but a rising tide of sentiment in the County called for his election anyway.[42] He was evidently willing to take temporary leave of his flock at Sandy Run Church in Bertie County if the call came. Like Watson, Burkitt had been actively engaged in defending his position, and Watson "had been engaged with him in many warm personal discussions, and in a public correspondence."[43] The interchange ended, however, "as usual where opinions are combated [*sic*]—in a drawn battle—each standing on his own ground."[44]

In the week before the election was to be held, Watson was riding on horseback "about 6 or 8 miles in the rear of Winton" with Major Murfree and Patrick Garvey, "a bold loquacious Irish doctor [who had] settled at Winton."[45] While crossing a bridge the trio "noticed

foundation of the charge was a notice in a British newspaper that a Mr. Falkner had been promoted to some appointment in the Post Office; and inclosed a letter from Dr. John Jebb, of Parliament Street, Westminster, bearing honorable testimony to his character, and stating that he was 'one of the first, at great risk and hazard to set on foot and carry into effect a subscription for the relief of American prisoners confined in the different gaols of England during the war.'

"A Mr. Robert Lemen, or Leeming, a merchant in Edenton, had received a letter from England, describing the character and person of Falkner. . . . Mr. Iredell, however, replied to Mr. Falkner that he thought the charge against him not only false but preposterous."

[41] Watson's Letters and Papers, "Commonplace Book," XII, 2.

[42] Samuel Jordan Wheeler, "History of Meherrin Baptist Church," *North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers* (Henderson: Privately printed, 1896-1900), I, 52. Wheeler says that Burkitt was elected "unsolicited" to the State Convention. Burkitt, he says, was a well-formed man of medium height but his voice "was so feeble that it could not be heard in a large congregation." Minister at Sandy Run (now Roxobel) since 1773, Burkitt had already served as a member of provincial congresses, including the one that drew up the State Constitution.

[43] Watson, *Men and Times*, 262.

[44] Watson's Letters and Papers, VIII, "Mix't Medley Memoirs, Characters Revolutionary and modern anecdotes essays, original letters, etc.," 401, hereinafter cited as Watson's Letters and Papers, VIII.

[45] Watson's Letters and Papers, VIII, 402. Watson, Garvey, and Murfree were all three importing merchants. The latter two belonged to Royal William Lodge in Winton, and Watson, who accompanied them to Tarboro for the first State Masonic Convention in December, 1787, may also have been a member.

a paper pasted on a tree. We rode up to it and read as follows—"Notice! On Wednesday next, at three o'clock, all persons desirous of hearing the new Constitution explained, by Elder Burkett [*sic*], are requested to attend his church in the Woodlands, 17th March, 1788."[46] Since the date was only two days prior to the election, and because in Watson's eyes Burkitt was "a fellow of great intrigue," the only way to combat the Reverend's "explanation" was to attend the meeting, and this Watson and his companions determined to do.[47] The ensuing episode is best told in Watson's own words:

Soon after we were seated—he frequently cast a suspicious, & evidently disconcerted eye at our pew. He then began to explain the 10 mile square at the contemplated seat of government. "This my friends (said the hypocritical Priest)— this will be wall'd in like unto the Walls of China. Here 50 perhaps 100 thousand regulars will be finally embodied, sally forth and enslave the people, who will be gradually disarmed." This set our blood in a fermentation strongly excited by party feelings.

We put our heads together and agreed to possess ourselves, of the Clerks Seat directly under the pulpit for the express purpose of interrupting this political Priest, & brake [*sic*] up the meeting. Murfee [*sic*] was a native of the County . . . and universally beloved. . . .

We rose t'gether—Garvey with the Constitution in his hand—Murfee on his right-myself on his Left. Garvey turned up t'wards Burkit [*sic*]—Sir says he in an audible voice—as to the 10 Mile Square, you are———here he was interrupted by a spontaneous movement, and a general buz—which instantly swelled into a downright uproar directed t'wards us. At this crisis our eye balls trembled in their sockets, and nothing but the great popularity of Murfee sav'd us. We were glad however to pass out with the torrent—regain our horses—& be off.

We gain'd our point—broke up the meeting.[48]

Once beyond the reach of hostile crowds, Watson's courage returned and next day he and Garvey

plan'd & executed a charicature, and as it was an unusual thing amoung [*sic*] these demi-savages; I speak of the mass, with many proud exceptions, we calculated it wou'd produce a good effect at the poll, especially as these deluded people were generally opposed to the Constitution. A Clergyman was represented in his pulpit in his bands—with a lable coming from his mouth. . . . this we committed to some resolute fellows to post it at the door of the Court House [in Winton] just at the opening of the poll—they swore they wou'd deffend [*sic*] & protect it. Some of Burkits friends stung to the quick by this ludicrous sarcasm made an effort to pull

[46] Watson's Letters and Papers, VIII, 402.
[47] Watson's Letters and Papers, VIII, 402.
[48] Watson's Letters and Papers, VIII, 403.



Caricature drawn by Watson and Garvey, described by Watson in his Journal. From Letters and Papers of Elkanah Watson, New York State Library, Albany.

it down. Our brave federalists defended the characature, and supported a constitution sanctioned & Sign'd by the Godlike Washington. A general battle insued. It obstructed the voting which was our object. They had to light candles at the Court House—these were extinguished in a riotous manner, and both parties left in the dark literally as well as politically in the utmost confusion.[49]

Watson witnessed the outbreak of the melee but then "embraced the opportunity of taking *French leave.*"[50] To his extreme annoyance, Burkitt was elected despite the riot and duly cast his vote against ratification at the Convention that summer. In years to come Burkitt was destined to bring the Great Revival movement to North Carolina and to co-author the first history of the Baptist Church in the State.[51]

[49] Watson's Letters and Papers, VIII, 404-405.
[50] Watson, *Men and Times*, 263.
[51] Benjamin Brodie Winborne, *Colonial and State Political History of Hertford County, N. C.* (Murfreesboro [?]: Privately printed, 1906), 57.

Elkanah Watson's early confidence that North Carolina would adopt the Constitution had already largely evaporated in May, 1788, when he digested his post-election views for the benefit of the *United States Chronicle* in Providence.[52] He had felt sure in December, he wrote, when he attended the sessions of the State Legislature in New Bern, that two-thirds of the members were in favor of ratification. But since then

> 3 or 4 designing Men, of Influence in the back Counties, whose Interest it is to promote a State of Anarchy, set out violently in Opposition to it—terrifying the People with an Idea that it was intended to establish a King—to bring us under French Government—to establish the Roman Catholic Religion—to suppress the Liberty of the Press—to build a high wall round the 10 Mile Square. . . . to be garrisoned by 100,000 Regulars—to subvert our Liberties—and many other like wicked and foolish Absurdities. Such unfair Representations you may well suppose had the intended Effect with an ignorant and illiterate People.[53]

In consequence, said the writer, the counties in the interior were now opposed to ratification. Since the lower counties were as warmly on the other side, the decision was still in doubt. Nevertheless, it was unreasonable to assume that North Carolina would vote opposite from Virginia and South Carolina, both of which States clearly favored the Federalist viewpoint.[54] Watson predicted that North Carolina would vote for ratification by "a respectable Majority—for our Convention will never be so mad *as to vote themselves out of the Union,* and think of standing upon their own Bottom, a distinct Nation, surrounded by powerful and confederated States—and this is the Alternative!" [55]

Despite these reassurances, Watson himself was probably inclined to see Lemuel Burkitt's victory as a portent of things to come in North Carolina. The Federalists were clearly in retreat; moreover, the mercantile venture centered at "Mount Sion" had failed to prosper. Early in the year Watson had learned of the death of Cossoul at Port-au-

[52] *United States Chronicle: Political, Commercial, and Historical* (Providence, Rhode Island), June 5, 1788. The letter bears no signature. The author of this article attributes it to Watson on grounds that it appeared in the paper only a few days after he reached Providence from North Carolina, bears the date of what was evidently his last day ashore there, and reflects sentiments entirely in keeping with his as set forth in this article.

[53] *United States Chronicle,* June 5, 1788.

[54] *United States Chronicle,* June 5, 1788.

[55] *United States Chronicle,* June 5, 1788.

Prince, on the eve of Toussaint l'Ouverture's bloody insurrection on Hispaniola.[56] *The Edenton Intelligencer* in April began carrying the announcement that the partnership of Watson and Vollintine had been "mutually and amicably dissolved" on April 1, and that the latter was to receive all debts due to the firm.[57] No doubt Watson was in attendance on April 26 when Vollintine married Abigail King in Gates County.

The lonely vigil of Elkanah Watson at "Mount Sion" during that crucial year had not been without its lighter side. He had enjoyed the local hunting, especially for deer, "agreeable association with the society" and, no doubt, an occasional horserace on the race paths at "Mount Gallant," a neighboring plantation.[58] One of Watson's most vivid memories from this year was his attendance at a cockfight in Southampton County, Virginia, about 20 miles from "Mount Sion," where he was "astonished to find men of character and intelligence giving their countenance to an amusement so frivolous and scandalous, so abhorrent to every feeling of humanity, and so injurious in its moral influence." [59]

At the end of April, 1788, the schooner "Sally," a 38-ton two-master, was brought to anchor at "Mount Sion" by Captain Darius Newell, who had brought her down from Dighton, Massachusetts. The little vessel was Watson's own, built on his father's farm near Dighton. In her hold Watson stowed his possessions and papers, along with a cargo of 4,000 barrel staves, 69 barrels of naval stores, and 1,250 bushels of corn for sale in Rhode Island.[60] Evidently disposing of "Mount Sion" to Joseph Vollintine, Watson embarked and on May 16 the "Sally" dropped below Edenton and began making for the bar in her journey to New England. He arrived home so tawny in appearance from the southern sun that his father failed to recognize him.[61]

North Carolina and Rhode Island voted down the Constitution in 1788, but both were left in an intolerable isolation that threatened their very existence. After a year of sober reconsideration, Hertford County sent a delegation to Hillsboro for a second convention where Reverend Burkitt was conspicuously absent, his place being taken by

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[56] Watson's Letters and Papers, Journal B, VI, 360.
[57] *The Edenton Intelligencer*, June 4, 1788.
[58] Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928-1958), XIX, 541.
[59] Watson, *Men and Times*, 262.
[60] Customs Reports, 1787-1790, exports of Port Roanoke, January 1, 1788, to June 30, 1788.
[61] Watson's Letters and Papers, Journal B, VI, 36.

Hardy Murfree, who voted with the majority for ratification.[62] The Major's canal to the falls of Roanoke never materialized, though it was still seriously under consideration in eastern North Carolina forty years later.[63] Murfree gave up hope for the area in 1807 and moved to Tennessee, where he founded a second town bearing the Murfree name which would serve for a time as the capital of that State.

In Elkanah Watson's colorful future lay adventures on the frontier, the inauguration of the county fair movement in America, ventures in canal promotion and other schemes of internal improvement, all in the context of a profound faith in the future glory of his country. The last years of his life were spent in Port Kent, New York, where today, on a hill overlooking the town, a marble slab bears his name and the simple inscription: "May generations yet unborn learn by his example to love their country." [64]

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[62] Trenholme, *Ratification of the Constitution*, 234.

[63] Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin (eds.), *American State Papers, Class X. Miscellaneous* (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1834), I, 763-765. North Carolina in 1791 passed an act authorizing constructing of the canal after "persons of discernment and information" had pronounced the route feasible. Funds for the project were not raised within the prescribed time limit.

[64] Flick, "Elkanah Watson," 343.

SPANISH REACTION TO CAROLINA

By J. Leitch Wright, Jr.*

During the sixteenth century several European nations claimed the fertile, wooded, low-lying North American Atlantic Coast and attempted to establish colonies there. Spain was the most conspicuous, and shortly after Ponce de León discovered Florida, other Spaniards, fascinated by accounts of giants and men with tails and lured by the prospect of duplicating Cortes' feat of subduing a wealthy Indian empire, strove to plant the Spanish banner in the region north of the Florida peninsula which they called Chicora. But these eager conquistadores, like Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, discovered no Tenochtitlán or Potosí; many of them perished, and the remainder were thankful to escape with their lives. Later, France manifested an interest in this region—a region which had no silver mines but which could provide a refuge for oppressed Huguenots and a base to prey on returning Spanish treasure fleets. Both the incipient French settlements—at Port Royal Sound and on the St. Johns River—failed, either through a lack of supplies or at the hands of the merciless Spanish captain, Menéndez de Avilés. Later in the century, when England was on the verge of hostilities with Spain in the Old World and was fully at war with her in America, Raleigh endeavored to plant a colony at Roanoke Island to serve primarily as a fortified port from which to harry the Spaniards. This English colony in an extensive region which Raleigh called Virginia fared no better than the French ones to the south.

It was the Spaniards who at length in the sixteenth century effectively occupied more of the North American Atlantic seaboard than any other power. Extending northward from St. Augustine into the provinces of Guale (Georgia) and Santa Elena (the region around Port Royal), Spanish missionaries dotted the coastal islands and nearby rivers with numerous missions which were occasionally protected by Spanish troops. During the latter part of the century Spain withdrew her garrison and destroyed her fort at Port Royal, and at the dawn of the seventeenth century Guale was the northernmost province actually occupied. Over 500 miles separated this province from James-

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town, soon to be founded by England. Both nations claimed the unoccupied intervening region: Spain by the papal bulls and the right of first discovery, and England by the Cabot voyages. On contemporary English maps this area was referred to as part of Virginia; on Spanish ones it was part of *la Florida.*

For the balance of this study the successful English efforts to settle the southern part of Virginia—soon to be called Carolina—will be traced and at the same time Spanish military and diplomatic countermeasures until the end of the seventeenth century will be analyzed. In doing so, many intriguing problems are presented, not the least of which is—precisely when did Englishmen first settle Carolina? By Carolina is meant the area between Jamestown and St. Augustine.

England's initial colonization efforts were directed elsewhere, but the area south of Virginia was by no means overlooked. While Maryland was being settled as a Catholic refuge and New England was becoming a Puritan retreat, plans were underfoot to have Carolina become, in part, a Huguenot haven under English auspices. French Huguenots, still harassed in France, were fleeing to England in increasing numbers. Several of their leaders proposed that they and Protestant Englishmen should jointly settle Carolina, claiming it for England and thus further annoying Spain in her present war with England. Charles I in 1629 granted to his influential adviser, Sir Robert Heath, all of Carolina between thirty-one and thirty-six degrees latitude,[1] and this grant provided the legal basis for the Protestant colonists to go to Carolina. A goodly number prepared to leave England: Some actually left and got as far as Virginia; a few others made explorations along the coast; but none, or perhaps only a trickle, ever reached their destinations.[2]

Because England and Spain made peace in 1636 and because England was toying with a Spanish alliance, Charles I lost interest in Carolina colonization. It is true that in the late 1630's the English Governor of Barbados intimated that he had royal backing to settle in Carolina,[3] and other Englishmen, perhaps excited by Heath's activi-

[1] Charles I's patent to Robert Heath, October 30, 1629, William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), I, 5-13, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records.*

[2] Proposals by Mons. Belavene, July 24, 1629, W. Noel Sainsbury, J. W. Fortescue, and Others (eds.), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, I—[continuing volumes], 1860—), I, 99, hereinafter cited as *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*; Directors to Mons. Bonnavolia, March (?), 1630, I, 109; and Petition of Edward Kingswell to Privy Council, September (?), 1634, I, 190-191, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial.*

[3] Serj. Major Henry Huncks to Earl of Carlisle, July 11, 1639, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial,* I, 300.

ties, continuously eyed Carolina. During the Cromwellian period England became more aggressive in the New World, and it was reported that part of the Lord Protector's unsuccessful Western Design to control strategic areas here included capturing St. Augustine and the adjoining region, which dominated the return sailing route to Europe.[4] In the early 1660's adventurous New Englanders formed a fleeting, ineffectual colony on the Cape Fear River.[5] But with the exception of scattered, irregular settlements on Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds by colonists who had drifted southward from Virginia, there still was no permanent English colony in Carolina.

Since the founding of Jamestown and the establishment of English colonies in the West Indies, Spain had realized that England was or soon would be covetous of Carolina. But because Spain had more serious problems with Holland in the New World, because Spain bordered on bankruptcy, and because Carolina was not so valuable or accessible as colonies in the West Indies, Spain did little to oppose English ambitions or to strengthen her own position in northern Florida. An exception is that Franciscan missions in Timucua, Guale, and Santa Elena, despite numerous setbacks, did enjoy a steady growth.[6] And constant reports before 1660, some of which were doubtless true, that Englishmen were in Carolina and even had built a fort there prompted military expeditions to be sent out periodically along the coast.[7] Even so, these half-hearted measures did not alter the fact that Spain's hold on parts of Carolina was a tenuous one.

It was not until after the English Restoration when Charles II adopted a more aggressive imperial policy that Spain had serious cause for alarm. His faithful supporters during the unfruitful years of the Interregnum, at their own insistence, were rewarded by extensive grants in the New World. Thus it was in this manner that the Carolina proprietors received a charter to the territory between thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes latitude on the north and twenty-nine degrees

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[4] Consulta relative to Penn's attack, Madrid, November 13, 1635, Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo, legajo 58-1-26, Stetson Collection, University of Florida, Gainesville, hereinafter cited as Stetson Collection. The Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla) will hereinafter be cited as A.G.I., leg. (file) with proper identifying numerals.

[5] Wesley F. Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689.* Volume I of *A History of the South,* edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press [projected 10 volumes, 1948—], 1949), 317-320.

[6] John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 203. Timucua is the coastal area of northern Florida; Guale roughly corresponds to coastal Georgia, and Santa Elena to the southern coastal region of South Carolina.

[7] Religious of Santa Elena to Crown, September 10, 1657, A.G.I., Santo Domingo, leg. 54-5-20; Juan de Salamanca to Crown, Havana, November 1, 1658, A.G.I., Santo Domingo, leg. 54-1-18.

latitude on the south,[8] which included the extensive missions in Guale, the presidio at St. Augustine, and not an insignificant part of New Spain itself. Heath's charter of 1629 stipulated that he could occupy only territory not inhabited by a Christian prince. It was no oversight when Charles II omitted this provision from his charter to the Carolina proprietors.

Under the auspices of these Lords Proprietors, leading planters of overcrowded Barbados sent Captain William Hilton in 1663 to select a desirable site in Carolina for their new plantation. He sailed from Barbados in the "Adventure" and by late August was off the Carolina coast, just north of Port Royal. Indians poured forth out of the dense forest to greet this strange vessel, and Hilton bartered trinkets for information. The natives related how not long ago a thirteen-man English vessel was wrecked here and that some of the crew were still alive, prisoners in various Indian villages. Using bribery, threats, and coercion, Hilton rescued some and was bargaining for the remainder when a canoe with an Indian "standing up and holding a paper in a cleft stick," approached the "Adventure."[9] The mysterious paper was a letter from a nearby Spanish captain announcing that the remaining English were Indian prisoners at Santa Elena. He could arrange their exchange for Hilton's Indian hostages and suitable presents, however, if only the "Adventure" would put in at Santa Elena.[10] Hilton, his suspicions aroused, replied that he could not read the Spanish letter, that his only concern was to rescue the English, and that "at present [I have no] businesse with you."[11] Because the Indians ashore became increasingly hostile, it was decided to abandon the remaining prisoners altogether.

Before leaving Port Royal, Hilton saw signs of prior Spanish influence—a deserted mission with a great cross still before it, and the ruins and entrenchments of an abandoned fort. These probably were the remains of one of the two Spanish forts erected on Parris Island or possibly even the vestiges of the French Charlesfort.[12] From Port Royal, Hilton headed north, intently scrutinizing the Carolina coast,

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[8] Mattie Erma Edwards Parker (ed.), *North Carolina Charters and Constitutions, 1578-1698* (Raleigh: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963). There were two charters, one in 1663 and another in 1665. The boundaries of the later charter are given above.

[9] William Hilton, Anthony Long, and Peter Fabian, "A True Relation of a Voyage Upon Discovery of Part of the Coast of Florida from the Latitude of 31° 45′ North Latitude," *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society,* V (1897), 21, hereinafter cited as Hilton, "True Relation."

[10] Alonso Arguiles to William Hilton, Santa Elena, September 23, 1663, *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society,* V (1897), 28.

[11] William Hilton to Alonso Arguiles, Aboard the "Adventure," September 23, 1663, *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society,* V, 27.

[12] Hilton, "True Relation," 21.

until he finally reached the abandoned New England colony on the Cape Fear River. Here, there were cattle running about and a letter nailed to a post which gave a disparaging account of the colony's brief existence. Hilton, undaunted by this unfavorable account, returned to Barbados and painted glowing pictures of "pleasant and delightful" Carolina where "the ayr is clear and sweet," and "the lands are laden with large tall oaks, walnuts, and bayes." [13]

Inspired by Hilton's favorable description Barbadian settlers founded a colony at Cape Fear in 1664. Colonel Robert Sanford was sent to explore southward for additional sites for future settlements, and in his detailed examination of the coast he concurred with Hilton as to the desirability of Port Royal with its excellent harbor and fertile soil. Fortunately the Indians with whom he came into contact were much friendlier than those encountered by Hilton. One cacique even insisted that his son join the English, and, in return, a member of Sanford's party, Dr. Henry Woodward, provided with an Indian maid to care for his every need, volunteered to remain with the Indians to learn their language and customs.[14] Later Woodward was to have a strange odyssey which included capture by a Spanish patrol and a lax imprisonment at St. Augustine where he served as interpreter, then escape when English pirates sacked the city, and finally his return to Carolina when he joined vessels carrying the first colonists to Charleston.[15] Leaving Woodward, Sanford returned to Cape Fear where a combination of misfortunes soon forced the abandonment of this colony. His voyage, however, like Hilton's before, pointed out to him the many advantages of southern Carolina, even though it was "in the very chops of the Spaniards." [16]

It was here that the Lords Proprietors determined to plant their next colony, and it was here that for the first time they were successful. They selected Port Royal as the most promising spot, but after reaching Carolina the colonists themselves decided the region further north on the Kiawha (Ashley River) was better. In this fashion in 1670 Charleston had its genesis.

In the decade of the 1660's Spain had become increasingly aware of and alarmed by mounting English interest in the Carolina coast.

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[13] Hilton, "True Relation," 25.

[14] Robert Sanford, "Robert Sanford's Relation, 1666," *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, edited by Alexander S. Salley, Jr. (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1911), 104-105, hereinafter cited as Salley, *Narratives of Carolina.*

[15] Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1928), 6-7, hereinafter cited as Crane, *Southern Frontier.*

[16] Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 4 volumes, 1934-1938), III, 201.

The settlements at Cape Fear, the voyages of Hilton and Sanford, the southern explorations by land from Virginia, all contributed to Spanish concern. Periodic reports of English activities from Spanish outposts, missionaries, and friendly Indians trickled back to the Spanish Governor at St. Augustine. But what could he do? The current report that St. Augustine was slowly perishing of hunger was only slightly exaggerated.[17] To make matters worse, just before Charleston was founded, Jamaican pirates had surprised St. Augustine, had pillaged and burned the town, and had barely missed capturing the castillo itself. Thus the Spaniards in Florida were ill prepared to contest seriously the establishment of Charleston.[18]

The year 1670 is of considerable importance in English-Spanish relations. It was in 1670 that Charleston was founded, and it was in 1670 that a treaty was signed in Madrid, which, according to its terms, was to settle forever disputes between the two crowns in the New World. In this treaty, appropriately called the American Treaty, there were many provisions, though one of the most controversial was the clause asserting that England had the right to "hold and possess forever" all lands she now occupied in America.[19] Clearly this meant that Spain would give up her claim to Jamaica and would recognize English settlements in Virginia and to the north. But what of fringe areas in America recently occupied by Englishmen, such as the logwood cutters of the Yucatan Peninsula or the Charleston colonists? Were they established in these areas before July, 1670? Did this give England title to those regions? If so, what were their boundaries? Though these questions were immediately raised they were not answered then—or ever, for that matter.

As far as the Spanish government in Madrid was concerned the most dangerous peril was not Charleston, but the hundreds of former buccaneers swarming ashore cutting logwood on the Yucatan Peninsula. To the Spanish Governor at St. Augustine, however, it was a different story. This new English settlement at Charleston, or San Jorge, as the Spaniards called it, bordered on the province of Guale, threatened to undermine the extensive mission system there, and in time could wrest Spain's control of St. Augustine, of the Gulf Coast,

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[17] Junta de guerra de Indias, Madrid, October 10, 1662, A.G.I., Santo Domingo, leg. 58-2-2.

[18] Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega to Charles II, St. Augustine, August 8, 1668, A.G.I., Santo Domingo, leg. 54-5-18.

[19] Treaty of Madrid, 1670, Frances Davenport and Charles O. Paullin (eds.), *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 4 volumes, 1917-1937), II, 193-196.

and even of the silver mines of New Spain. At once, and for many years to come, there was the unceasing demand at St. Augustine that the English be expelled from Charleston.

Even before news of the signing of the Treaty of Madrid and with only the limited forces at St. Augustine, Governor Condoya launched an abortive attack. Disturbing reports at Charleston that a menacing Spanish and Indian force was hovering south of the city threw its inhabitants into consternation until a timely relief vessel scurried into Charleston and a sudden storm scattered the Spanish vessels, forcing them to limp back to St. Augustine.[20]

After the signing of the Treaty of Madrid in 1670 and after one unsuccessful venture, Condoya contemplated a second attack, even though he believed such an attack would be a clear-cut treaty violation. For several years Condoya erroneously believed that Port Royal had been settled in 1669 (probably because the proprietors had shown such a decided interest here) and that England without question had a valid claim. But this did not deter the Florida Governor. No more concerned with the 1670 treaty than Henry Morgan, who proceeded to take Panama, and confronted with the immediate Carolina menace, Condoya "neglected" to publish the treaty in St. Augustine and continued preparations for a renewed attack—[21] an attack delayed only because of insufficient forces. The Viceroy of New Spain had been instructed to furnish troops, money, and supplies to Florida immediately, while at the same time to observe strictly the terms of the Treaty of Madrid. Since for some time the Viceroy also believed that Carolina was founded in 1669 and since an attack then would have been a treaty violation, he delayed sending reinforcements until the Spanish Crown made clear its policy, which it was not quick to do.[22] In the interval Condoya anxiously watched the small unfortified settlement at Charleston prosper, expand, and strengthen itself. By no means did he abandon his determination to destroy Charleston, but the troops at St. Augustine first must be reinforced from other parts of the Indies. This dilemma was as obvious as it was difficult to overcome.

From Indians, Spanish patrols, and English prisoners Condoya re-

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[20] Henry Woodward to Sir John Yeamans, Albymarle Point in Chyanhaw, September 10, 1670, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 208-209; informe de la junta de guerra de Indias, Madrid, February 12, 1674, A.G.I., Santo Domingo, leg. 58-2-14.

[21] Manuel de Condoya to Charles II, St. Augustine, March 21, 1672, A.G.I. Santo Domingo, leg. 54-5-11.

[22] Queen to Viceroy of New Spain, Madrid, June 20, 1671, exp. 263, f. 248, reales cédulas, duplicadas, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico; instrucción . . . a Antonio Sebastian Toledo, October 22, 1673, *Instrucciones que los Vireyes de Nueva España dejaron a sus sucesores* (Mexico: I. Escalande, 1873), I, 167.

ceived timely, though not always accurate, reports of English activities in Carolina. The most valuable early accounts came from Englishmen themselves, who for one reason or another ended up in St. Augustine. Even in 1670 some of the Charleston colonists had fallen into Spanish hands. During a violent gale, the "Three Brothers" became separated from the rest of the fleet, and, battered and crippled, sought respite at Santa Catalina Island in Guale. The Indians were hospitable, gladly supplying food and water, and it was not until a shore party failed to return that the English had cause for alarm. An anxious night was spent aboard the "Three Brothers," and the next morning their worst suspicions were confirmed. Then "we heard a drume, and presently saw 4 Spaniards armed with muskets and swords" file out of the forest. The English defiantly refused to surrender and amid "a volley of musket shott and a cloud of arrows" precipitously departed Santa Catalina, leaving behind the nine men and two women in the shore party.[23] The next month Governor Joseph West sent a vessel from Charleston back to Santa Catalina to secure the prisoners' release. The Spaniards not only refused to give up their captives from the "Three Brothers," but they also added two more to their catch from this second vessel.[24] The Englishmen not killed by the Indians were sent to St. Augustine to report on San Jorge.

Not all Englishmen in Spanish Florida were such unwilling guests. During the first years conditions at Charleston were rigorous: The virgin forests had to be cleared for crops and houses, and, in addition, much labor was required to construct even rudimentary defenses against the constant threat of Spanish attack. The prospect of ceaseless toil, among other reasons, caused some indentured servants and "noted villans" to desert to Florida.[25] Here they were well received and their comprehensive and probably derisive accounts of San Jorge were most welcome.

It was this growing English colony plus the destructive, humiliating pirate raid of 1668 that spurred Spain out of her usual lethargy where Florida was concerned. One hundred and fifteen men were sent to supplement the undermanned Florida garrison, while a new fort—a truly formidable one—was built at St. Augustine. Construction on the new Castillo de San Marcos was begun in 1670; in fifteen years

[23] Maurice Mathew's relation of St. Katherina (Wallie), 1670, Salley, *Narratives of Carolina,* 114-115.

[24] Joseph West to Lord Ashley, Kyawaw, June 27, 1670, *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society,* V, 174.

[25] Joseph West to Lord Ashley, Charles Town, September 3, 1671, V, 338, and meeting of Grand Council, Charles Town, January 10, 1672, V, 373-374, *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society.*

it was essentially completed. The effectiveness of its commanding location, of its massive coquina walls and wide moat, of its dominating four-sided bastions, and of its generous supply of heavy ordnance was demonstrated on more than one occasion when it withstood both storm and siege.[26]

Not only was St. Augustine itself strengthened, but also less successful measures were taken to buttress Spanish control throughout Florida. The Gulf Coast region of Apalachee was given prime consideration. As early as 1633 Franciscans had begun to expand their missions westward into Apalachee. The center of missionary activity was San Luis (near Tallahassee) from which thirteen lesser missions radiated at the high tide of missionary effectiveness in 1675. Because of the English threat in Carolina and the pirate threat to the Gulf Coast, troops were sent to San Luis in 1658; shortly afterwards Fort San Marcos was built near the intersection of the St. Marks and Wakulla rivers.[27]

Since there were only scattered missions and a handful of troops in Apalachee, Spanish control here depended almost exclusively on the loyalty of the Indians—a fact appreciated no less in Charleston than in St. Augustine. Their allegiance was frequently ephemeral and became even more so with the appearance of enterprising Carolina traders. In the late 1670's the Florida Governor made frequent but futile pleas that Spanish colonists from the Canary Islands be sent to Apalachee to ward off the aggressive Carolinians.[28]

Strengthening the presidio at St. Augustine and fortifying and, to a limited degree, colonizing Apalachee were merely passive measures taken to contain the Carolinians. The attack launched from St. Augustine in 1670 had failed, and hoped-for reinforcements from the Windward Squadron or from Spanish colonies for a subsequent thrust failed to materialize. Yet perhaps there was another solution: Holland was engaged in a periodic naval war with England. Why could Spain not co-operate with the Dutch to the detriment of their common foe? With this in mind the Spanish Council of War recommended in 1674 that if the Netherlands could be induced to furnish ships and to join in a combined attack on Charleston, then they should net the cap-

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[26] Verne E. Chatelain, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1941), 63-67.

[27] Mark F. Boyd, "The Fortifications at San Marcos de Apalachee," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV (July, 1936), 3-8; Mark Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin (eds.), *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951), 8-10.

[28] Hita Salazar to Charles II, St. Augustine, September 6, 1677, A.G.I., Santo Domingo, leg. 58-1-26.

tured booty while Spanish forces would retain possession of the city.[29] But Holland's main effort in the New World was directed toward New York, and in a short time the two naval belligerents made peace. Spain's proposed joint attack did not take place, and Charleston was spared.

Unencumbered by serious Spanish opposition and aided by natural fertility of the land, a commanding position among adjacent Indians, and a lucrative fur trade, Carolinians became increasingly aggressive after 1680. In that very year 300 English-led Indians, supplied with new firearms, attacked several Spanish missions in Guale. The fort and mission of Santa Catalina Island, provincial headquarters of Guale, received the worst treatment. In the past it had been contemplated that this island, reinforced like Apalachee by Canary Island colonists, would be a bulwark against inroads from Carolina.[30] Repeated incursions from the north shattered this dream. To make matters worse, the powerful, warlike Yamasee Indians, because of resentment against the Spaniards and fear of English raids, deserted Guale for new allies in Carolina.

English expansion was not confined to nearby Guale, but extended at least as far west as the Apalachicola River. At the same time that Apalachee was buffeted by English and French corsair attacks on the Gulf, English traders were rapidly expanding their influence to the north among the Lower Creeks. To forestall English expansion in this area the Spaniards built a fort in 1689 at Coweta on the upper Chattahoochee River. But there were not enough troops to man this fort effectively and at the same time to protect the Gulf Coast. Only two years later the garrison was forced to abandon and burn the fort.[31]

English and French corsairs did not limit their activities to the Gulf Coast. In 1683 the enterprising French buccaneer, the Sieur de Grammont, with three English and as many French warships caught the sentinels napping at Matanzas—the back door to St. Augustine—and barely missed surprising the city. Frustrated here, he headed for Guale where he terrorized the missions while refitting his ships.[32] Then they sailed to Charleston where, despite Governor James Colle-

[29] Junta de guerra de Indias, March 6, 1674, A.G.I., Santo Domingo, leg. 58-2-14, Spanish Records (microfilm), State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Spanish Records.

[30] Juan Marqués Cabrera to Charles II, December 8, 1680, A.G.I., Santo Domingo, leg. 54-5-11.

[31] Herbert E. Bolton, "Spanish Resistance to the Carolina Traders in Western Georgia (1680-1704)," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, IX (June, 1925), 124-125.

[32] Razón de lo sucedido en las provincias de la Florida . . . , May 20, 1683, A.G.I., Santo Domingo, leg. 54-5-11.

ton's forceful denials, there is good reason to believe they were well received.[33]

Corsairs harassing the coastal islands of Guale and Carolina-inspired Indian attacks were rapidly undermining the extensive Guale mission system. What was worse, the actual settlements in Carolina were being pushed further south. While de Grammont was menacing St. Augustine, adventurous Scots, led by Henry Erskin, Lord Cardross, a much persecuted Presbyterian, founded Stewarts Town at Port Royal. Corsair depredations and this latest encroachment were too much for harried Governor Hita Salazar at St. Augustine. He was aware that Cardross' colony was weak, at least temporarily so, and to a certain extent was isolated. Since unquestionably it violated the Treaty of Madrid, there was ample legitimate provocation for attack. And Salazar did not pass up his opportunity. His combined force of Spaniards, Indians, and mulattoes had little difficulty in overpowering Stewarts Town, already ravaged by sickness. With Scottish fugitives precipitately flying before them, the Spaniards pressed northward to the Edisto River, ransacking outlying plantations, carrying off Negro slaves, even killing the brother-in-law of the Carolina Governor.[34]

Lurid accounts of how the attackers whipped and burned their prisoners threw Charleston into an uproar. Immediately plans were underfoot to avenge "all the bloody insolencys the Spaniards had committed against this colony." A French privateer which "happened" to be in Charleston, her crew reinforced by 200 Carolina volunteers, prepared to wreak sanguinary vengeance on St. Augustine. Just before it got underway, a new Governor arrived and, deeming that Salazar had ample provocation and not wanting to encourage piracy, unequivocally forbade any retaliation.[35]

During the 1690's open hostility in the Southeast abated, not because of fondness of Carolinians for the Spaniards but because England now had joined Spain in a coalition against the expansionist policies of Louis XIV. Superficially cordial relations existed between Charleston and St. Augustine. Each kept the other informed of the latest French movements,[36] the Carolinians returned a few captured

[33] James Colleton to Governor of Florida (?), in Diego de Quiroga y Losada to Crown, St. Augustine, April 1, 1688, A.G.I., Santo Domingo, leg. 58-1-26; Spanish Records, 7-37; Instructions to James Colleton, March 3, 1687, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial,* XII, 338.

[34] Lords Proprietors to Colleton, March 3, 1687, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial,* XII, 336; ? to Seth Sothell, 1698 (?), Saunders, *Colonial Records,* II, 846-847.

[35] ? to Seth Sothell, 1698 (?), Saunders, *Colonial Records,* II, 846-847.

[36] Laureano de Torres y Ayala to Charles II, St. Augustine, July 8, 1695, February 7, 1697, A.G.I., Santo Domingo, leg. 58-1-26.

Spanish Indians,[37] and Englishmen wrecked on the Florida Coast were aided and sent on their ways.[38]

Despite outward signs of amiability, however, there was latent hostility between English Carolina and Spanish Florida. Negro slaves who had been deserting to St. Augustine since the mid-1680's continued to do so and were not returned.[39] At the same time venturous Carolina traders extended their operations far west of the Chattahoochee River, some even reached the Mississippi,[40] and they or their Indian allies continued to capture Spanish Indians for sale as slaves in Barbados and elsewhere.[41] England also was showing more interest in the Gulf Coast, proposing at first to occupy it with Spanish consent to forestall the French. At the end of the century England proposed to occupy it without Spanish consent to forestall both France and Spain.[42]

Spain was hard pressed throughout all of *la Florida,* and her economic, military, naval, and political decline in the seventeenth century and the contrasting English advances were graphically portrayed in Carolina where the interests of these two nations conflicted. For some years the principal English settlement at Charleston was weak and isolated and should have succumbed to only a moderate force. The Spanish navy, however, was in a sorry state, and could not protect key West Indian ports from pirate assault, much less mount an attack against Charleston. Unable to uphold Spanish claims to Carolina through naval power, another approach was to colonize this disputed region. This Spain had endeavored to do since Menéndez's day, but all attempts were futile. Colonists who came to Spanish America were drawn to the more wealthy, civilized, and protected colonies in Mexico and South America. Carolina, with no valuable gold or silver mines and only the prospect of incessant hostilities with the Indians and English, had little attraction for Canary Island colonists or any others whom Spanish authorities encouraged to settle here in the seventeenth century. In sharp contrast, Carolina, one of the last unsettled

[37] Laureano de Torres to John Archdale, January 24, 1696, Archdale Papers, Library of Congress.

[38] The best account of this is in Jonathan Dickinson, *God's Protecting Providence . . .* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Reinier Jansen, 1699).

[39] Commons House Journal, November 10, 1697, A. S. Salley, Jr. (ed.), *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina for Two Sessions of 1697* (Columbia, South Carolina: The State Company, 1913), 19.

[40] Crane, *Southern Frontier,* 133.

[41] Junta de guerra de Indias to Crown, Madrid, August 7, 1693, A.G.I., Santo Domingo, leg. 58-1-22, Spanish Records, 8-50.

[42] Memorial of Sir Thomas Laurence, Whitehall, June 25, 1695, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial,* XIV, 518; auto, St. Augustine, October 23, 1698, A.G.I., Mexico, leg. 61-6-22, Stetson Collection.

areas on the Atlantic Coast, presented an entirely different picture to land-hungry Englishmen in overcrowded Barbados, England, Virginia, and elsewhere. England could well afford to ignore such documents as the papal bulls of demarcation and the Treaty of Madrid and instead champion the doctrine of effective occupation.

Since the Spanish navy was not able to keep the English out of Carolina and since Spain was unable to colonize this territory herself, the loss of this province appeared inevitable. But an effective use of friendly Indians could postpone the day of reckoning. Spain, however, for both religious and economic reasons was not able to utilize effectively the thousands of mission Indians. Traditionally she was opposed to arming the American natives, though this policy belatedly began to break down in face of mounting English attacks. In order to arm and supply them munitions regularly, Spain would have to trade extensively with them, and Spanish industry was in no position to compete with aggressive Carolina traders. This largely explains the Yamasee defection and the rapid spread of English influence in Carolina. Events would prove that the most effective Spanish measure in retaining at least part of the region embraced in the Carolina Charter was building the new castillo at St. Augustine.

During King William's War there had been a precarious peace in the Southeast, and to a certain extent imperial aspirations remained dormant. But the forthcoming War of Spanish Succession saw a radical realignment of European powers, and in America it acted as a catalyst to plunge the entire Southeast into turmoil. Whereas in the past England had gradually undermined Spanish influence in most of Guale and to a lesser extent in Timucua and Apalachee, now she would forcibly attempt to make good the terms of the Carolina Charter which included St. Augustine itself. She would gravely imperil the Spanish position in that city and indeed in all of *la Florida.*

David Stone and Peter Br

THIS FIRST ACTUAL SU

OF THE

State of North Caro

Taken by the Subscribers

is respectfully dedicated

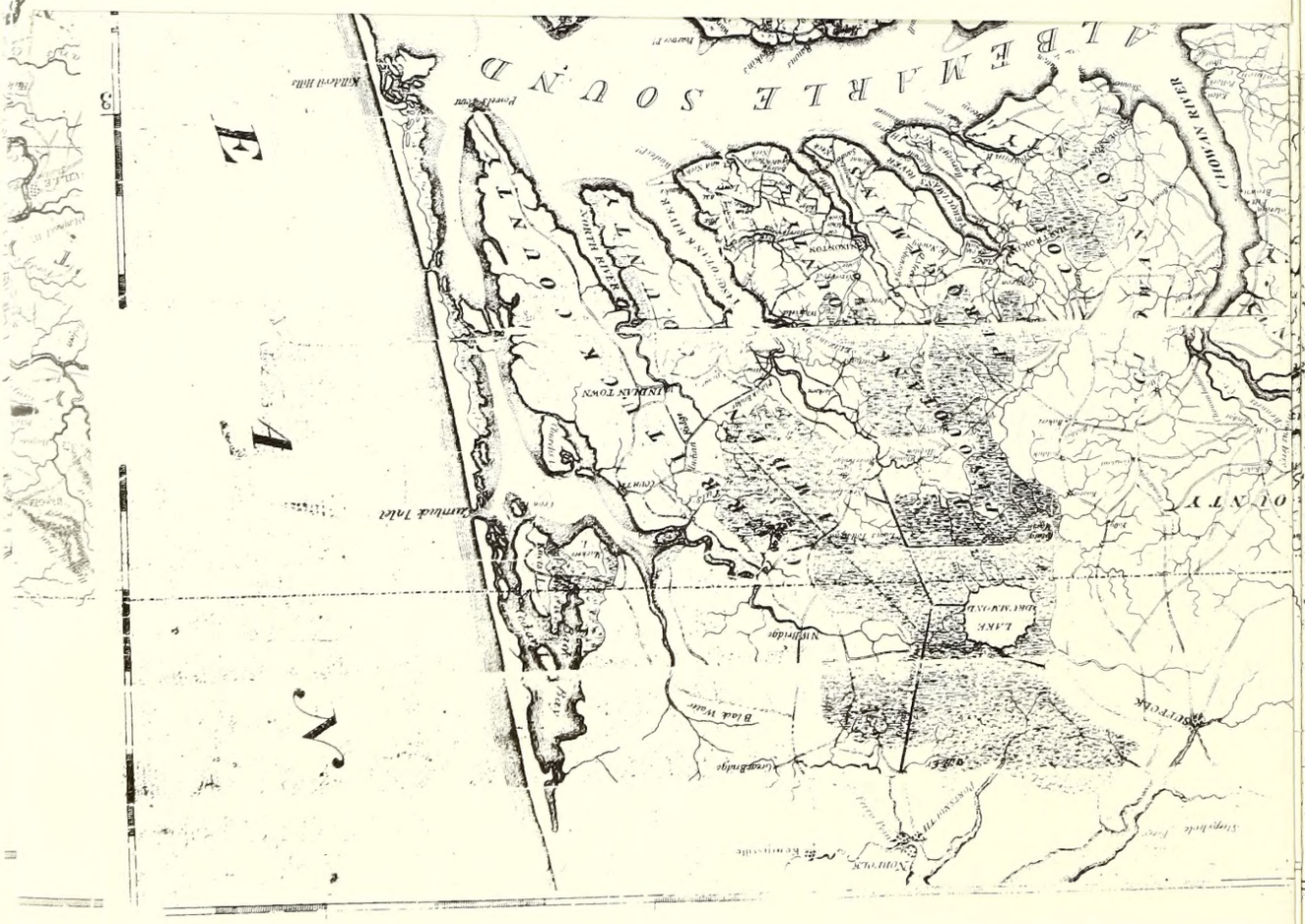
By their humble Ser

Jon.a B

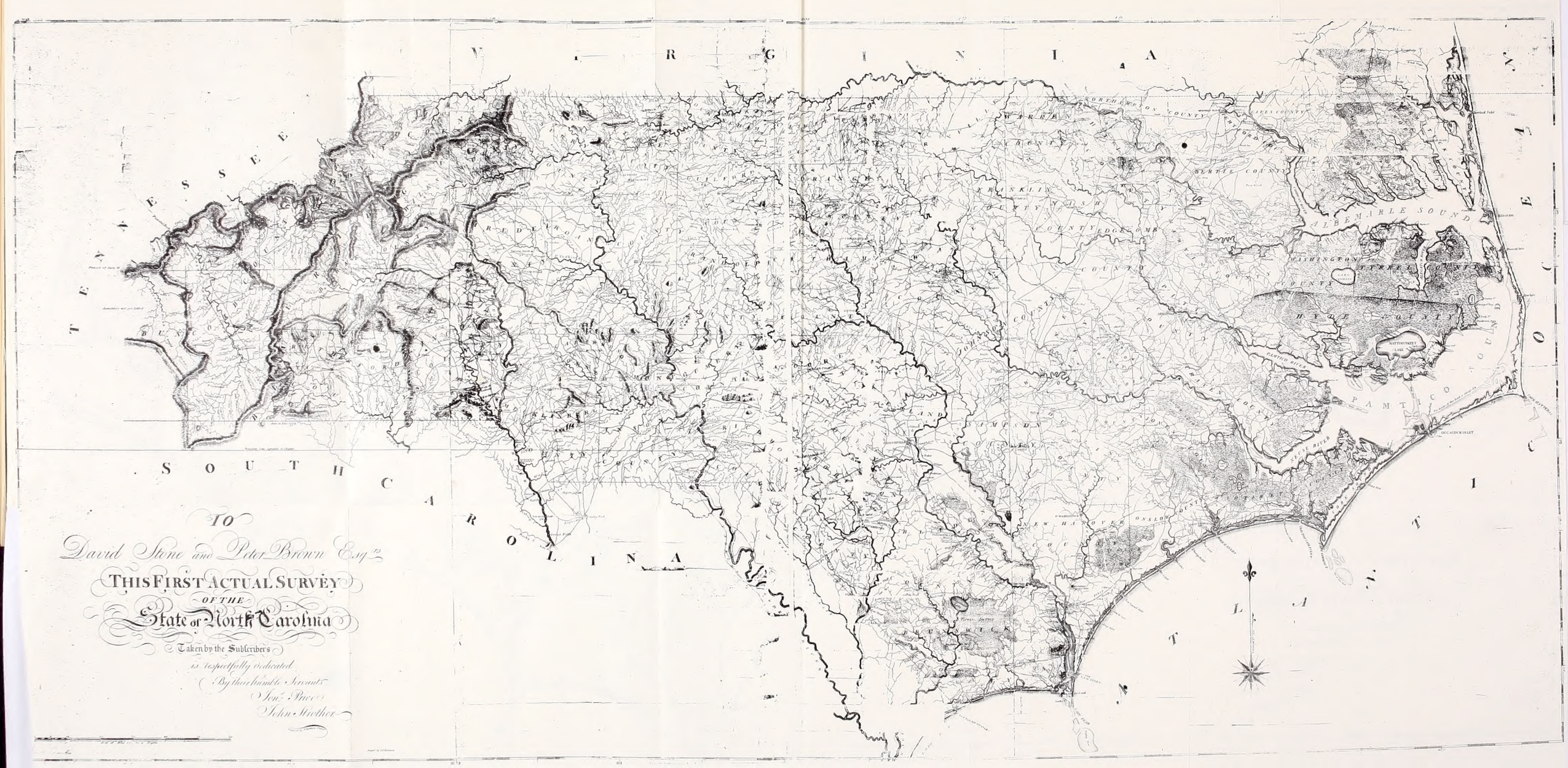
John

1809

Engraved by



84 83


VIRGINIA
TENNESSEE
SOUTH CAROLINA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ALBEMARLE SOUND
PAMTICO SOUND
OCRACOCK INLET
TO
David Stone and Peter Brown Esqrs
THIS FIRST ACTUAL SURVEY
OF THE
State of North Carolina
Taken by the Subscribers
is respectfully dedicated
By their humble Servants
Jon.a Price
John Strother


TO
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THIS FIRST ACTUAL SURVEY
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Jon.a Price
John Strother
1808
TENNESSEE
SOUTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
OCRACOCK INLET
EXPLANATION


Kempsville
SUFFOLK
LAKE DRUMMOND
Black Water
GATES COUNTY
Currituck Inlet
INDIAN TOWN
PERQUIMANS COUNTY
CHOWAN COUNTY
CHOWAN RIVER
ALBEMARLE SOUND
Roanoke Inlet
WASHINGTON COUNTY
TYRRELL COUNTY
ALLIGATOR RIVER
LAKE PHELPS
New Inlet
HYDE COUNTY
BEAUFORT COUNTY
PAMLICO SOUND
PAMTICO RIVER
MATTAMUSKEET LAKE
Hatteras Bank
OCCACOCK INLET
NEUSE RIVER
Cedar Inlet

THE PRICE AND STROTHER
FIRST ACTUAL SURVEY OF STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

By Mary Lindsay Thornton*

A pioneer in North Carolina cartography, Jonathan Price, labored for almost twenty years to complete and publish a map based on the first actual survey of the State. On December 25, 1792, he petitioned the North Carolina House of Assembly for a loan to aid him in this enterprise which he had already begun:

> Your Petitioner being sensible of the Great Utility that a correct Map of this State would be to the inhabitants thereof, has for this Three Years past been Labouring at the same on his own expence and now proposes to Lay before this respectable Body what he has already done, and if encouragement is given to go on with the undertaking shewing in an accurate manner on a much larger scale then has ever yet been attempted, by Actual Surveys, the present Bounds of the State, Soundings on the Sea Coast dangerous shoals on Cape Fear, Cape Lookout and Cap Hatterass, all Sand Banks, Inlets and the depth of water therein, Soundings and Shoals in Pamlico and Albemarl Sounds, with all Rivers, Beys, Lakes, Cannels, Swamps, Creeks, ferrys foards and Roads in every Districk beautifully Adorned with Colours, all the County Lines Shaded with different Colours, every Subscribers Mannor Actually Survey'd and adorned to be finished as Speedy as the Nature of the cost will Admit. . . .[1]

Collaborating in the project, Nathaniel Christmas, also petitioned the same day:

> Being well acquainted with the great utility that a General and Correct Map would be to this State as well for the benefit of the inhabitants thereof, as an inducement to foreigners and others, to migrate to it, by putting it in their Power to obtain in a very short time a Complete Knowledge of

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* Miss Thornton was formerly Head of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, where she still resides.

[1] Legislative Papers, December 25, 1792, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Legislative Papers. The first federal census of 1790 lists Jonathan Price, the head of a family of three males, three females, and one slave living in Pasquotank County. Walter Clark (ed.) *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XXVI, 883, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records.*

the many blessings and advantageous situations it is possessed of together with the Principal public roads, courses and Distances from Place to place, throughout the whole—Your petitioner (being a native of this State) and Having Regularly studied Geography and Having travelled much in this as well as in most of the other States in the union He flatters himself that by his Care and Industry, he shall be able to give General Satisfaction in this arduous undertaking—and In order to facilitate this work, and by a Small experiment therein, to Convince his own mind, that he was in some degree equal to the task with the assistance of some Skilful artist, has made some progress therein at his own expense, and now proposes to Your Honourable body—provided a suitable Incouragement be given by the State to complete a map thereof on a large Scale Fully describing the present boundaries of the State together with the boundaries of Each County, the principal Rivers bays and sounds of the State, with the permanent seat of Government its situation bareing and Distance to the different courthouses and university and public schools, the whole to be compleated with the Assistance of a Directory pamphlet in the most correct manner. . . .[2]

Nathaniel Christmas seems to have acted more as a promoter than as a cartographer. The "skilful artist" mentioned in his petition was his brother, William Christmas, "whose talents had been chiefly employed in surveying since 1785," and who could add some legislative influence as a member of the State Senate of 1791-1792.[3]

The Assembly, acting favorably, directed the Treasurer to lend Jonathan Price £500 for three years.[4] Since this amount proved insufficient to complete even a part of the survey, the promoters published an appeal for subscribers in the February 19, 1794, issue of *The North-Carolina Journal:*

Nathaniel Christmas and Jonathan Price Respectfully inform the public, and their friends in general, that they are about the business of making a Map of this state by actual survey. The General Assembly has been pleased to allow the sum of five pounds for the survey of each county, but they find by experience that the above sum will be expended in surveying two and a half days, and that upon an average the survey of each county cannot be made for a less sum than thirty or forty pounds—they therefore must rely on the friends of the undertaking for subscriptions. They are proceeding to finish the surveys of the districts of Edenton and Halifax, which they will publish as soon as compleated, with as many of the adjacent counties

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[2] Legislative Papers, December 25, 1792.

[3] Obituary of William Christmas, *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina State Gazette,* February 7, 1812. Nathaniel and William Christmas were sons of John Christmas of Orange County, Orange County Records, Wills, 1753-1819, Will of John Christmas, August 11, 1783, State Department of Archives and History.

[4] *Journal of the House of Commons, State of North Carolina,* January 1, 1793, 62; hereinafter cited as *House Journal*; *Journal of the Senate, State of North Carolina,* December 26, 1792, 42; December 31, 1792, 49, hereinafter cited as *Senate Journal.*

annexed thereto, as shall make one sheet, containing about one-fourth of the map; and they shall attend at the different courts of Halifax district, on the second day of each court, in order to receive subscriptions, and finish the survey of each respective county—they hope the subscribers will be pleased to pay the one half of the sums subscribed, on their finishing the survey of the county in which they reside. Each subscriber may expect to receive a sheet of the map as soon as compleated, which will so coincide with the three other sheets as to form a complete map of the whole state.[5]

No evidence of the success of this appeal survives, nor any copy of a preliminary publication of a section of the map. In December, 1795, Thomas Blount, writing from Philadelphia to John Gray Blount, thought that work had progressed to the point where a publisher should be considered. He enclosed "information to Mr. Price of the terms at which he may get his map of No Carolina engraved here in the most elegant style."[6]

In the same month, another surveyor, John Strother, complained to John Gray Blount that Price had "got a small part of our business (If I may say our) published but I am sorry to think I am not known in it, but we must know each other better before any part of my Notes is published. . . . I only mention this to you as a friend; for I must confess that I do not think my friend Price has dealt with me with that injinousness [*sic*] that I expected"[7]

The "small part of our business" may have been a map entitled *A Description of Occacock Inlet . . . Adorned with a Map, taken by actual survey,* by Jonathan Price which was printed by François-Xavier Martin in 1795. It was financed by the Blounts at the request of John Hall.[8]

Strother's assertion of his claim probably led to Christmas' withdrawal as collaborator in the projected map. A map copyrighted on March 7, 1796, as "A Map of the State of North-Carolina Agreeable to its present boundaries" substitutes Strother for Christmas as co-author.[9] This map was probably copyrighted as a manuscript. No

[5] *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), February 19, 1794.

[6] Alice Barnwell Keith (ed.), *The John Gray Blount Papers* (Raleigh, State Department of Archives and History, 2 volumes, 1952, 1959), II, 630, hereinafter cited as Keith, *Blount Papers.* Thomas and John Gray Blount, residents of Beaufort County, in 1783 joined with their brother, William, to take over the business of their father, which became the largest mercantile business in North Carolina. They owned ships and engaged in trade with Europe and the West Indies. The Blounts were land speculators on a large scale and were interested in maps and surveys. Keith, *Blount Papers,* I, xx-xxvii, 482.

[7] Keith, *Blount Papers,* II, 633. John Strother is first heard of as a resident of Orange County in 1782. Clark, *State Records,* XVI, 78.

[8] Keith, *Blount Papers,* I, 453; II, 358, 358*n.*

[9] *The North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern) April 2, 1796. Christmas may have lost interest in the project on account of a revival of his interest in the Mississippi region

advertisement for subscribers nor announcement of publication appears in extant copies of newspapers published during the year. Another map by Price and Strother was copyrighted on the same day, a navigator's chart entitled "The Chart of the sea coasts from Cape Henry and the inlets, sounds and rivers of North Carolina to the towns of Edenton, Washington, Newbern and Wilmington," though it was not ready for publication until August 4, 1796, when they advertised for subscribers. It was finally published by François-Xavier Martin in 1798.[10]

Strother's collaboration with Price combined the experience of surveyors who had superior knowledge of the State. Strother was surveying for the Blounts as early as 1785.[11] His knowledge of the little known western section had been gained in surveying John Gray Blount's western lands comprising over a million acres.[12] His familiarity with that region was recognized in his selection as one of the official surveyors to accompany the commissioners to draw the North Carolina-Tennessee line. Jonathan Price was also recognized officially by appointment in 1796 to serve with William Richardson Davie and Alfred Moore on a commission to extend the boundary line of North Carolina and South Carolina.[13] He had been designated as one of the commissioners to run the dividing line between Pasquotank and Perquimans counties in 1792.[14]

Financial difficulties made publication of the map doubtful without more aid. Another subsidy by the State was not likely. The loan to Christmas and Price had not been repaid in 1795, the year specified for its repayment.[15] In 1802 John Strother was petitioning the Senate, "praying to be allowed a larger indulgence for the repayment of monies loaned to him and Jonathan Price some years ago, to enable them to complete a map of this State from actual survey." The

where he eventually settled. He became familiar with possibilities of that region when he visited it in 1785 as an emissary of the State of Georgia laying claim to territory around Natchez, at that time under Spanish government. Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), "Papers Relating to Bourbon County, Georgia, 1785-1786, I-II," *The American Historical Review*, XV (1909-1910), 66-111, 297-353.

[10] *To Navigators This Chart Being an actual Survey of the Sea Coast and inland Navigation from Cape Henry to Cape Roman is most respectfully inscribed by Price and Strother. Engraved by W. Johnston. New-Bern North Carolina 1798. Scale 20 leagues to a Degree, Size 14 inches by 46 inches.*

[11] Keith, *Blount Papers*, I, 197-198.

[12] In 1796 North Carolina granted John Gray Blount over a million acres in Buncombe County. Sadie Smathers Patton, *Buncombe to Mecklenburg: Speculation Lands* (Forest City: Western North Carolina Historical Association, 1955), unpaged (7).

[13] *Laws of North Carolina, 1796*, c. 14.

[14] *House Journal*, December 14, 1792, 25.

[15] "Balances due from individuals to the State of N. C. Hillsborough District: To N. Christmas and J. Price for maps, 1795, 290 pounds," *Laws of North Carolina, 1796*, Appendix, 65.

treasurer was instructed to suspend proceedings against them until the next General Assembly.[16] Comptroller's Reports for 1802 and 1804 indicate that Christmas, Price, and Strother remained in arrears for £400, £500, and £290, respectively.[17]

That the map was finally published was due to the generosity of two private donors, David Stone and Peter Browne, who must have financed the greater part of the cost.[18] It bears a dedicatory title: *To David Stone and Peter Brown[e] Esqrs This First Actual Survey of the State of North Carolina Taken by the Subscribers is respectfully dedicated By their Servants, Jona Price John Strother.* Of impressive size, 28¾ by 59¼ inches with a scale of 69½ miles to a degree, it was engraved by William Harrison, Jr., and printed by Charles P. Harrison, who was in business as a copperplate printer and engraver in Philadelphia from 1806 to 1823.[19]

Two issues have survived with identical title, format, engraver, and printer. One with the date 1808 appears to have been printed later than an undated issue containing some variations that point to an earlier date. For example: Ashe County is omitted, though formed in 1799; the county seat of Buncombe is called Morristown, though officially named Asheville in 1797; a county north of Buncombe called Davie appears, though none of that name ever existed in that

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[16] *Senate Journal,* December 14, 1802, 43, 48.

[17] "Comptroller's Statement for the year 1802," *Laws of North Carolina, 1803,* Appendix; "Comptroller's Statement for the year 1804," *Laws of North Carolina, 1805,* Appendix.

[18] David Stone (1770-1818), at this time Governor of North Carolina. He was a member of the North Carolina House of Commons, 1790-1795, and again, 1811-1812; judge, 1795-1798, 1807-1808; member of the United States House of Representatives, 1799; United States Senate, 1800-1807 and again, 1812-1814; Governor, 1808-1810. Samuel A. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), IV, 423-439. Peter Browne (1764? or 1765?-1833), a native of Scotland, was a leader of the State bar, practicing in Windsor, Halifax, and Raleigh; member of the North Carolina House of Commons, 1812; chairman of the first internal improvement commission, 1815-1818, David Lowry Swain, *Early Times in Raleigh* (Raleigh: Walters, Hughes and Company, 1867), 26-29; *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury) November 4, 1833. Archibald D. Murphey commented: "It is with shame we now reflect that only a few years ago, the General Assembly refused to aid two enterprising individuals to compile a Map of the State; and that had it not been for the generous aid of two gentlemen, David Stone and Peter Browne, Esquires (to whom this map is dedicated) it would not have been compiled." [Archibald D. Murphey], *Memoir on the Internal Improvements Contemplated by the Legislature of North Carolina* ([Raleigh, 1819]), unpaged (5). Archibald Debow Murphey, (1777-1832), lawyer; member State Senate from Orange County, 1812-1818; great leader in the movement for internal improvements and for schools; judge Superior Court, 1818-1820, Hugh Lefler and Paul Wager (eds.), *Orange County, 1752-1952* (Chapel Hill: [Orange Printshop], 1953), 335.

[19] Charles P. Harrison (1783-1854), engraver, son of William Harrison, Sr., engraver, who emigrated from England to Philadelphia in 1794. William Harrison, Jr., engraver, was working in Philadelphia as early as 1797. George C. Groce, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1957), 293, 295.

area; Beaufort County is omitted, though formed in 1712. More archaic spelling is used in the undated issue. Glasgow County, renamed Greene in 1799, bears its original name in both editions, an error that was passed on by other cartographers for some years.[20]

County lines and seats and roads are indicated. Location of churches and their denomination is indicated by symbols: Q.M. for Quaker (of which there is a surprisingly large number) B.M. for Baptist; M.M. for Methodist. The University and the State Capitol are indicated by tiny reproductions of buildings.

Some counties show a good many names of planters. For example, in Orange County: McCauley, Daniel, G. Daniel, Umsted, R. Christmas, W. Alves, O'Neille, Hodge, Woodly, Ashe, John Carter, Grimes, D. Ray, Benton, Col. Shepard, Cains, I. Hogg, and Brewer.

Christmas, Price, and Strother continued in arrears for money borrowed from the State. In 1809 their debt was transferred—together with all other unpaid debts incurred before December 31, 1799—to the Trustees of the University of North Carolina to be collected and used by that institution.[21] In 1813 the Trustees were advised to instruct "the Treasurer to first endeavor to inform himself fully and correctly of his circumstances through the members attending the present Assembly who reside in Mr. Price's neighborhood."[22] In 1817 the Trustees Committee on judgment against Jonathan Price amounting to £698 and 18 shillings advised "that all further proceedings in consequence of it be stayed; save as to the costs which it is held must be collected from and paid by Mr. Price . . . because of the scanty means and circumstances of the debtor. . . ."[23]

John Strother had died in 1816.[24] Jonathan Price continued to be active as a surveyor. He was much in demand in the surge of survey-

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[20] Archibald D. Murphey calls attention to the difficulties cartographers encountered working at this time: "Little was known of the Geography of the western parts of the State. . . . Mr. Strother visited this part of the State and obtained the best information he could from the Inhabitants, as well as by his own observations of the ranges of mountains and the direction of the water courses. But the population was small and scattered, there were few highways, and it was impossible for him to obtain information for an accurate map." Archibald D. Murphey, Report to Hamilton Fulton, August 10, 1819. Reprinted in William Henry Hoyt (ed.), *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1914), II, 118, hereinafter cited as Hoyt, *Murphey Papers.*

[21] *Laws of North Carolina, 1809*, c. III.

[22] University of North Carolina Trustees Minutes, December 14, 1813, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, hereinafter cited as University Trustees Minutes.

[23] University Trustees Minutes, December 16, 1817.

[24] Strother's will made in November, 1806, was probated in Davidson County, Tennessee, March 1, 1816. John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina: A History (From 1730-1913)* (Asheville: The Edward Buncombe Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1914), 138.

ing occasioned by the internal improvement movement led by Archibald DeBow Murphey in 1818.[25] He died on May 23, 1822.[26]

[25] Hoyt, *Murphy Papers*, I, 117-118, 140-141; II, 99-100.

[26] "Died in New Bern, on the 23[d] ult. at an advanced age, Mr. Jonathan Price, Surveyor. Mr. Price was well known as one of the authors of a very correct Map of the State, published some years ago, and he stood high in public estimation as a Surveyor and Mathematician." *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina State Gazette*, June 7, 1822.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Light That Shines: Chapel Hill, 1912-1916. By Robert B. House. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964. Pp. xi, 216. $5.00.)

In 1962 Robert B. House wrote a series of character sketches and reminiscences for *The Chapel Hill Weekly* that were based upon his undergraduate years at the University of North Carolina. These nostalgic memories of an age of innocence some fifty years ago are herein incorporated in book form. A graduate of Warrenton High School, House took his first long trip alone in the autumn of 1912; he alighted from the Chapel Hill Limited at Carrboro to enroll with some 800 students. His life has been inseparably linked with and influenced by the University since that time.

Undergraduate life in 1912 was simple, unhurried, and unpretentious. There were six automobiles in Chapel Hill; everyone walked about the campus and its environs. The most popular student organizations were the debating societies which met on Saturday nights. There was much spontaneous interest in music, dramatics, and athletics. Students in dormitories bought their own furniture and contracted with boarding houses, pressing clubs, and washer-women for food and services. House estimates that half the student body depended upon "every sort of job the community offered" or loans from the University and private sources. One unshaded light bulb for each room was considered adequate. Bathroom facilities and hot water were available in the basement of the present Playmakers Theatre and in Bynum Hall, the gymnasium.

Fortuitous circumstances enabled House to spend three years of residence in the "off-house" of Kemp P. Battle. In this "Sabine Farm" he absorbed Battle's ebullient philosophy and outlook on life. Compulsory chapel exercises held daily in Gerrard Hall brought the author into contact with other members of the administration. He recalls that Francis P. Venable made chapel "a daily instrument of inspiration, information, and direction." Edward Kidder Graham "turned it into a thrilling experience for the whole University." Reserved seats were "prized possessions." Evidently there was little need for public relations claptrap to justify the role of the University.

House believes that the essential thing in a university is the faculty. "Each professor was a hero to me," he recalls. A gallery of character sketches is set forth in this work. The national stature of Louis R. Wilson, Edwin Greenlaw, and Archibald Henderson is deservedly acknowledged, but some may question whether Horace Williams "elicited more pure thought on this campus for fifty years than any other teacher of his time." Latin and Greek were emphasized, and the author recalls vividly his mentors, William S. Bernard, Wilbur H. Royster, Charles W. Bain, and Thomas J. Wilson. An inordinate amount of space is devoted to professors in the School of Medicine. House probably reveals the motive for this in his emphasis upon "the value to education of locating the Division of Health Affairs on the campus in Chapel Hill." His most eloquent tribute is paid to William de Berniere MacNider and appreciative sketches of Charles S. Mangum, Isaac H. Manning, Robert B. Lawson, and James B. Bullitt are included. There are occasional references to Frank P. Graham but the rambling profile in the concluding chapter is disappointing. The contributions of J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton and Charles Lee Raper are scarcely mentioned, but Walter D. Toy, M. C. S. Noble, William Cain, Henry Van Peters Wilson, Collier Cobb, George M. McKie, and others are fondly remembered as campus characters.

One might well inquire if students were so isolated during this period that House does not recall the impact of Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom" and the resurgence of progressivism in North Carolina. This volume does not reveal a single political idea or insight. Surely the outbreak of World War I must have influenced profoundly the thinking of students and the faculty. A strong thread of provincialism runs throughout this interesting volume.

Joseph F. Steelman

East Carolina College

Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from North Carolina (II), 4874-8569. Edited by Wayland D. Hand. (Durham: Duke University Press [Volume VII of *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*]. 1964. Pp. xxxiii, 677. $10.00.)

Frank C. Brown spent thirty years collecting North Carolina folklore before his death in 1943. On April 24, 1964, in appropriate commemorative ceremonies the Duke University Press, the North Carolina

University Press, the North Carolina Folklore Society (which Brown founded), and the Graduate English Club of Duke University met to celebrate the release of the final volume in this monumental series. *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from North Carolina (II)* was edited by Mr. Wayland D. Hand, Professor of German and Folklore at the University of California, Los Angeles, who also edited Volume VI (1961).

The material in Volume VII is numbered consecutively following Volume VI and has been grouped for easy interpretation into sections on Deaths and Funereal Customs; Witchcraft, Ghosts, Magical Practices; Cosmic Phenomena: Times, Numbers, Seasons; Weather; Animals, Animal Husbandry; Fishing and Hunting, Plants, Plant Husbandry; and Miscellaneous. Each entry has been placed in perspective, since it not only lists, in most cases, the North Carolina informant, but also other references in the United States and frequently European documentation. A great bulk of material has been reduced and catalogued by exhaustive research and meticulous editing.

Delightful examples of everyday superstition, taken lightheartedly by most people, are sharply contrasted to ominous warnings throughout the book.

The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore is perhaps the most outstanding and complete study of the folklore of any State or region of this country. In addition to Brown, a total of nine editors and two General Editors (Newman I. White and Paull F. Baum) worked for fifty years to produce and publish these seven volumes. The contributors, including the staff of the Duke University Press, are to be congratulated for their notable achievement.

A comprehensive Bibliography and an excellent Index add value to Volume VII, which follows the format of the entire series.

Elizabeth W. Wilborn

State Department of Archives and History

Ladies in the Making, by Ann Strudwick Nash. (Hillsborough [*sic*]: Privately printed. 1964. Illustrations, appendix, and index. Pp. xiv, 152. $3.00.)

Ladies in the Making is a vivid account of "Hillsborough's" famous Nash and Kollock School for young ladies (1859-1890). This school was perhaps the best known and most influential of the half-dozen or

so private schools which operated in that historic town during the years when the private school filled a real gap in the education of the youth of North Carolina.

After the death of their father, Frederick Nash, in 1858, Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court at that time, Sally K. and Maria Nash with the help of their cousin Sarah Kollock, out of necessity, decided to open a school for young ladies in their home in "Hillsborough." These three distinct and forceful personalities operated this school for the next thirty years, with much success.

This book in some ways is a chronicle of events at this young ladies seminary during a very trying time in the history of North Carolina. "Hillsborough," during the Civil War, was considered safe for the young daughters of the South. During the era of Reconstruction their young stomachs might ache for lack of enough to eat, but never would their minds lack proper training.

The author writes with an intimate knowledge of the buildings, gardens, servants, students, and the occasional romances between the numerous male music teachers and the young girls. Some boys, she says, were admitted to this exclusive institution while they were very young, but "as soon as they showed any signs of growing up, [they] were gently eased into some less enticing atmosphere" (p. 39).

This is a charming and entertaining book about a school which educated scores of young ladies (and a few young men), about three individualistic women and their courageous effort in the field of education, and about old "Hillsborough" and how it looked and smelled a hundred years ago.

The only fault with this book is that it ended a delightful evening too soon.

Noble J. Tolbert

State Department of Archives and History

The Peanut Story. By F. Roy Johnson. (Murfreesboro: Johnson Publishing Company. 1964. Illustrations, notes, tables, Pp. iv, 192. $4.95.)

With particular reference to its impact on the economy of North Carolina and Virginia, this little book tells the story of the rise of the "lowly" peanut to respectability, both as a food and as an item of considerable significance in world trade.

After discussing the origin of the peanut and noting its slow rise to usefulness as a food, most of the remainder of the book deals with innovations taking place in the culture, processing, and marketing of the crop. Although the crop was planted all over the world by the end of the nineteenth century, many of the more significant of these developments occurred in North Carolina and Virginia. For example, Nicholas N. Nixon, whose farm was very near Wilmington, by trial and error, evolved in the 1860's a system of culture that was widely used by peanut farmers until just recent years. In 1903, near Murfreesboro, the first successful peanut picker was brought into use. A few years later, Amedeo Obici—"Mr. Peanut"—organized Planters Nut and Chocolate Company, the nation's largest and most successful processor and popularizer of peanut products. The author generously accords to Professor George Washington Carver, the famous Negro chemist, considerable credit for advancing the importance of peanuts in the economy.

Although no bibliography or index is included, it is apparent that the author has consulted a wide variety of sources, and has documented his findings with care. This reviewer believes that the average reader would prefer to have the citations at the bottom of the page rather than interspersed with the text.

Cornelius O. Cathey

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The Hotel in the Great Dismal Swamp and Contemporary Events Thereabouts. By Jesse F. Pugh and Frank T. Williams. (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc. 1964. Foreword, illustrations, sources, and index. Pp. xii, 174. $4.45.)

This is a very brief account of the early history of the Dismal Swamp Canal followed by comments concerning Lake Drummond Hotel, astride the North Carolina-Virginia border. Accounts of both are sketchy and no definitive work has been written, but in this book based on contemporary newspapers and a few documents some parts of the story are told for the first time. Though the material is not presented in a highly organized fashion, one can obtain an appreciation of various social and economic conditions of the area, including crime, education, religious affairs, sales of property, epidemics, and government. Death and marriage records extracted from newspapers fill

46 pages. Of the 14 well-executed illustrations, five are concerned with the canal and the hotel. The others are views of historic landmarks in the Albemarle area. This engaging book comprises a turbulent pageant moving across a backdrop of quotations—altogether an interesting but brief record of events in northeastern North Carolina with scattered references to southeastern Virginia.

After examining the evidence presented it is obvious that the narrator dozed occasionally, thereby permitting historical errors to pass undetected. Not only do important events seem compressed into a relatively brief space, but the bibliography is presented in a truncated form, lessening its value to scholars. One wonders about the overlooking of the Ferebee-Gregory-McPherson Family Papers, 1822-1913, containing 184 items, in the University of North Carolina Library; and 4,328 items and eight volumes of records of the Dismal Swamp Land Company, 1763-1879, in the Duke University Library. Possibly this omission was intentional as the authors may contemplate a second volume.

Local historians and genealogists should appreciate this thoroughly enjoyable book, which makes readily accessible a vast amount of information.

Elizabeth G. McPherson

Shiloh

The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894. By Frenise A. Logan, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Notes and index. Pp. ix, 244. $6.00.)

This factual study is divided into three parts, dealing with the politics, economics, and social environment of the Negroes in the period, 1876-1894. The section on politics explains why the Negroes were Republicans and how they helped overthrow the Bourbons in the nineties, gives sketches of the most prominent Negroes who held public office, and shows clearly how the dominant Democrats tried to reduce the power of the Negro by making local offices appointive rather than elective.

The section on economics points out that most of the Negroes were engaged in agriculture, but discusses also the role of the workers in the towns. A chapter is devoted to such "organizations of economic betterment" as the industrial fairs and the Knights of Labor. There is

also a statistical analysis of the extent of Negro participation in business and the professions. One of the better chapters in the book is one examining the extent of emigration from the State and concluding that more did not migrate because the Negro church and press, as well as politicians and merchants, were opposed to movements from the State.

The final section describes the growth of Negro schools and churches, indicates that there was a surprising amount of interracial social contact, demonstrates that the courts usually sentenced Negroes to longer prison terms than whites for minor offenses, comments at length upon the high death rate, and concludes with a description of such Negro social groups as the fraternal organizations, fire departments, and military companies.

Since the Negroes themselves did not leave an abundance of source material for such a study, the author had to search widely in newspapers and public documents of his period. In the political section he relies upon personal papers, especially those of Matt W. Ransom. Few stones have been left unturned in the search for information. In preparing his material, Logan organizes well and writes in a concise, "scholarly" style, burdened occasionally by the words "thus," "however," and "therefore." He has not allowed his background and point of view to destroy his objectivity, though it is apparent where his sympathy lies from the way he treats the Bourbon Democrats.

Richard L. Zuber

Wake Forest College

Light and Rest. By Thad Stem, Jr. (Charlotte and Santa Barbara, California: McNally and Loftin. 1964. Pp. 191. $4.00.)

How did it feel to be a boy in a North Carolina small town during the 1920's and 1930's? Thad Stem, Jr., who was born and still lives in Oxford, re-creates such a feeling in association with its unhurried passage and flow of people and time—as experienced by a young fellow sensitive, wide-awake, and in love with it all. In over a hundred descriptive pieces, ranging in length from a couple of paragraphs to ten or twelve pages, the essayist has here sketched the epoch with a poet's exuberance of metaphor and simile.

The joyous essentials of day-to-day living do not escape a boy's attention, nor do they escape Mr. Stem's. He understands about the excitement of the old-time depot, where local denizens gathered to

observe the comings and goings of friends and strangers. In these sugar-coated days, he recalls with horror the castor oil era; and with pleasure and nostalgia he remembers the telephone operator and neighborhood postman who took messages and did favors. The U.D.C. lady-proprietor of the boarding house, the fiddlers, the motorcycle men, the family gathered at the annual cemetery cleaning-up, and dozens of other familiar friends—all filter through Mr. Stem's recollection in prose. It is a delight to read and savor.

Richard Walser

North Carolina State of the University
of North Carolina at Raleigh

James Gay: A Collection of Various Pieces of Poetry Chiefly Patriotic. Facsimile of the 1810 Edition. With an Introduction by Richard Walser. (Charlotte and Santa Barbara, California: McNally and Loftin, Publishers. 1964. Pp. xviii, 44. $3.00.)

Once again all those interested in literary North Caroliniana are in the debt of Richard Walser. This time the Professor of English at North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh, who has made North Carolina literature his special province, has edited a facsimile of the first printed volume of poetry in the State.

The volume, printed by William Boylan of the Raleigh *Minerva* in 1810, is by James Gay (1744-1819), a transplanted Irish-Scotch emigré who settled in Iredell County, and, like a number of other newcomers from the British Isles at the time, became more aflame with American patriotism than some of the natives. On the title page of his book Gay says that the poems were being "published at the earnest request of a number of good citizens for the improvement of patriotic minds."

The Collection, of course, is much more interesting as literary history than as literature. Like the vast bulk of printed poetry at any time, the poems are imitative of the verse of a period. In an autobiographical poem Gay says that he early became enamored of the poetry of Allan Ramsay (1686-1758), one of the pioneers in the revival of vernacular Scottish poetry. Dying in the year before Robert Burns was born, Ramsay did much to make Scottish dialect and Scottish subject matter both popular and respectable and thus prepared the way for Burns, the climactic figure in the movement.

Gay's poems have echoes of both Ramsay and Burns, more particularly the latter whose influence became dominant for all who would attempt Scottish writings. Most of Gay's verse forms are those made famous by Burns. The patriotic strain which is inherent in both Scotsmen is the main theme for Gay. Of the fourteen pieces in the book ten are songs or "Scotch odes" or other fervent pieces written for Fourth of July celebrations from 1805 to 1809. As such they throw a bright light on American regard for that holiday in the early history of the United States. Though, of course, there is nothing to compare in fervor with Burns' "Scots Wha Hae Wi' Wallace Bled," Gay's ardent love for his adopted country and State is abundantly manifest.

To a reader today one of the most salient poems is the autobiographical colloquy, written in the prevalent style of rhymed couplets, which opens the book. From this one learns that Gay was born in Ireland, not Scotland, and that after helping his father in farming he became a carpenter's apprentice at the age of sixteen. He found delight in reading history and Ramsay's poems "both day and night." After his father moved to Soctland James joined him there, but a hankering for the sea led him in 1765 at the age of twenty-one to sail from Belfast. The one voyage across the Atlantic was enough to satisfy his craving and when the ship docked at New Castle, Delaware, Gay left it and went into the Pennsylvania backcountry. After a short time there (to hear him tell it)

> To Carolina lands my course I bent
> And since I've got here I am now content
> To spend my days in Iredell county here,
> And live in peace without much dread or fear.

Gay fought in the Revolutionary War and later as "an old war worn veteran" enjoyed telling his neighbors in verse about their blessings in having been saved from "despotic British law" and in being privileged to live in a Federal paradise.

Professor Walser has prefaced the facsimile with a splendid introductory essay.

Edgar E. Folk

Wake Forest College

Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830. By Richard Beale Davis. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. x, 507. $8.75.)

No State has played a more important role in early American history than Virginia. Individually and collectively Virginians were easily the leading influence during the Revolution and for several decades afterward. While the great majority of the white population of that commonwealth were of the small farmer class, corresponding roughly to the yeomanry of England, the predominant ideal was that of the country gentleman to which many of the lesser folk arose. The large-scale planter, however, went far beyond the usual concept of the English squirearchy. Dr. Davis' research suggests that his collective intellect during the Jeffersonian period was far broader in its interests and had a deeper influence upon early America than has been acknowledged. The Jeffersonian Virginian believed that government alone was not enough to guarantee the good life. His encouragement of education and reading, his interest in science and the fine arts, his belief in a just and benevolent God, and his general way of life all attest his knowledge that the pursuit of happiness must come from engaging all his faculties.

In exploring the Virginian's intellectual origins and the nature of his achievements during the Jeffersonian era, the author has examined a vast multitude of manuscript materials and rare printed sources. Each of the book's ten chapters, with one exception, treats a specific segment of intellectual life in a comprehensive manner. Included are discussions of the Virginian's formal education, his libraries and reading habits, his religion, the theory and practice of his agrarian economy; science, the fine arts, literary productions, law, politics, and economics.

Perhaps the most brilliant and illuminating discussion is the chapter entitled "Formal Education." A list of the State's aims and achievements in collegiate education from the Revolution to 1830 indicates that Virginians possessed an unusually rare breadth of interest. On the other hand, a few of the discussions suffer from a deadening recitation of minutiae, notably those on reading and libraries, fine arts, and literature. However valuable this compilation of authors and titles may be to researchers and specialists, it is too strong meat for the reader who is seeking general information.

While uneven in its readability, the book is valuable and informative. Its publication was sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History, who selected it for its 1963 Manuscript

Award. It would be difficult to challenge the selection committee's judgment that the book promotes a better understanding of our national heritage at the regional level. It will unquestionably occupy a distinctive place on the expanding shelf of works devoted to intellectual history.

James C. Bonner

The Woman's College of Georgia

The Liberty Hall Volunteers: Stonewall's College Boys. By W. G. Bean. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia. 1964. Pp. x, 227. $3.25.)

The Liberty Hall Volunteers, a military company originally consisting of Washington College students, was formed on the campus of that institution at Lexington, Virgina, in April, 1861. They drilled under the direction of the West Point-trained Episcopal rector, William N. Pendleton, until they were called into active service on June 2, 1861. A few weeks later they were placed under the command of Thomas J. Jackson and became a part of the celebrated "Stonewall Brigade." The company remained intact until May, 1864, "when it along with most of the . . . brigade" was captured at Spotsylvania Court House.

Recruits added during the War boosted company membership to a total of 181; however, Washington College men always "furnished its leadership, and gave it character." The author notes that most of the Volunteers were "professing Christians. . . several [being] candidates for the ministry." In the early spring of 1863 the only remaining non-convert professed his faith and joined the Presbyterian church.

The service record of the Liberty Hall Volunteers was impressive, and of the 73 original members only two were present at Appomattox. During the War the company lost 48 as prisoners to Federal forces, 27 were killed in battle or died from wounds, 16 died from disease, and 72 were wounded. The largest number killed in a single battle was seven at First Manassas, largest number wounded was 16 at Chancellorsville, and the largest number captured in any battle was 16 at Gettysburg.

W. G. Bean, Professor Emeritus of American History at Washington and Lee University, in presenting with clarity and sympathy the story of the Liberty Hall Volunteers, has completed a long-time labor of

love. Through the use of letters, diaries, reminiscences, and pertinent secondary materials, he describes the expectations, hopes, fears, and the assorted activities of the young men, centering attention upon them rather than the war and the various campaigns. One distraction, especially in the last two chapters, was the sacrifice of narrative for the excessive use of long quotations from the sources.

An Appendix containing a roster of the Liberty Hall Volunteers and later recruits together with a five-page Bibliography concludes this informative account of Stonewall's College Boys.

W. Harrison Daniel

University of Richmond

Pierce M. B. Young: The Warwick of the South. By Lynwood M. Holland. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Notes and index. Pp. viii, 259. $6.00.)

This is a mediocre book about a mediocre subject. Just as, except during the Civil War, Pierce Young lived without style, verve, imagination or insight, so does Dr. Holland write. In the grand southern tradition, the two most important things in Young's life were his mother and his debts. Dr. Holland devotes more than half the book to these two subjects, and especially to the debts, which are described in all their stifling and irritating detail.

On the surface, Young does not appear important enough to deserve a biography. The son of a small and unsuccessful planter near Cartersville, Georgia, Pierce (as Dr. Holland refers to Young throughout the book) attended the United States Military Academy at West Point. He resigned in 1861 to join the Confederacy, where he proved to be an outstanding cavalry leader and rose to become the South's youngest major general. After the War he rode his Confederate record into politics and served a couple of terms in the House of Representatives, where he did nothing of note. After incurring his constituents' wrath by voting himself a raise in the Salary Grab, he retired from Congress to become a gentleman farmer and a parasite in the Democratic Party. Dr. Holland describes him as the "Warwick of the South"; the real importance of this man, who was always on the periphery of power, can be gauged by the posts he received when Grover Cleveland finally returned the Democracy to the White House —Pierce was consul-general to St. Petersburg and minister to Nicaragua and Guatemala.

Dr. Holland is Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Emory; remarkably, he is weakest in his handling of politics. Young's career could be made significant and interesting through a discussion of the way in which men in the second rank of politics operate, but this is not done. This was an exciting and important period in Georgia politics, as State leaders tried to adjust to the postwar world, but not once, and that must be repeated, not once, does Dr. Holland mention a single issue in any election campaign. New Departure Democracy, which rocked Georgia during the period, is not even mentioned. The author seems naive; when Young won his first election, he thanked his friends throughout the Seventh Congressional District for their help, something every elected politician has done since time out of mind. Dr. Holland tells us this banal act was "typical of his unselfishness." The book has no analysis; rather, the author is content to say "it is difficult to evaluate the extent of Pierce's encouragement and aid in the effort to have Colquitt elected governor . . . but he worked indefatigably."

In contrast to the content, the production of this book is excellent. The University of Georgia Press did an outstanding job. The dust jacket especially is superb.

Stephen E. Ambrose

The Johns Hopkins University

The Zollie Tree. By Raymond E. Myers. (Louisville, Kentucky: The Filson Club Press. 1964. Illustrations, maps, appendixes and index. Pp. xviii, 200. $6.00.)

Although the South won many of the great battles of the Civil War, the loss of the strategic lesser-known engagements allowed the northern military might to continually cut away and penetrate deeper into the Confederacy. The Battle of Mill Springs, Kentucky, a small engagement on January 19, 1862, was the first Union victory in the west which started the Confederate retreat from that State. In that battle General Felix Kirk Zollicoffer was killed as he mistakenly rode into the Federal lines. His body was laid under a giant white oak tree which later became known locally as the Zollie Tree.

In his book Dr. Raymond E. Myers presents an interesting biographical sketch of General Zollicoffer and a narrative of the engagement at Mill Springs. Born in Maury County, Tennessee, General Zollicoffer

spent his earlier years as a newspaper editor before being appointed Adjutant General of Tennessee in 1841. From 1843 to 1849 he served as Comptroller of the Treasury of the State and then in the State Legislature for two years. In 1851 he returned to newspaper editing and in 1853 was elected to the United States Congress where he served three successive terms. On May 9, 1861, he was commissioned a brigadier general in the Provisional Army of Tennessee and on July 26, 1861, he was assigned as brigadier general, Confederate States Army, to command in East Tennessee. With the exception of brief service in the second Seminole War in 1836 and as Adjutant General of Tennessee, Zollicoffer had no military training and little military experience. After mustering in, training, and some brief skirmishes Zollicoffer's troops occupied Mill Springs in late November, 1861. While here he was superseded as commander of the department by General George B. Crittenden. Occupying a strong position on the north bank of the Cumberland River, the Confederates were confronted with a raging river behind and a stronger Federal force advancing under General George H. Thomas. General Crittenden determined to advance on Thomas before his troops concentrated. The result was the Battle of Mill Springs in which General Zollicoffer was killed. After his death the Confederates retired to their fortifications and over the river that night.

In addition to the biographical sketch of General Zollicoffer and the narrative of the Battle of Mill Springs, the author has included four Appendixes entitled: "Zollicoffer's Ancestors," Zollicoffer's Descendents," "Forces Engaged in the Battle," and "Summary of Events." The first three are self explanatory. The fourth is a summary of the major events in Zollicoffer's life and the War in East Tennessee and Kentucky up to March, 1862. Preceding the very comprehensive Index is a list of some 46 sources used by the author.

In this work the author weaves local myth with fact and comes up with a very readable and interesting presentation. The inclusion of 12 maps helps the reader to follow the movement of the contending forces and gives him a general picture of the War in Kentucky. He makes no pretense of presenting the entire military situation but serves to fill another gap in the writings on the Civil War.

Louis H. Manarin

The North Carolina
Confederate Centennial Commission

Four Years in the Confederate Navy: The Career of Captain John Low on the C.S.S. Fingal, Florida, Alabama, Tuscaloosa, and Ajax. By William Stanley Hoole. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1964. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, and index. Pp. xiv, 147. $5.00.)

The most impressive accomplishment of the Confederate States Navy was the virtual elimination of the United States carrying trade. American tonnage dropped from over two million tons in 1860 to less than half a million in 1865. More than half of the total American merchant fleet was lost to the flag during the Civil War; 110,000 tons of it was sunk or was burned by Confederate cruisers. John Low, the subject of this book, served on two of these cruisers, the "Alabama" and the "Tuscaloosa." A native of England, he migrated to the United States in 1856, settled in Savannah, Georgia, and received an appointment in the navy of the Confederacy shortly after the War began. Low joined Commander James Bulloch in England where he became involved in the efforts to obtain warships for the South. After aiding in the successful escape of the "Oreto" ("Florida") and the "290" ("Alabama") from England, he joined the crew of Raphael Semmes' famous cruiser as fourth officer, and later assumed command of the "Tuscaloosa." His Confederate career came to a close when he took the light-draft gunboat "Ajax"—the last warship built in England for the Confederacy—to Nassau and then to Bermuda. There the vessel was impounded by British authorities, and there, too, Low heard the news of the collapse of the Confederate States of America.

William Stanley Hoole, the author of this brief biography, is University Librarian at the University of Alabama, Editor of *The Alabama Review* and also the Confederate Centennial Studies, and a noted authority on Confederate history.

Dr. Hoole has handled his subject well. The intrigue evolving around the activities of Low and other Confederate naval agents in England is "cloak-and-dagger" writing at its best. The sea episodes are rather uninteresting, although the fault is less that of the author than the events themselves. Low was involved in no dramatic battle—he left the "Alabama" before her most famous and final action with the "Kearsarge" occurred, and the "Tuscaloosa," which he commanded, was one of the most unsuccessful Confederate cruisers in terms of tonnage captured or sunk.

The book is well researched, well documented, adequately indexed, and all in all, a commendable addition to the literature of the Civil War.

William N. Still, Jr.

Mississippi State College for Women

The Idea of the South: Pursuit of a Central Theme. Edited by Frank E. Vandiver. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Published for William Marsh Rice University. 1964. Pp. xii, 82. $3.95.)

This volume in the Rice University Semicentennial Series resulted from a symposium sponsored by the Department of History at Rice in the spring of 1963. In it seven southerners reflect upon the meaning and viability of the southern heritage in a time of regional transformation. The essays are not primarily concerned with the search for a "central theme" in southern history, as the subtitle leads one to expect. What the authors have tried to do in their separate ways is to illuminate significant aspects of southern thought and behavior. Three of the contributions are especially noteworthy: George B. Tindall's "Mythology: A New Frontier in Southern History," Louis D. Rubin's "Notes on a Rear-Guard Action," and Walter Prescott Webb's "The South's Future Prospect." Tindall presents a useful critique of the principal myths about the South during the last century and suggests how such images can be rewarding to the historian as a species of reality. Rubin places the southern literary renascence in historical and social perspective, showing how the flowering of southern letters was in part a response to rapid change in the region and reminding one that what these gifted writers had to say about the nature of man and the quality of life is not irrelevant in the current racial crisis. The late Professor Webb, in an optimistic assessment of the South's recent economic progress, outlines an imaginative and instructive approach to the region within the national context.

In other papers Richard B. Harwell traces the emergence of the South's self-consciousness and notes some of its literary manifestations; Frank E. Vandiver considers the strain of violence in the southern character as an element in the region's defensive reaction to challenge from the outside; T. Harry Williams contrasts the realism of Huey P. Long with what he describes as the prevailing romanticism in modern southern politics; and Hugh B. Patterson pleads for the creation of a healthy atmosphere of discontent with things as they are below the Potomac. While all of the essays have something to say, they vary a good deal in quality and significance. As a collection they are perhaps most valuable for the light they throw on the conflict between southern tradition and regional progress.

Dewey W. Grantham, Jr.

Vanderbilt University

A History of Colonial America, Revised Edition. By Max Savelle, revised by Robert Middlekauff. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 1964. Maps, bibliography, and index. Pp. xviii, 701. $7.95.)

College courses in early American history have suffered for many years from the lack of an adequate textbook on Colonial and Revolutionary America. Until recently every available textbook in the field was at least twenty years out of date, even those which had supposedly been revised. Now this problem has been solved by the publication of *A History of Colonial America.* Written by Max Savelle of the University of Washington, the book was originally published in 1942 under the title *The Foundations of American Civilization.* The first edition was one of the best of the older textbooks, and it has now been brought up to date by Robert Middlekauff of the University of California, Berkeley, with Mr. Savelle's assistance and guidance.

The authors have not rewritten the book entirely, for 34 of the 48 chapters remain substantially as they were in the first edition, including the chapters on the southern colonies. The authors have added one chapter on the Indians and revised 13 others, several of them drastically. Some of the most important revisions occur in the chapters on Puritanism, which Mr. Middlekauff has rewritten to incorporate the findings of such scholars as Perry Miller and Edmund S. Morgan. For example, he has deleted the first edition's references to the Massachusetts "theocracy," and he presents Governor John Winthrop in a more sympathetic light. The authors have not, however, accepted new interpretations merely because they are new. For example, Mr. Savelle has rewritten the section on Bacon's Rebellion in the light of Wilcomb E. Washburn's work on the subject, but he has rejected Mr. Washburn's conclusions about the causes of the rebellion. The most radically revised parts of the book are the chapters dealing with the period of the American Revolution. Mr. Savelle emphasized economic causation and class conflict in the first edition, but the new edition follows current historical thought by stressing political motives and playing down internal differences.

No textbook can ever please all the teachers in a given field, but widespread acceptance can safely be predicted for *A History of Colonial America.* It is, without question, the only up-to-date and adequate full-length textbook on American Colonial and Revolutionary history.

M. Eugene Sirmans

Emory University

Builders of American Institutions: Readings in United States History. Edited by Frank Freidel and Norman Pollack. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company. 1963. Preface, footnotes, and index. Pp. xii, 583. $4.75, paper.)

Too often documentary histories suffer their just fate: they molder on the bookshelves, testaments to pot-boiling unimaginativeness of their editors who, carrying their pastepots and scissors, got no further than the state papers and their notes for Introductory Historiography. The rumbling under-currents of people talking about everyday affairs and the sharp, pointed clash of ideas and personalities—the tangible dynamic of history—lie muffled, inert. The question is asked, "Why won't people read the documents?" Or, if obliged to, wade on, groaning as they do.

In their Preface to *Builders of American Institutions,* Professors Freidel and Pollack indirectly answer the question as they tell what they are not going to do in their collection of documents: They will not pursue a "problems" approach, against which they levy clear and valid objections; and they will not confine the quarrels over public policy to state papers alone. In short, they will not strip "American Institutions" of their human creators. They let the actors in American history, both public and private persons, come on stage and speak their piece. When they think necessary, the editors will allow a historian to have his say, frame a particular topic, show its complexities and offer a solution. But the editors are careful with the historians —they are kept as unobtrusive as possible; the stage belongs to the actors.

Of course the choice of thematic topics and the selection of materials to illustrate them will always bring questions to the minds of thoughtful readers. There are twenty-four major topics in this book, most of which are manifestly political, which raises the query: Are "institutions" fundamentally political in nature and function? The editors apparently think so. If they do not, a more precise title to their collection would have been something like The Shaping of American Public Policy. At any rate this documentary history, running from the seventeenth century into the Kennedy administration, is one of the most imaginative and readable this reviewer has seen. The editors should be pleased with what they have done.

Peter F. Walker

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

Washington. Volume II. Capital City, 1879-1950. By Constance McLaughlin Green. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. xvii, 558. Illustrations. $9.50.)

After the Civil War and Reconstruction public and social affairs in Washington tended less and less to flow steadily in a single stream, although, as the author of this work observes, "At the end of the 1870's knowledgeable Washingtonians had come to see the city's future as forever tied to her status as national capital." In her earlier volume, *Village and Capital, 1800-1879,* published in 1962, Mrs. Green gave an essentially chronological account, but for excellent reasons she chooses to arrange her material quite differently in *Capital City, 1879-1950.*

The history of the period 1879-1901 is told in two chapters concerning the city's government and its charitable or philanthropic enterprises and a chapter each on the "White Community" and "Colored Washington." The next five chapters introduce the twentieth century up to the entry of the United States into World War I—again not chronologically but in essays on architectural and other structural growth, "Social Betterment," business and civic finance, culture, and "The Beginnings of Organized Negro Protest"—and the War's dramatic effects on the city are described in one general chapter and another concerning the unrest in the colored community. Four other time segments within which the author shapes her story bring the city's history to 1950: the post-World War I period to 1929 (chapters on business as it related to city planning, on "The Intellectual and Social Climate," on social and other welfare activities, and on the public schools—the last carried forward to 1941); the 1930's (chapters on the Bonus March "The New Deal Capital in White and Black," "Uncle Sam's Company Town," and civic reforms); and, finally, the World War II and postwar period to 1950.

If this recital of chapter topics suggests Mrs. Green's detailed treatment of the city's tragic uncertainty at any given period of its history, in its efforts to administer affairs important to both its Negro and non-Negro elements, this reviewer so intends. Many factors have contributed to the fashioning of Washington along unique lines, but no historian of the city has so fully perceived, and so ably explained in copious documentation, the very considerable effects that racial questions have had upon both civic developments and national affairs. Here, then, is the history of the Nation's Capital in an altogether new perspective.

This work—while indubitably it is sound in its scholarship and there-

fore a point of reference for all who seek to establish a fact or to discover documentation otherwise elusive—is a graceful example of historical writing at its urbane best. It is not likely that it will soon be superseded as an authoritative study of a city whose history is usually misunderstood.

Ken Munden

National Archives

The New Deal and the American People. Edited by Frank Freidel. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1964. Pp. viii, 152. $1.95 [Spectrum Paperbook, original].)

Publishers have responded enthusiastically to the rapid expansion of colleges classes and supplied the teachers of popular subjects with a flood of materials, many of them small paperback books like this volume. Distinguished historians have been drawn into the enterprise. In this case, Harvard historian Frank Freidel has turned aside from one of the outstanding works of recent historical scholarship, a projected nine-volume biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt, to provide eighteen essays from the 1930's, plus brief editorial comments.

Like other volumes in the "Spectrum" series, this book helps its readers see a significant period through the eyes of people who lived in it. Professor Freidel's chief interest here lies in the reaction of the American people to the New Deal. His selections indicate that reactions ranged from the hatred of Roosevelt which obsessed thousands of wealthy Americans to the enthusiastic support for him by most of the lower income voters in the big cities.

The book has both strengths and weaknesses. One of the strong features is the length of the selections. Unlike many books or "readings," this one provides fairly long items averaging more than eight pages. The essays enable the reader to understand the enthusiasm among lower income groups for Roosevelt and his New Deal as the eyewitnesses testified to the needs and demands of these groups for government aid and the large and rather successful response of the national government to those pressures. Anti-New Deal positions are less adequately represented and explained. Only two representatives are included: a critic of the farm program's impact upon the southern tenant farmer and a sympathetic observer of the rise of hostility to the New Deal among businessmen.

Teachers of American history can use the volume to help their students comprehend a period that seems to them nearly as remote as the Athens of Pericles.

Richard S. Kirkendall

University of Missouri

Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes. By Harry Golden. (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company. 1964. Notes, selected bibliography, and index. Pp. 319. $4.95.)

Harry Golden, in a style all his own, here recounts and interprets the segregation-integration struggle in the South. He frequently refers to the late President, John F. Kennedy, as the second emancipator president, but, despite the title, the book is not confined to the Kennedy policies and record. With broad strokes the author traces the history of the southern Negro problem from Reconstruction to World War II. This is followed by a discussion of the 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education.* He emphasizes the moderate nature of the immediate southern reaction and implies that more effective leadership by the Eisenhower administration would have avoided the drift toward stubborn, fanatical resistance.

Two chapters discuss the ideas and policies of President Kennedy, emphasizing his deep concern for fair treatment of the Negro. "Whether he," writes Golden, "was a civil rights President because of political expediency, or because he could not avoid being a civil rights President, or because he believed in this cause with all his intellectual fervor and being—all this is irrelevant. He remains the civil rights President" (p. 29). By the third year of his presidency Kennedy had made a total commitment to the social revolution of the American Negro.

Some of the most interesting observations are to be found in a chapter on the attitudes and policies of southern churches and synagogues. Unlike the Catholic hierarchy, Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis have generally refrained from exercising significant moral influence in behalf of the Negro because of the rigid segregationist attitudes of their congregations. In the last major chapter the author attempts to explain the reasons behind the intensive resistance to integration in the South. In Golden's opinion, the fundamental, although unadmitted, reason is a desire to preserve the caste system, but most southerners rationalize their attitudes as the fear of social and sexual consequences.

Although the book is by no means a definitive account of the controversy, the author tells the story and presents his ideas in the same refreshingly candid manner with which he first attracted attention to his "Golden Vertical Plan" for integration in 1953. His newspaper-column style results in rather loose organization and some repetition, but his keen insights and recollections of little-publicized aspects of the struggle make fascinating reading. Many southerners will not agree with Golden's ideas, and he admits that he has "always found it interesting that I could thrive in the South, denouncing racial segregation" (p. 20). There is much food for thought in his unique conclusion that the real victor in the struggle for integration will be the white southerner himself.

Allen J. Going

University of Houston

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Confederate Imprints in the University of Georgia Libraries, edited by Richard B. Harwell, is a valuable bibliographical aid to persons interested in research of the Civil War period. Numerous items given to the University by Felix Hargrett are included in the section, "Previously Unrecorded Confederate Imprints." Mr. Hargrett's rare collections added innumerable items to the holdings of the Georgia institution. "Previously Recorded Confederate Imprints" are listed through a system of numbers which must be used in conjunction with other bibliographies; this method makes for a shorter publication but is of little value to persons not having access to the related materials. An Appendix includes periodicals and newspapers of the Civil War period in the Library's files. Copies of the 49-page booklet are available from the University of Georgia Press, Athens, for $2.00 each.

A new listing, *Publications of the National Archives and Records Service,* has been published by the National Archives. Bulletins, staff information papers, general finding aids, preliminary inventories, reference information papers, special lists, and other groups are listed by specific titles. Copies of the list may be ordered from the Exhibits and Publications Division, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C., 20408.

The South in Northern Eyes, 1831 to 1861, by Howard R. Floan, has been reissued in paper-back form by McGraw-Hill Book Company. Originally published by the University of Texas Press, the account is divided into two parts: New England and New York. Chapters are devoted to discussions of the writings and opinions of such well-known authors as Whittier, Lowell, Emerson, Thoreau, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Melville, Bryant, and Whitman. The new edition is available for $2.45.

A book of genealogical content and interest is *Pioneers in Their Own Rights,* by Henry Poellnitz Johnston. An Index, containing over 9,000 names, includes such surnames as White, Morgan, Simms, Dorroh, Phillips, Jenkins, Underwood, and Allen. Information is taken from wills, court records, and old letters. The book is concerned with pioneer families from England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland who came to America. Many of them migrated from Virginia and the Carolinas to western Alabama. Further information concerning this book, which contains over 600 pages, may be obtained from the author at Box 7661, Birmingham, Alabama, 35223. *Pioneers in Their Own Rights* was published by The Featon Press, Box 7661, Birmingham; its cost is $10.00.

James H. Boykin, a former member of the social science faculty at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh, has recently published his study, *Foreign Divorce.* The monograph of 79 pages discusses the famed *Williams v. North Carolina* cases which were taken to the North Carolina Supreme Court in 1942 and 1944. The cases were reviewed by the United States Supreme Court in opinions which had a far-reaching effect on the interpretation of the full faith and credit clause as it relates to divorce decrees. The pamphlet is available from the publisher, Pageant Press, Inc., New York, New York, for $2.50.

To commemorate the centennial of the printing of the State Historical Society of Iowa's first historical quarterly at Iowa City in January, 1863, the Society has reprinted by offset Volume One of *The Annals of Iowa.* William J. Peterson, Superintendent and Editor, State Historical Society of Iowa, has written a historical introduction to the reissued volume. This addition, and an Index, makes the reprint of particular significance and use to the historian and adds interest for the layman. Copies may be ordered from the Society's headquarters in Iowa City, for $5.00.

Guide to Genealogical Records in the National Archives, by Meredith B. Colket, Jr., and Frank E. Bridgers, has been published by the National Archives. Records described in the book were not originally produced for genealogical purposes; they were created to satisfy legal requirements or to meet other needs of governmental agencies. By their very nature, they contain information of great use in compiling family records and data. Without a knowledge of the type and arrangement of the various series, a genealogist would not find the material to be of exceptional value. This *Guide* contains information on population and mortality census schedules, passenger arrival lists, military records, records of veterans' benefits, material concerning the Confederate States of America, land-entry records for the public-land States, and other smaller holdings. The book is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 20402, for 50 cents.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Colonial Records Project

Sixteen documents pertinent to Colonial North Carolina have been located in Charleston, South Carolina. These include five letters written by Governor Gabriel Johnston to British officials, memorandums regarding Carolina trade, a document related to Dr. Daniel Coxe's claims to Carolina under the Heath grant, and records concerning land policies and military policies in Carolina. Photocopies of these documents have been obtained. The search for Colonial North Carolina records is now in progress in the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, and in the Library of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

The inventory of Colonial court records in the custody of the State Department of Archives and History continues. Major emphasis is still being placed on the large collection acquired from Chowan County within recent years.

Mrs. Joyce Williamson joined the staff in June, replacing Mrs. Ann Powe, who had resigned. Mr. Joseph May, a graduate student at Kent University, was a member of the staff during the summer.

North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission

On May 1, 1964, Mr. Robert W. Jones of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History, now on loan to the Confederate Centennial Commission, filmed an interview with Governor Terry Sanford for inclusion in WTVD production of "Durham Station." On May 4 Mr. Norman Larson, Executive Secretary, and Mr. Jones attended a luncheon of the Executive Board of the North Carolina State Fair to discuss the fireworks pageant to be produced October 12-17, 1964. Mr. Larson and Mr. Jones met with officials of WITN-TV on May 7, in Washington, N. C., to discuss the presentation of "Portrait of Bathtown." On May 8 Mr. Larson and Mr. Jones met with the Executive Director of the Durham Chamber of Commerce to discuss the fund-raising project for the Bennett Place. On May 9 they, with members of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History, assisted in the recording of the sound track for "Portrait of Bathtown" in Washington.

From May 15 to May 19 Mr. Larson, Mr. Jones, and Commission member, Colonel W. Cliff Elder, attended ceremonies in Lexington and New Market, Virginia, commemorating the Battle of New Market. Approximately 25 members of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment took part in a re-enactment of the Battle.

From May 20 through May 24 Mr. Larson and Mr. Jones were in Washington, D. C., to edit a film and produce a sound track for "High Tide at Gettysburg," a documentary motion picture being produced by the Commission.

Mr. Larson spoke to a group of young people at the Hayes Barton Methodist Church, May 24, on the blockade-runner salvage program.

Mr. Larson, Mr. Jones, and members of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History attended a press preview of "Durham Station" at the WTVD studio in Durham on May 25. Following this showing, a luncheon was given by WTVD for the invited guests. Commission member Ernie Greup handled arrangements for the luncheon.

On May 26 Mr. Larson met with the members of the Harnett County Centennial Committee, the Harnett County Historical Society, and Chicora Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, to make tentative plans for the commemoration of the Battle of Averasboro to be held March 15-16, 1965.

Mr. Larson, Mr. Jones, and Miss Meredith Prince of the Commission staff attended a meeting of the Commission's Audio-Visual Committee in Durham on May 28. The scheduling of the productions of the Commission and the State Department of Archives and History was discussed.

On June 3 Mr. Larson and Mr. Jones were in Winston-Salem to film and record the Twenty-Sixth Regimental Band. June 8 through June 14 Mr. Larson, Mr. Jones, and Commission members Mrs. Alvin Seippel of Winston-Salem, Mrs. R. O. Everett of Durham, Mr. John R. Peacock of High Point, and Mrs. Jessie R. Seagroves of Siler City were in Atlanta, Georgia, to attend a meeting of the Confederate States Centennial Conference and the Seventh National Assembly of the various State Centennial Commissions. A highlight of these meetings was a concert by the Twenty-Sixth North Carolina Regimental Band at Stone Mountain and at Lennox Square Shopping Center.

Mr. Larson met with members of the Lenoir County Centennial Committee, on June 16 to discuss the Ram "Neuse" project. On June 19 Mr. Larson and members of the staff attended the Thirteenth Plenary meeting of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission in Raleigh.

Mr. Larson, Mr. Jones, and Colonel W. Cliff Elder and members of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment were hosts to a group of Confederate cavalrymen at Colonel Elder's Burlington farm on June 20. The cavalry unit was on its way to the re-enactment of the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain, Georgia.

June 25 through June 30 Mr. Larson, Mr. Jones, Colonel Elder, and members of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment were at Marietta, Georgia, for the re-enactment of the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain and later at Orangeburg, South Carolina, for the re-enactment of the Battle of Edisto River.

On July 3 and again on July 10 Mr. Larson was interviewed on radio station WPTF by Mrs. Margaret Brickle. He discussed the program of the Commission. Mr. Larson and Mr. Jones were in Kinston on July 15 to meet with the Lenoir County Centennial Committee to complete plans for the fund-raising campaign.

On July 22 Mr. Larson and Mr. Jones met with State Representative William R. Britt to discuss the tentative plans for the commemoration of the Battle of Bentonville.

Mr. Jones showed two motion picture films to the Western North Carolina Historical Association at the group's meeting on July 24.

Director's Office

By the middle of August Architect F. Carter Williams of Raleigh had almost completed preliminary work on the new Archives and History-State Library Building and was about to begin the final plans and specifications. The 1963 General Assembly appropriated $3 million for this structure.

On October 7-10, 1965, the National Trust for Historic Preservation will hold its annual convention in Raleigh, with side trips to Tryon Palace in New Bern and to Old Salem in Winston-Salem. Mr. Gordon Gray is President of the Trust and Mr. Robert R. Garvey, formerly of Old Salem, is Executive Director.

The joint meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association was held July 24 and 25 at Blue Ridge Assembly near Black Mountain.

The program was initiated with introductory remarks by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History, and Dr. Julian C. Yoder of Appalachian State Teachers College, President of the Western North Carolina Historical Association.

Mr. Bowling C. Yates, Historian of the United States Forest Service, spoke at the afternoon session on the National Forests of North Carolina and the founding of the Forest Service, which had its beginning at the Biltmore estate near Asheville.

The other feature of the Friday program was a paper on Charles and Mary Beard in Western North Carolina, by Mrs. Dorothy Thomas Tucker of Flat Rock. Mrs. Tucker was acquainted with the Beards and their writing habits in Washington, D. C., and Connecticut.

The evening program included one of the new North Carolina historical films.

The main event for Saturday morning was a paper on Thomas Wolfe by Mrs. Margaret McMahan of Fayetteville, which was read by Mr. Richard Walser. The author conducted much of her research in the North Carolina Collection of the Pack Memorial Library in Asheville.

Correction: In the Spring number of *The Review,* page 410, the dedication of the Kellenberger Garden at Tryon Palace was referred to as occurring on April 12. This was in error, for the correct date was April 2.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, has been appointed to the advisory staff of the Governor's Commission on Library Resources and attended a meeting of the staff in Raleigh on June 9. He has been named co-chairman (with Dr. Richard L. Watson of Duke University) of the North Carolina unit of the Committee on the Collection of Basic Quantitative Data for

American Political History of the American Historical Association. On July 26 Mr. Jones spoke to the Caswell County Historical Association at Semora and on the following day to the Raleigh Rotary Club. On July 30 he represented the Department at funeral services of Mrs. Mary Givens Bryan, Director of the Georgia Department of Archives and History, in Decatur.

Dr. Allen Keiser, Director of Archives for the Union of South Africa, and Mr. J. O. Kellerman, an architect for the government of that country, spent July 9-10 observing the program of the Division and consulting with Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, and Mr. Macon Smith, Raleigh architect, on plans for the new Archives and History-State Library Building. Mr. Clarence O. Hall, Assistant Records Administrator of West Virginia and Mr. John Schwan, Archival Assistant of the Minnesota State Archives and Records Service, visited the Division on July 15 and 27-28, respectively.

During the reporting period ending June 30, 895 persons registered for research and 934 letters seeking historical information were answered. In the Document Restoration Laboratory, 25,901 pages of manuscripts were laminated for official purposes by the Barrow process plus 6,915 pages laminated for individuals and institutions. In the Microfilm Processing Laboratory, the output of negative microfilm was 909 reels (88,075 linear feet) and of positive microfilm 541 reels (54,100 feet).

In the Archives Section, the processing, arrangement, shelving, and preparation of finding aids for the World War I Collection, World War II Collection, and Black Mountain College Papers have recently been completed. The first two of these collections have been in the Archives for a number of years; but until recently, they had received only very preliminary processing. The records of Black Mountain College were deposited by the trustees of that corporation in 1963; and, as a result of the volume and complexity of these papers, the processing of this collection has required the full-time services of an archivist for one year, or approximately 2,000 man-hours.

Mr. C. F. W. Coker, Assistant State Archivist (Archives), attended the Eighteenth Annual Institute of Archives Administration at the National Archives, Washington, D.C., June 1-26.

The permanently valuable records of Lincoln, Jones, Gates, and Montgomery counties have been microfilmed by Local Records Section camera operators. Those of Cleveland County have been microfilmed by the county operator. Work now has been completed in 43 counties. Section operators are now working in Franklin and Randolph counties and county operators continue work in Guilford and Mecklenburg counties.

The following records were received for permanent preservation in the State Archives:

Jones County: Records of election (1878-1922), list of taxpayers (1866), register of licenses to trade (1774-1903), and marriage registers (1851-1940).

Montgomery County: County Court minutes (1843-1868), road orders (1843-1868), trial dockets, County Court (1843-1868), bills and answers

in equity (1827), equity docket (1807-1824), miscellaneous Superior Court dockets (1821-1868), administrators bonds (1870-1891), minutes of commissioners' court (1868-1870), minutes of board of education (1872-1904), inventories and settlements of estates (1849-1858), merchants' ledgers (1820-1899), marriage bonds (1843-1868), land entries (1837-1858), record of official bonds (1870-1890), sales of estates (1842-1848), sales of property of deceased persons (1861-1868), tax lists (broken series, 1843-1916), and minutes of wardens of the poor (1831-1867).

Positive microfilm copies of permanently valuable Alamance and Caswell county records were processed and filed in the Search Room. Records include deeds and other land records, marriage records, indexes to vital statistics, armed forces discharges, court minutes, estates records, wills, orders and decrees and special proceedings, minutes of county boards, and others.

A leaflet, *North Carolina's Local Records Program* has been published and is available at no charge from the State Archivist.

Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson attended the annual conventions of the North Carolina Associations of Registers of Deeds, Clerks of Superior Court, and Superintendents of Schools. He spoke briefly to each group on the progress of the local records program. He also attended a meeting, held in Washington, D.C., of the Society of American Archivists' Ad Hoc Committee on Committee Structure, of which he is chairman.

In the State Records Section, schedules for the Rural Electrification Authority and for the State Auditor have been approved. The *College and University Records Retention and Disposition Schedule* has been approved and copies distributed to State colleges and universities.

The Correspondence Management and Plain Letters workshop has been given seven times to 133 persons representing three agencies. The Files and Filing workshop has been given three times to 53 persons representing two agencies.

A correspondence management survey has been started in the Registration Division, Department of Motor Vehicles. A central file has been developed and installed in the Driver Education and Accident Records Division, Department of Motor Vehicles.

During the quarter ending June 30, 1964, the State Records Center received 2,129 cubic feet of records and disposed of 433 cubic feet. The net gain of 1,696 cubic feet brought the holdings of the Records Center to 32,891 cubic feet. Records Center personnel handled 14,020 reference services for 25 State agencies during the same period; and 93 visitors from 15 State and four federal agencies visited the Center to consult records.

In the State Records Microfilm Project, 101 reels containing 468,440 images were filmed during the quarter; and 132 reels of film containing checks and ledger sheets were processed for the State Treasurer.

Division of Historic Sites

Mrs. Joanne House, Stenographer II, resigned as of June 18; she was replaced by Mrs. Eloise Huyett, who formerly worked with the North Carolina Employment Security Commission. Mr. Roy S. Dickens, Archae-

ological Assistant in charge of Town Creek Indian Mound, resigned as of September 2 to enter graduate school at the University of Alabama. Mr. Robert G. H. Crawford, a native of Kinston and a candidate for the master's degree from the University of Florida, was appointed to the Town Creek post.

Mr. James H. Craig resigned from the position of Curator of Arts and Crafts, effective July 31, to compile a documentary history of early North Carolina arts and crafts.

Mr. Noble J. Tolbert resigned as Staff Historian, effective August 15, to join the Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, of Lexington, Kentucky, as sales representative and promotion agent.

Mr. Lionel Forrest of Philadelphia completed and delivered a diorama depicting the capture of Fort Fisher, January 15, 1865. A contract has been signed with Mr. Forrest to design and construct four other dioramas on Civil War subjects to be exhibited in the Mobile Museum during 1965. The dioramas on blockade-running, the Battle of Bentonville, and the Bennett Place surrender will later be permanently exhibited in the museums at Fort Fisher, Bentonville, and the Bennett Place.

A contract with Mr. Claude Howell of Wilmington provides for the design and execution of a four-by-eight-foot mosaic for the entrance of the visitor center-museum at Brunswick Town. Preliminary designs have been approved depicting the Spanish attack upon Brunswick in 1748.

On July 17 Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Superintendent, attended a meeting in Raleigh of the Legislative Council's Committee on Historic Preservation, discussing proposals for enabling legislation to establish historic districts in municipalities. Many States have such legislation. On July 28 Mr. Tarlton spoke to the High Point American Business Men's Club on the Historic Sites Program in North Carolina.

On July 21 the Advisory Budget Commission visited the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial and the Confederate Gunboat "Neuse" at Kinston. The members inspected the recently completed landscaping of the Caswell Memorial property. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History; Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary, the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission; Mr. Tarlton, Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Operations Manager; and Mr. Robert W. Jones, who is now working with the Confederate Centennial Commission, were present. Mr. Larson explained the "Neuse" project to the group. On July 27 the Commission visited Fort Fisher to inspect the project and study the beach erosion problem.

On July 23-24 a team from the Division staff visited the recently acquired James K. Polk Birthplace and initiated work of developing the property as a State Historic Site. Mr. James A. Stenhouse of Charlotte, Chairman of the Polk Birthplace Advisory Committee, made the necessary arrangements for newspaper and television coverage and labor for archaeological digging. Efforts were made through archaeology to locate foundation stones and other remains of the Polk house site, but the results were not decisive. It is known from documentary sources that the location was west of the old Trading Path just south of Little Sugar Creek near

Pineville. A modern highway evidently occupies the exact spot; the reconstructed house will have to be placed at a location near the original site. Mr. Tarlton; Mr. Stanley A. South, Archaeologist; Mr. Sawyer; Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Restoration Specialist; and Mr. William H. Reid, Historic Site Assistant at Fort Fisher, constituted the team from the Department. Guided by the Misses Alice and Mary Louise Davidson of Charlotte, Mr. Tarlton and Mr. Honeycutt visited several early log houses in Mecklenburg and Lincoln counties for ideas in planning for the Polk house reconstruction.

The Parson Earl schoolhouse from Bandon Plantation near Edenton, after being left for several weeks on the Edenton waterfront following its trip down the Chowan River by barge, was moved early in July to its permanent location on the grounds of the James Iredell House. It will be restored and preserved by the James Iredell House Association with the cooperation of the local Daughters of the American Revolution.

At Town Creek Indian Mound a heavy timber retaining wall, seven feet high and 130 feet long, was erected along the bank of the Little River to stop undercutting of the bank in the restored ceremonial center. The Highway Department co-operated by furnishing salvaged bridge timbers at nominal cost. Recent archaeological digging has uncovered a circular burial house site, with more than 20 individual grave sites.

At Bentonville Battleground the Visitor Center-Museum has been completed and accepted by the State. The museum exhibits, of which the most important is a four-by-eight-foot-scale battle map, fitted with sound and lights, were constructed in the workshop of the Division of Museums. They were completed early in August and will be transported to Bentonville and installed by September.

At Vance Birthplace the Reems Creek Road, giving access from Asheville and Weaverville, is being widened and straightened. Mr. Robert O. Conway, Historic Site Specialist, visited descendants of Governor Zebulon B. Vance in New Orleans to obtain memorabilia for the new museum planned for the visitor center-museum building soon to be constructed. Working plans and specifications for this building have been approved; when clearance on the necessary land acquistion for the site has been obtained, the State will advertise for construction bids.

At Aycock Birthplace the old stables, moved back to the original site, are now being restored. Typical of the 1850's, there is a central hallway with four stalls on each side. A plank in the hayloft bears a shipping label, "B. Aycock, Nahunta [now Fremont], N.C." Benjamin Aycock was the father of the Governor. The science class of Charles B. Aycock School has developed a nature trail, identifying and labeling 30 different varieties of trees and flowers.

The Coastal Historyland Association sponsored a tour of Historic Bath on April 22. On June 8 the Scout Explorers, on a "Flotilla" from Historic Bath, toured the historic houses. Mr. Stanley A. South, Archaeologist, visited Bath on June 2 and investigated the reputed site of Blackbeard's home on Plum Point. He found bricks and other objects dating from the eighteenth century.

The following were recently appointed by Governor Terry Sanford to the Historic Bath Commission: Mrs. Roscoe Tankard and Mrs. G. W. Marsh, both of Bath; and Mrs. William Rumley, Jr., Mrs. Taylor Atmore, Jr., and Mr. Milo L. Gibbs, all of Washington, N.C.

At Brunswick Town the first of three foot bridges, financed by the North Carolina United Daughters of the Confederacy, is being constructed to connect the Fort Anderson mounds of Battery "A" with those of Battery "B". These bridges will enable visitors to walk the entire length of the Fort without having to climb up and down the mounds. The State meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy will be held at Fort Anderson on October 12, at which time the three bridges will be dedicated.

On August 15 a monument was delivered from Texas and erected on Bentonville Battleground commemorating the role of Texans in the Battle of Bentonville. The momument is provided by the State of Texas. It consists of a seven-foot granite shaft on a base.

The North Carolina Museums Council was founded at a meeting in Raleigh in December, 1963. The purpose of the Council, as stated in the Constitution, is "to encourage and improve the practices of museums in this State; to stimulate public interest, support, and understanding; and to provide for the interchange of ideas and co-operation among the museums and museum personnel." Mr. Frank E. Walsh, Curator of Interpretive Exhibits, Historic Sites Division, was elected President. The third meeting, held in New Bern on June 26, was on the theme "Educational Programs." Staff members from the Division who attended were Mr. Walsh; Mr. Sawyer; Mr. Honeycutt; Mr. Conway; Mr. Reid; Mr. Egbert Ivey, Historic Site Assistant at Aycock Birthplace; Mr. Wayne Smith, Historic Site Assistant at Alamance Battleground; Mrs. Dorothy M. Tankard, Historic Site Assistant at Historic Bath; and Mr. William G. Faulk, Jr., Historic Site Assistant at Brunswick Town.

Division of Museums

The winners of the Tarheel Junior Historian Club competition in art and written history included Gaston Spindles Junior Historian Club, winner of the first prize of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association Arts. Mrs. W. N. Craig is the adviser. The entry, giving the history of Robinson School, consists of a model; pictures; and narration, "History of Robinson School," by Miss Martha Louise Bess. Tied for second place were the Junior Historian Clubs of Silk Hope School of Chatham County, with Mr. James Watson as adviser, for a model of a frontier cabin; and LeRoy Martin Junior High School of Raleigh, with Mrs. Martha Harrelson as adviser, for a model of the Bennett House, "Where Peace Began," by Chuck Walters. In the written history awards, the first award for group participation went to the Stephen Cabarrus Club of Harrisburg School for its narration on Cabarrus County. Mrs. Mabel Blume is the adviser. The first award for individual participation went to Miss Betty Howell of the Junior Tarheels of Northampton County, Seaboard High School. Mrs. M. P. Taylor is the adviser. Tied for second place were the following: "Lower Cape Fear Area," by Wister O. Jackson III from Tabor City Ele-

mentary School, with Mrs. Miona Fonvielle as adviser; and "Columbus County," by Chuck Sears from Whiteville High School, with Mrs. Mabel W. Powell as adviser. The Junior Historian entries have been placed on display in the Junior Historian Room. This school year closed with 120 Junior Historian Clubs, the largest number in the history of the organization.

Two staff members attended the auction of the Paschal collection held in Durham on May 16. A shaving stand, doctor's desk, cigar box, music match box, and commode were purchased.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, participated as an honorary faculty member at the Seminar in Colonial Williamsburg June 16-17. She delivered an hour-long lecture on "History Museums" to the students.

Mrs. Jordan and Mr. Robert B. Mayo, Exhibits Curator, attended meetings of the American Association of Museums held in St. Louis, May 26-30.

On April 28 a slide program on the Elizabethan Gardens at Roanoke Island was presented to the Junior Committee of the Caswell-Nash Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The same program was given to the Hoe and Hope Garden Club of Cary on June 15.

The Hall of History conducted during the summer a series of Sunday afternoon exhibit-lectures beginning July 12. The programs were as follows:

July 12. "World War I Aviation and the Lafayette Escadrille"; Mr. Clifton Beckwith, guest speaker.

July 26. "World War I Weapons"; Major Hugh P. Massengill, guest speaker.

August 9. "World War I Uniforms and Equipment"; Chief Warrant Officer Joseph C. Bowling, Jr., guest speaker.

There have been a number of recent staff changes. With the increase in the work of the exhibits program, Mr. James Ralph Vogt began work on April 1 as a temporary Preparator. Mr. Leslie Bright replaced Mr. John Miller as Preparator in the Preservation Laboratory on May 1. Mrs. Margaret Hamilton, a former Meredith student, assisted the Registrar until May 28; Mrs. Betty Tyson, sales desk attendant, terminated her employment on May 29; Mrs. Mary Morgan, who serves as a temporary employee during the school year, will return in September. Mr. Eugene H. Seagroves, Jr., and Mr. Allen Lee Riddle worked June 11-24 at the Archives and History Annex as temporary employees helping the exhibits staff prepare the Bentonville Battleground exhibits. Mr. Henry Stephen Dudek and Mr. Gray Hutchison, Jr., are working temporarily with the preservation of artifacts. Mr. Arthur Wayne Rogers assisted the Photographer, June 15-24.

Division of Publications

Operation of the sales desk, from which visitors to the Department can buy publications and souvenir items, was assumed by Mrs. Margaret Brock on July 1 when she joined the staff of the Division of Publications. Mrs. Brock is keeping the sales area open on week days and on Saturday mornings for the convenience of persons visiting the Hall of History.

For the second quarter, total receipts were $4,855 with $3,780 being retained by the Department and $1,075 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 140 documentary volumes; 65 copies of the *Index* to *The North Carolina Historical Review;* 3 letter books of governors; 106 small books; 4,734 pamphlets, charts, and maps (including 281 Tercentenary pamphlets) ; 26,805 leaflets and brochures; and 6,790 copies of the list of publications. Not included in the total of 38,643 are 2,168 copies of the May issue of *Carolina Comments* and 2,068 copies of the Summer, 1964, issue of *The Review.* There were 52 new subscriptions and 308 renewals to *The North Carolina Historical Review.*

Delays at the bindery and at the print shop meant that Volume IX of *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, 1838-1847,* was not ready for distribution until August 18. Various publications, including the third volume of *The John Gray Blount Papers* and the two volumes of *The Papers of John W. Ellis,* have been held up because of problems in getting proof and finished copies on schedule.

Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor, began work on the editing of the papers of Governor Terry Sanford. At a conference with the Governor on July 16 plans were made concerning the publication of the volume.

Copy for the revised *Guide to Private Manuscript Collections* was set in type; galleys were received from the printer in July.

A reproduction of the State Seal, gold with black lettering on a white sheet, is available for 10 cents.

Arrangements were made with Dr. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon of Meredith College to write the history of North Carolina in World War I as a companion to her pamphlet, *North Carolina's Role In World War II,* published by the Department in the spring of 1964. Dr. Horace Raper of Tennessee Polytechnic Institute has agreed to edit the W. W. Holden Papers, but there will probably be little done on this assignment prior to the summer of 1965. The American Textile Manufacturers Institute, Inc., has indicated willingness to subsidize the publication of a pamphlet on the history of textiles in North Carolina, and Dr. Diffee W. Standard of Memphis State University is planning to complete the manuscript early in 1965.

Departmental publications were given to the Appalachian State Teachers College Library in memory of Dr. D. J. Whitener. Twenty-eight books were donated, and a bookplate was designed and printed to be used in these books.

Mrs. Mitchell spoke to teachers of North Carolina history, who were in summer school at North Carolina College, on June 26 in Durham. Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, Editorial Assistant II, attended the two-hundredth anniversary of the courthouse in Oxford on July 1.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Professor Bradley DeForrest Thompson, a member of the History Department of Davidson College since 1942, died on May 12. Professor Thompson's main field of interest was English history.

Dr. Gordon E. Finnie joined the history faculty of North Carolina Wesleyan College in June as Associate Professor. Dr. Finnie taught at Lambuth College in Jackson, Tennessee for the past two years.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Littleton College Memorial Association met at North Carolina Wesleyan College on July 11. Approximately 100 alumnae and friends of the former Littleton Female College heard an address by Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris of Seaboard. The Reverend Roland C. Stubbins of Efland also participated in the program. The Association voted to establish the "Dora Hornaday Stephenson Scholarship Fund" in honor of its President. About $3,500 has been presented to North Carolina Wesleyan College for the Littleton College Memorial Fund. Mr. J. W. E. Joyner, Director of College Promotion at Wesleyan, displayed two Belgian tapestries, *circa* 1790, presented by Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives in memory of his mother, Lossie Day Hardee Rives.

The Alston-Williams-Boddie-Hilliard Society, North Carolina's first family society, met at the Velvet Cloak Inn in Raleigh on June 13. Mr. Armistead J. Maupin, President of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati and a former president of the North Carolina State Bar, addressed the group at a luncheon meeting.

Mr. Frank Rogers was named President of the newly organized Haywood County Historical Association on June 16. Other officers are Mrs. R. R. Campbell, First Vice-President; Mr. R. C. Francis, Second Vice-President; Mr. Amos Medford, Secretary; Mr. Carlton Peyton, Treasurer; and Mr. Larry Mull, Adviser. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History, was the featured speaker. He discussed historical events in Haywood County and suggested a six-point program for a well-rounded historical organization. Dr. Crittenden was introduced by Mr. Robert O. Conway, Historic Site Specialist for Western North Carolina, who spoke briefly on the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace. Mr. Mull was recognized as the person primarily responsible for the formation of the organization of the Haywood County group. Four Haywood County citizens were named honorary lifetime members: Mrs. Clyde H. Ray, author of the Pulitzer prize novel, *Lamb in his Bosom;* Mr. W. Clark Medford, author of two books on Haywood County; Mrs. Humes Hart, daughter of the late W. C. Allen who wrote *The Annals of Haywood County;* and Mr. Larry Mull. Seventy charter members had joined the Association by June 18. At its second meeting, July 28, the group heard committee reports and adopted a constitution. Mr. Charles McDarris gave an illustrated lecture on Germany.

The two hundredth anniversary celebration of the first courthouse at Oxford, in Granville County, was celebrated on July 1. Sponsored by the Granville County Historical Society of which Mrs. Elizabeth Hicks Hummel is President, the program included a luncheon for members and spe-

cial guests and ceremonies in the present courthouse. The principal address was made by Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson, President of the Greensboro Historical Museum and Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Others participating were Mrs. Hummel, the Reverend Robert M. Cochran, Mr. Claude A. Renn, Mr. William M. Hicks, Mr. Frank W. Bullock, and Mr. T. Watkins Carrington. Captain Alfred L. Nicholson, of the Consulate at Norfolk, Virginia, was the representative of Great Britain and presented a replica of the Earl of Granville flag to be flown over the courthouse. Special guests included descendants of Samuel Benton, donor of the land for the first courthouse, which was completed on July 1, 1764. The Samuel Benton Home (1764) was open for visitation.

The Catawba County Historical Association met on July 8 in Newton. President Thomas Warlick was in charge of the meeting. He presided also at the April 1 meeting when 100 teachers of North Carolina history in the Catawba County public schools were special guests. Mrs. Marguerite W. May, Director of the Catawba County Historical Museum, made a talk and explained the displays in the Museum.

The Hyde County Historical Association held its annual meeting on June 30 in New Holland. Mrs. Jean D. Bucklew, President, presided at the meeting.

A fund-raising campaign in McDowell County for the Carolina Frontier Museum is being conducted. The Museum will be opened in the Old Fort Community Building, and $5,000 is needed in local funds. The sum of $15,000 is needed for the Carson Home Restoration near Marion. The McDowell County Historical Society is accepting funds for both projects. Mr. Robert O. Conway, Historic Site Specialist for Western North Carolina, spoke in Old Fort on July 11 at the kick-off meeting.

On June 18 Mr. Elbert Cox, Regional Director of the National Park Service, presented a certificate marking the Salem Tavern as one of 452 National Historic Landmarks. Mr. James A. Gray, President of Old Salem, Inc., and Mr. John Fries Blair, President of the Wachovia Historical Society, which owns the Tavern building, accepted the certificate. Built in 1784, the Tavern has been restored to its 1800 condition.

The Moravian Music Foundation, Inc., of Winston-Salem, announces that Dr. Ewald V. Nolte has been appointed Director. Dr. Nolte has a broad educational background and varied practical experience. His Doctor of Philosophy degree is from Northwestern University. He has taught, served as an organist and choir director, been an editor of music, and has published choral compositions.

The Wake County Historical Society held its second annual walking tour of the Capitol Square area on July 4. Approximately 150 people attended the tour which was conducted by Miss Beth G. Crabtree and Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell.

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